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University of the Witwatersrand

The Department of International Relations



Conflict and Coverage: Unpacking Media Narratives of Palestinian Women in the Intifadas

A Research Report Submitted to the Faculty of Humanities

By

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Ethics clearance/waiver number: WSOSSINTR-08-2024-10

In partial fulfilment for obtaining the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations

Under the Supervision of:

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“Nobody is free until everybody is free.” — Fannie Lou Hamer.

Abstract

This thesis draws upon a critical literacy framework and thematic analysis to examine depictions of Palestinian women in print news media narratives from the First and Second Intifadas. Through relevance sampling and the critical literacy framework, this thesis aims to evaluate media portrayals in print news articles to identify patterns of bias, stereotypes, and themes, including gender, violence, nationalism, statehood and liberation, religion, destruction, and family, with a focus on identifying sexism and Orientalism. The research seeks to determine how these depictions may influence public perception and aid in an understanding of violence against women in conflict zones such as the occupied Palestinian territories. The study highlights the importance of diverse media narratives in shaping awareness of Palestinian women's experiences of the Intifadas. This research does not have human participants.

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Abbreviations

NYT – The New York Times

oPt – occupied Palestinian territories

UK – United Kingdom

US – The United States of America

VAWG – Violence against women and girls

Introduction

Since the emergence of news media, narratives of women in conflict zones have often been used by the media to garner public support for a particular media narrative or political commentary. Although visual media are not the main focus of this thesis, media depictions like a British enlistment poster featuring a nun murdered by a German soldier in WWII or the story of a young green-eyed Afghan girl in a refugee camp from the Soviet-Afghan war, the female body has been extensively used to evoke an emotional response such as fear, anger, prurience, and sympathy from the reader in print news media. When female bodies and women are highlighted, the power of these depictions often relies on their stereotypical portrayal of women as inherently passive, fragile, innocent victims, and sexual objects devoid of any agency of their own. Using the female body as a "passive" political landscape onto which media narratives and social-political issues are projected determines what media audiences know about a conflict and the people experiencing it. This convergence makes the call for humanitarian action or intervention very compelling, albeit such action can have incomplete benefits for women.

For several reasons, exploring and analysing media narratives about women in conflict zones is worthwhile in gender studies research and International Relations. The media play a crucial role in informing and shaping the public's opinions about women's experiences in conflict zones, which can be leveraged to achieve political goals and advance foreign policy objectives. More often than not, when women and marginalised people are present in media depictions, they can be portrayed in limited and one-dimensional ways when media outlets use stereotypes, caricatural tendencies and rhetoric of marginalised women in coverage, which alienates more nuanced interpretations of conflict and women's agency. For example, the image of a veiled Afghan woman was used to justify American intervention in Afghanistan in the early 2000s. Moreover, media reporting can document human rights violations and serve as a historical record, an educational tool, and a research resource for understanding the socio-political impacts of conflicts on societies and the international system. These reasons highlight the significance of media depictions of conflict coverage and policy interactions within the international system. Additionally, it underlines the importance of analysing how media coverage shapes our understanding of the realities of women and other marginalised groups' conflict experiences who are located outside the Western paradigm. As media coverage from the Middle East mainly encompasses Arab and/or Muslim people, this often adds a specific

type of cultural interpretation to reporting, which has relevance to my research. Historically, Islam has been characterised as 'the end of civilisation' and has been positioned as the antithesis of the West and a challenger to Western Judeo-Christian hegemony (Said 1977; 1997; 1998). This results in Middle Eastern people being characterised as the dangerous 'Other' by Western news media, which in turn impacts how Islam is depicted internationally in mass media[1]. Edward Said (1977; 1997; 1998) describes these narratives from a Western perspective as "Orientalism". Therefore, it is essential to explore and identify how narrative media depictions of the Middle East fragment realities and categorise the Middle East as 'Other'.

To understand how print news media discusses Middle Eastern women, the acknowledgement of the intersection between the gender-based and ethnoreligious identities of these women needs to be spotlighted. Orientalist and sexist stereotypes construct a double-othering and two-fold oppression of women, both within and outside of Islam, namely through patriarchal and Orientalist lenses (Badran 1985; Mohanty, Russo and Torres 1991; MacDonald 2006). The intersection between these two lenses is interesting. According to Myra MacDonald (2006), women in the Middle East have been characterised as mysterious, passive, submissive, and repressed by Islam and Middle Eastern culture. Thus, Middle Eastern women are positioned as 'Other' and inferior to Western culture, Westerners and Middle Eastern men. Moreover, the veil is used as a symbol by the West to portray Middle Eastern women regardless of their actual religious and ethnic identity. Additionally, the veil is used to depict these women (in media narrative form) as oppressed in every way. However, this framing of the veil is devoid of cultural and religious context, as the West views Islam as a monolith. With the dominance of Western news media, Western narrative depictions of Muslim and Middle Eastern women can draw upon Orientalist and sexist stereotypes and rhetoric when describing women's experiences of conflict and violence.

Women around the world have been at the receiving end of gender-based violence and have been categorised as inferior to men by different gender hierarchies, namely patriarchy. Palestinian women are no exception, but how they experience sexism and misogyny is context dependent. For example, colonial liberation in the Middle East, like the national liberation movement in Iran during the late 1970s, has been characterised as liberation from Western influence and colonialism but not from patriarchy. In Iran's case, gender hierarchy and

[1] Furthermore, this media does not sympathise with the Islamic World in terms of its history, its people, and its current socio-political climate and thus can rely on unfounded stereotypes and Islamophobic rhetoric to describe and depict the Middle East, its people, culture, and Islam.

gendered repression were reinforced with and after national liberation (Tohidi 1991). This concept of liberation found in the media depictions and political discourse colours the way women and women's rights organisations approach women's empowerment and challenging patriarchal oppression within the Middle East. The intersectional nature of Palestinian women's double othering is worth investigating and addressing to avoid the perpetuation of Orientalist and sexist rhetoric in media that pertains to the Middle Eastern region and their women.

Understanding Middle Eastern culture, religion, and politics has historically been a topic of heated interest for academics and the field of International Relations. As Said (1977; 1997; 1998) notes, the Middle East has been perpetually categorised in contradistinction to the West (a dynamic aggravated by 9/11). It has traditionally been a significant geopolitical region for clashes between the East and the West. The international community and media companies' frequent commentary on the development of human and women's rights in the turbulent Middle East, as well as the dominant role of Islam in women's socio-political position in these societies, is often inaccurate and tendentious (Said 1997; Hunt 2002; 2008). These media commentaries have debated the experiences of Middle Eastern women and conflict without speaking to and engaging with women themselves or outright disregarding their existence and erasing them from conflict narratives. Despite well-intentioned feminist discourse, Middle Eastern women's voices tend not to be considered in more extensive socio-political conversations and academic research. Thus, there is an opportunity to contribute to the field of International Relations by researching how Middle Eastern women, specifically Palestinian women and their experiences of conflict, are narratively depicted in international discourse, particularly in print news media representations.

Using an adjusted critical literacy framework and thematic analysis methodology, this thesis aims to analyse how print news media depicts the experiences of Palestinian women in the First and Second Intifadas. This paper seeks to analyse how print news media coverage shapes and brings awareness of issues like violence against women and girls (VAWG) – specifically the perpetration of gender-based violence, including physical, psychological and sexual violence, committed by Israeli soldiers, settlers, and civil personnel against women during in the Intifadas— in the occupied territories (oPt). This study will focus on three common instances of gender-based violence against Palestinian women:

1. Violence against women in protests and pragmatic nonviolent resistance,

2. Violence against women in the home, specifically, home demolitions, house raids and invasions, carried out by Israeli soldiers, civil personnel, and settlers, as well as

3. Violence against incarcerated Palestinian women.

Furthermore, it will explore if there are disparities between how Palestinian women are depicted in different news media companies to determine if there are similarities or differences in how print media narratives shape and document their experiences of violence in these separate conflicts. I seek to identify discernible stereotypes and biases in the print news coverage and if they point to specific prejudices against and rhetoric about Middle Eastern women in conflict zones.

Research Objectives

- To evaluate different media companies' narrative depictions of Palestinian women and their experiences of violence during the First and Second Intifada.

Aim

This master's thesis investigates how print news media portray Palestinian women in conflict narratives. In particular, it seeks to ascertain whether there are disparities in narratives by comparing and contrasting the reporting of these events in *Al Jazeera,* based in Qatar, known for its more balanced coverage of the Palestinian conflict, and *The New York Times*, a well-respected Western news source. Moreover, the research will consider whether such disparities are found and whether a discernible gendered and/or Orientalist narrative of Palestinian women's experience of conflict can be identified. The research aims to examine the implications of this coverage in terms of whether it affords or constrains the agency of Palestinian women in these contexts.

Rationale

Numerous valuable insights can be gleaned from narrative depictions in news media[2] coverage of women in conflict. Firstly, media coverage shapes public awareness, and which can cause harm to or uplift women. Print media can underline women's experiences and roles, bring

[2] In this thesis, the term news media specifically refers to print news coverage from the media outlets of *NYT* and *Al Jazeera*. It is used interchangeably with print media from this page onwards.

attention to their overlooked needs, and suggest ways to address them both domestically and internationally. Historically, media has been used to perpetuate stereotypes and rhetoric about women in conflict zones, highlighting their perceived "passivity" and need for protection from violence. By exploring the media portrayals of women and their experiences, trends and themes can be examined to challenge and correct these harmful narratives, essentialist stereotypes and rhetoric about women and illuminate women as resilient agents of change. Also, highlighting women's agency through critical media analysis can motivate support for international solidarity movements, encouraging more comprehensive and inclusive support systems to assist women and girls in areas like Palestine. Ultimately, media narratives can serve as historical and socio-political educational tools. Thus, this thesis research is paramount because it critically characterises and evaluates narrative gendered depictions of Palestinian women to uncover dominant themes in past and present conflict coverage.

Furthermore, conflict zones tend to experience severe human rights violations and violent abuses, like VAWG. Media narratives can document and record these violations and conflict violence for historical record, and evaluation its socio-political impact. Conversely, distortions can be identified and reveal underlying power relations and disproportionate coverage in media narratives about women, violence, and conflict. Using the First and Second Intifadas as case studies, a focused analysis of media depictions of Palestinian women can illuminate how media VAWG portrayals impact socio-political and gendered understandings and the historical memory of the Intifadas and the current understandings of VAWG in conflict zones globally. Moreover, the examination of patterns and themes in print narratives can reveal the evolution or stagnation of gendered representations of Palestinian women in conflict coverage by different media companies.

Overall, this study contributes to the greater Gender Studies and International Relations academic canon by promoting a feminist perspective from the Global South, thereby deepening our comprehension of similarities and differences in narrative depictions of Palestinian women and Global South women in conflict coverage. Its focus on the media depictions of Palestinian women can outline how double othering is showcased and maintained in print news coverage during and after the Intifadas. This research can help determine how narratives have been used to prime media audiences to understand other contemporary conflicts in the Middle East and influence their understanding of historical Israeli-Palestinian confrontations. Thus, it can provide a basis for future research into how older print news narratives on conflict can be

perpetuated, bleed into, or omitted from contemporary understandings, media narratives, and past and current international discourses surrounding Middle Eastern conflicts.

Research questions

1) How are the experiences of Palestinian women of the First and Second Intifadas depicted by different print news media companies?

2) What themes and/or trends can be identified in this reporting?

3) Are the two chosen news media sources different in their coverage of Palestinian women?

i) Are there discernible types of stereotyping in the reporting, either gendered, Orientalist, or both?

ii) What implications does the reporting from the two chosen media have on the agency of Palestinian women in this context?

Literature Review

Orientalism and Said

To discuss socio-political relations within the Middle East, a scholar engages with the work of the Palestinian American academic, political activist, and literary critic Edward Said. Said's most notable work is *Orientalism*, which is considered a foundational text of post-colonial studies and analysis. In *Orientalism* (1977), Said discusses the origins and legitimacy of Western Orientalist Studies. Despite Western academia being founded on objectivity and rationality, Said argues that Orientalist Studies are not based on reality and academic inquiry. He states that the origins of Oriental Studies and the initial Western understanding of the Orient came from explorers' travel diaries and colonial office documents in the Middle East (Said 1977, 33; 1998, 17). Also, many of these sources were empirical descriptions and not intended to be used for scientific enquiry. These documents were used as legitimate sources by academics to analyse the Orient without interrogating if these experiences and accounts reflected the materiality of life in the Middle East. The use of unverified texts questions the conceptual validity of the Oriental Studies canon.

Originally, Oriental Studies was established to maintain Western imperial and colonial expansion and power and became an institutionalised discipline. In Algeria, French colonial offices would communicate with French academics to "understand" Middle Eastern behaviours, cultures, history, languages, people, and social structures better to entrench colonial dominance within the region (Said 1977; 1997; 1998). However, this lens was distortionary and failed to portray the Middle East in a way comparable to how the East may portray itself. These Orientalist assumptions and constructions of the Middle East helped serve Western "civilising" projects and justify violence against and the subjugation of Middle Easterners. Contemporary academia and media continue to perpetuate Orientalist assumptions and constructions as the Middle East is still framed as a cultural, social, and political monolith. Said highlights that Orientalists like Kifner[3] frame Islam as totalistic and equate Islam to the Middle East. However, Said signals that Kifner's understanding of Islam, assuming that Islam has no separation between church and state in the Middle East, is ahistorical (Said 1997). These

[3] An article of Kifner's has been sampled in this thesis.

framings inform how media audiences, academics, and politicians view and conceptualise the Middle East and can be utilised by the state for social and geo-political means (Said 1977; 1997; 1998; Amin-Khan 2012). By acknowledging the Western construction of the Orient and how it serves Western interests and power, one can analyse how Orientalism frames Middle Easterners, particularly Palestinians.

Using Foucault's concept of discourse, Said (1977; 1997; 1998) emphasises that Orientalism is a type of discourse as it is a system through which the West (the Occident) constructs the East (the Orient). Furthermore, the West perceives the Orient as inherently inferior and "Other". The Orient is considered the antithesis of the West and is characterised by barbarism, backwardness, exoticism, sensuality, and staticness (Said 1977; 1997; 1998). Moreover, this antithetic framing is connected to Islam as a dominant social and cultural presence in the Middle East. Moreover, Islam is perceived as a direct threat to Christianity, the West, and European power (Said 1977; 1997; 1998). Thus, the Orient needs to be controlled and pacified by the West because of its threatening power. Therefore, the West has historically used the Orientalist construction of the Middle East to highlight it as a threat to Western power and asserted that the Orient needs Western intervention and civilising.

Western powers have utilised Orientalist logic to justify colonialism and imperialism in the Middle East (like British colonialism in Egypt). Now, it is perpetuated to justify political interest and interference within the Middle East region, like the 2003 illegal invasion of Iraq (Amin-Khan 2012; Rich 2014). Therefore, Orientalism and Said's works are paramount to understanding the historical and contemporary academic discourses and media framings of the Middle East. This makes Orientalism a necessary concept to analyse how Palestinian women are depicted and understood through academic and media framings and discourses.

Cultural Hegemony and Said

Said expands upon Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony in his work. Cultural hegemony (in his prison notebooks) refers to the dominance of a particular group or class over others in society through force, authority, and the establishment of a set of values, beliefs, norms, and cultural practices that are widely accepted as "common sense" (Bates 1975). This ideological control maintains the ruling class's power without relying solely on coercion. Colonial states imposed cultural and socio-political beliefs, culture, laws, and structures onto colonial subjects. For example, in British colonies, colonised children were educated in English and British standards of living were aspired to by settlers and natives (Fanon 1967; Malisa and

Missedja 2019). Furthermore, colonial power and cultural hegemony influence traditional cultural and socio-political beliefs, power structures, and thinking (Bates 1975; Duley and Diduk 1986). This colonial hegemony influenced native cultures to think colonial cultural and socio-political power were more legitimate than their own. The work of Franz Fanon explores how colonial thinking systems and culture can influence colonised people to consider themselves inferior and not challenge colonial power (Fanon 1967).

Drawing on Gramsci's ideas, Said's *Orientalism* posits that the West imposed its cultural worldview on the colonial public, thereby shaping both Eastern and Western perceptions of the Middle East. Western states often perceive the Middle East as backward, as many of these countries have not adopted a democratic system, causing Westerners and Middle Easterners to view the region as inferior because it does not adhere to Western international norms and standards (Said 1997; 1998; Amin-Khan 2012; Rich 2014). This worldview influences how states and civilians comprehend the framing of Middle Eastern socio-political events and structures. If the West and the media perceive the Middle East as inferior or powerless, they may exclude contradictions and complexities that challenge this narrative (Said 1977; 1997; 1998). The Ottoman Empire's historic regional power can go unacknowledged within Western discourses and media. Thus, to analyse how the media depicts Middle Eastern women, specifically Palestinian women, states' and media's worldview of the socio-political landscape and conflict in the Middle East should be evaluated.

Covering Islam (1997) and Said

In *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World* (1997), Said examines how Western media[4] shapes narratives and how their implications influence how Western media audiences perceive the Middle East. Throughout the book, Said emphasises how Middle East and Islam are used in academia and Western media as synonymous terms which homogenise the entire region (Said 1997). Additionally, common generalisations and platitudes, like implying that Islam and terrorism are inherently connected, are used by academics to characterise the Middle East without enquiry into their validity and accuracy. This flattens the Middle East's religious, cultural, social, and political diversity, distorting how scholars and Western media companies report on the Middle East and Middle Eastern news. Said comments on the nature of American news media in the 1970s, highlighting

[4] The term Western media can also include news media, print media, radio and television broadcasting, music, etc. However, in Said's work and in this thesis, the term Western media to refer to forms of news media like print news, newspapers, radio and television news broadcasting.

that “the iconography of Islam was uniform…hence, the frequent caricatures of Muslims as oil suppliers, as terrorists…[and] bloodthirsty mobs” (1997, 6). This uniform iconography conveys to audiences that Islam and Muslims automatically have the same ideology and inherent behaviour as each other, which is in opposition to Western socio-political and cultural practices.

Likewise, Said (1997) underlines that Islam is a catch-all for Western geo-political concerns. These academic and media narratives inform and prime Western audiences to perceive Islam and Middle Eastern cultures as regional and international security. To unpack depictions of Palestinian women in the Intifadas, it is essential to understand how Western media narratives frame the Middle East and Islam and why it considers the region as inherently newsworthy.

Us versus them

The conflation between the Middle East and Islam results in media narratives which create “us” versus “them” dichotomies in news reporting. Orientalist stereotypes inform how media audiences understand the Middle East and its people. Orientalism and its construction of the Occident versus Orient generate “us” versus “them” dichotomies and discourses, resulting in viewing the “them” as the enemy (Said 1977; 1997; 1998). Also, this dichotomy reiterates that the Middle East is an inferior “Other” with oppositional power to Western hegemony (Said 1977; 1997; 1998). To justify the Western use of force or intervention against the myriad of Middle Easterners, media narratives paint them with the same brush, branding them as antithetical to Western values and culture (Said 1997; Amin-Khan 2012). Not only is the region seen as dangerous and “Other”, but Middle Eastern diverse cultures, identities, communities, and people are perceived this way on a communal and individual level. Hence, to understand this dichotomy to comprehend how Palestinians and Palestinian women can be seen as “Other” and inferior to Western media audiences.

Stereotypes and biases

Additionally, media stereotypes characterise Arabs as having contrasted cultural values to the West to create a fear of the “Other”. Middle Easterners who display different behaviours to Western standards are labelled as threats to Western culture or even terrorists (Said 1977; 1997; 1998; Amin-Khan 2012). Islamic dress, like the Niqab and Burka, has been banned in France as it is a “threat” to French cultural values (Kovach-Orr 2016; Open Society Foundations 2011). Across Europe, the increased presence of Islam in mainly homogenous Christian states is

viewed as eroding national identity as many migrants and refugees may not adhere to all cultural and socio-political behaviours and values of their host state (Leane 2011; Kovach-Orr 2016; Jackson 2018).

The acute emphasis on different cultural, social, and political behaviours in the media ties back to critical media studies' assumptions that Western media companies set the agenda, prime, and frame audiences' view of the Middle East through an Orientalist lens (Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007). This encourages audiences to adopt state and media narratives that the West and Western governments should protect their citizens from Middle Eastern socio-political and geo-political influence (Badran 1985; Said 1997; 1998; Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007; Jackson 2018). Thus, the media can prime the public to fear Middle Eastern behaviours, beliefs, culture, practices, and people and justify the West's control and intervention with the enemy in the Middle East. So, to unpack Palestinian women's media depictions by different media companies, it needs to be determined if these media companies prime their audiences to view Palestinians and Palestinian women as the "Other".

Said's work is connected to stereotypes and biases. Stereotypes refer to a widely held, simplified, and essentialist belief about a specific group, usually socio-politically and culturally marginalised (Nelson 2009; Gendered Innovations n.d.). These stereotypes and biases are deeply embedded within socio-political institutions and broader culture, in essence, cultural hegemony. This connects to Said's arguments in *Orientalism* (1977) and *Covering Islam* (1997), where he highlights the Orientalist stereotypes and assumptions in academia and the media. These institutions disseminate the social-political, cultural and media stereotypes and biases in prominent socio-political structures and ensure public acceptance (Bates 1975; Said 1977; 1997; Nelson 2009). This results in the public internalising and perpetuating these stereotypes as "common sense" (Bates 1975). Therefore, to analyse print news depictions of Palestinian women, one needs to recognise the prevalence of stereotypes and biases within media articles.

Gender studies, the female body, and nationhood

Feminist scholars like Connell (1994) argue that gender stereotypes are reflective of the normative attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours we ascribe to differences between masculinity and femininity as well as between men and women. Moreover, perceived gender differences and

stereotypes[5] are foisted on bodies, making them socio-political and cultural landscapes (Crowley, Himmelweit, and Birke 1992; Connell 1994). Thus, physical and metaphorical bodies are surfaces onto which the gender performances of masculinity and femininity are imposed (Connell 1994). These impositions create values around gendered bodies, which, in turn, are shaped by differing socio-political, cultural, and religious understandings that influence power systems.

Gender differences, norms, and stereotypes are culturally and context-specific (Shepherd 2010). However, our current hegemonic gender system has roots in Western imperialist expansion, which imposed a colonial gender binary system and disseminated Western and Christian notions of sex differences in the colonised world (Mohanty 1991a; Aziz, Himmelweit, and Crowley 1992; Connell 1994). This gender binary suppressed and altered local gender systems. In the current system, patriarchy and the hegemonic gender binary are embedded within socio-political and cultural structures and power systems, especially in our international state system (Mohanty 1991a; 1991b).

This acutely affects the concept of the female body, which has historically been connected to political structures and sexual reproduction (Bernau 2007). Moreover, female bodies symbolise a community or nation's moral and cultural health, leading to women's behaviours and actions reflecting a community's reputation and identity. In "Armed Groups and Sexual Violence: When Is Wartime Rape Rare?", Wood (2009) proposes that in conflict, some militias and armies utilise violence against women, particularly sexual violence, to psychologically and culturally damage a community. In cultures that value a woman's purity, this can "damage" the value of a community and, by extension, a nation.

The Female Body and Islam

Middle Eastern cultures, specifically practising Islam, view the female body as an embodiment of family and cultural honour. "Honour" refers to how one's behaviour reflects the reputation and social standing of one's family and community (Kawar 1996, 20). Thus, family members and communities are expected to adhere to gender norms and family structures. For example, women are expected to adhere to the rules espoused by male family members, primarily fathers and husbands (Kawar 1996, 20). Consequently, deviating from these gender and cultural

[5] Gender binary is a term that denotes the perceived differences between the gender categories of men and women. Due to a perceived binary in sex differences, gender differences build off this sex binary to create a gender duality.

norms brings disgrace and devalues the socio-political and cultural respectability of the family and their communities.

In Middle Eastern cultures and societies like Palestine, threats of physical and sexual violence and bodily exposure can be used to scare women into submission and prevent their active participation in resistance and liberation movements (Thornbill 1993; Holt 2003; Rought-Brooks, Duaibis, and Hussein 2010). Consequently, incarcerated Palestinian women are tortured, and Israeli officers use threats of sexual violence to extract confessions (Thornbill 1993). Thornbill (1993) details how Palestinian women detainees are often threatened to have their clothes taken off and have male integrators expose themselves to them, which can damage their honour.

Scholars highlight that Palestinian women at checkpoints may face sexual harassment or sextortion, coerced into offering sexual favours in exchange for more unrestricted movement, visiting imprisoned relatives, or aiding male relatives targeted at checkpoints (Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2004; Madar 2023). Kayali (2021, 35) argues that "female bodies and sexuality, with their relationship to the continuation of the family as well as their association with male honour, have therefore historically comprised key sites of battle for both Palestinian men and Israeli occupying forces". This quotation spotlights that Palestinian female bodies are purposefully used as socio-political battle sites. Therefore, there is a connection between targeting female bodies and violence to cause damage to a socio-political and cultural community to prevent resistance to power. Thus, it is important to keep in mind how the Palestinian female body's value is connected to socio-political and cultural identity, as well as how print news media discusses Palestinian female bodies and VAWG in the Intifadas.

The female body, statehood, and the role of men and women

Many scholars argue that female bodies symbolise nationhood (Boehmer 2005; Ranchod-Nilsson and Tétreault 2005). The female body personifies the nation, its people, and its culture, including nationalist beliefs about the ideal state, family structure, and gender roles. Women are often symbolic bearers of the nation's purity, morality, and continuity (Boehmer 2005; Ranchod-Nilsson and Tétreault 2005; Bernau 2007). In many nationalist discourses, the nation's honour is intrinsically tied to women as they are responsible for reproducing a nation's moral culture for future generations (Boehmer 2005; Ranchod-Nilsson and Tétreault 2005). Additionally, nations frame themselves as feminine by using the image of women as nurturing

and protective figures. Both these representations support gender hierarchies by associating women with the private sphere and domesticity.

Furthermore, these representations equate the nation-state as a family structure, and women are encouraged to adopt traditional gender roles to contribute to the state (Boehmer 2005; Ranchod-Nilsson and Tétreault 2005; Kayali 2021). By idealising the domestic sphere, the nationalist discourse can restrict women's roles, which affects women's political participation in the public sphere. Deviations from these nationalist gender roles are seen as damaging to liberation discourses and resistance movements. Despite being symbols of the nation, women can be excluded from socio-political structures and power (Boehmer 2005; Ranchod-Nilsson and Tétreault 2005). Hence, it is important to analyse how Palestinian women are portrayed in nationalist discourses to determine if they are given socio-political and cultural agency in nationalist thought and power structures.

Statehood, Liberation, and Masculinity

Morgenthau (1955) and other scholars argue that the state (according to hegemonic Western conceptions of statehood) is inherently masculine and, by extension, state power and nationalism. As previously discussed, the patriarchal concept of the nation has also been built on Western conceptualisations of statehood. In nationalist discourses, men tend to symbolise power, progress, and rationalism and are seen as the defenders and builders of the nation. These discourses cast men active in resisting oppression and building and maintaining the nation (Boehmer 2005; Ranchod-Nilsson and Tétreault 2005; Parpart and Zalewski 2008; Loza 2022). In colonial resistance and liberation movements, critiquing a coloniser's power and oppression was the driving force behind the fight for change. Freedom fighters like Nelson Mandela and Steve Biko were instrumental in cultivating black consciousness and promoting resistance against the Apartheid state. Moreover, successful liberation and resistance movements crossed class, racial, and gender lines (Kayali 2021). So, to achieve nationwide liberation, different interest groups needed to actively resist and adopt nationalist narratives about the state. However, women's participation in liberation and resistance movements has been diminished in the historical record and has cast women in more passive roles (Accad 1991; Boehmer 2005; Ranchod-Nilsson and Tétreault 2005; Parpart and Zalewski 2008).

These resistance and liberation movements have shaken the foundations of power and disrupted the national and international status quo. These include gender roles and socio-political and cultural structures alongside state and power structures. Despite women

challenging oppressive systems of power and participating in liberation and resistance movements, socio-political changes did not improve the status of women. Colonial resistance movements focus on liberation from colonial and imperial power, not liberation from patriarchy (Duley 1986). Also, women are often marginalised in political institutions under nationalist regimes despite their contributions to movements (Duley 1986; Holt 2003; Jamal 2004; Baldi 2018). Women's political rights are frequently secondary to resistance objectives and establishing national independence or democratic regimes (Holt 2003; Jamal 2004; Baldi 2018). These sentiments have been echoed in liberations across the Global South, including the Middle East.

Throughout the history of Palestinian resistance, feminists have critiqued the lack of acknowledgement of the status of women and sexism in resistance and liberation movements, particularly after the signing of the Oslo Accords (Holt 2003; Jaber 2020; Baldi 2018; Rought-Brooks, Duaibis, and Hussein 2010). Also, women's roles in nation-building are framed through maternal nationalism, where their political contributions are primarily tied to their role as mothers instead of their liberation participation. This maternal nationalism can be seen in discourses around Palestinian motherhood, which will be discussed later. Nevertheless, women's active participation has historically been diminished in post-liberation discourses and fails to address women's oppression and can worsen the status of women.

Liberation movements in Algeria and Iran were instrumental in toppling French colonial rule and the Iranian monarchy. In Algeria, women were forced back into the home. Similarly, Iranian women were forced to abide by and were restricted by Shari'a-based legal rights and laws, which stripped them of the rights they had before the revolution (Duley 1986). In the Palestinian Intifadas, women played various roles in organisation, resistance, and conflict (Kawar 1996; Abdo 2002; Holt 2003; Martin 2011; Kayali 2021). Furthermore, feminist Palestinian women have also critiqued women's social position and patriarchal systems of power within the Palestinian liberation movement. In the book Daughters of Palestine, Kawar (1996) notes that female activists were still expected to have children and maintain the household, often without the help of their comrade spouses. During the Second Intifada, some Palestinian female suicide bombers recorded and left tapes critiquing the male-dominated Palestinian Authority (PA) and resistance groups (Naaman 2007). Some women critiqued how male-dominated Palestinian discourse and resistance prevented and diminished women's participation during and after the Oslo Peace Process (Holt 2003; Naaman 2007; Kirk 2022). For a comprehensive qualitative and thematic analysis, it is essential to examine how different

print news media portray Palestinian women in the Intifadas, comparing depictions of their perceived passivity, participation, and socio-political and cultural agency.

Patriarchy and Orientalism

Systems of oppression like patriarchy and Orientalism are historically connected as different socio-political and cultural structures and power systems have maintained them. As previously alluded to, Middle Eastern women find themselves affected by oppression in two-fold ways: they are oppressed and "othered" because they are both Middle Eastern and women (Holt 2003; Rought-Brooks, Duaibis, and Hussein 2010; Aharoni 2014; Aghabekian 2017; Baldi 2018). This double othering subjugates Palestinian women under Orientalist beliefs and norms and both Western and Middle Eastern patriarchal gender roles and oppression (Said 1977; Duley 1986; Mohanty 1991b; Said 1997; 1998; Rought-Brooks, Duaibis, and Hussein 2010). Therefore, media structures can perpetuate hegemonic and patriarchal gender norms and Orientalist beliefs about Palestinian women when discussing news. To dissect print news depictions of Palestinian women, this thesis must acknowledge the different patriarchal dimensions, sexist norms, and stereotypes that can colour media narratives.

Objectification and Narrative Homogenisation of Global South Women

In Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism, Mohanty introduces the notion that third-world women, now commonly referred to as Global South women, experience othering and homogenisation within feminist discourses and different power structures. Mohanty emphasises that the West, and by extension Western feminism, has utilised "objective" indicators (such as nutrition, fertility, income and labour, etc.) to describe the socio-political and cultural contexts of women's status in the Global South (Mohanty 1991a; 1991b). This is not to say that these indicators are unhelpful in analysing women's status, but they fail to recognise Global South women's agency and are not well equipped to analyse socio-political and cultural contexts in the Global South.

These Global South women's status analyses are frozen in history, time, and space using Western-based indicators of women's equality. Furthermore, these indicators can fail to identify historical, socio-political, and cultural factors that have further contributed to women's oppression, like colonialism and different political systems (Mohanty 1991a; 1991b). The invisibility of Global South women in feminist discourse is connected to racism within the women's movement and the cultural, class and sexual differences among groups of women (Mohanty 1991b; Aziz, Himmelweit, and Crowley 1992). Additionally, the simultaneity of

oppressions and marginality, the hegemonic state frames the experiences of these women (Mohanty 1991b; Boehmer 2005; Ranchod-Nilsson and Tétreault 2005). Also, there is distinct memory, agency, and various conflicts and contradictions within Global South feminist movements, which cannot be generalised (Mohanty 1991a; 1991b). Therefore, these concepts assist in understanding diverse contexts, discourses, and factors that influence Global South women's positions and oppression. Hence, Mohanty poignantly emphasises how traditional Western feminist discourse can fail to address issues faced by non-Western women and can homogenise gender oppression and othering globally.

The chapter, Under Western Eyes, explores how Western feminists exploit third-world, non-white women in mainstream discourse (Mohanty 1991b). According to Mohanty (1991b, 54), Western feminists homogenise different women under the use of the term "third world difference", which appropriates and colonises "the constitutive complexities which characterise the lives of women" in the Global South. Mohanty criticises the category of "women" used in Western feminist discourses that assumes that all women are a universal and coherent group of people who share the same interests regardless of class, cultural, ethnic, or racial contexts and "implies a notion of gender or sexual difference or even patriarchy which can be applied universally or cross-culturally" (1991b, 55). Furthermore, Mohanty argues that Western feminism maintains this category's universality despite its homogenising of diverse gender oppression (Mohanty 1991a; 1991b). It also fails to account for differences in understanding gender, oppression, and socio-political and cultural systems that differ from the West.

Additionally, the West conceives gender differences and oppression according to a shared experience of subservice and victims of male violence (Mohanty 1991b). This "shared experience" dangerously implies that all women are inherently victims and lack agency, especially Global South women. When differences are acknowledged, Global South women are perceived as more "oppressed" due to their 'backward' cultures, which objectifies them to further Western feminist goals. For example, Western feminists use images of Global South women, like this thesis, veiled Muslim women, to highlight differences in gender oppression in the Global North[6] versus Global South (Mohanty 1991b; MacDonald 2006).

[6] Global North is synonymous with the West as it refers to countries located in the Northern Hemisphere that have developed economies and/or have a colonial and imperial history. Examples include the US, the UK, France, Germany, etc.

These differences position Western women as idealised as secular, liberated, and independent, and Global South women are viewed as more oppressed and need Western women to protect and speak in favour of their interests (Mohanty 1991a; 1991b). This assumes that non-secular women, in this case, Muslim women, are inherently oppressed by religious practices and require secularisation and Western understandings of liberation and independence to obtain freedom (Duley 1986; Mohanty 1991b; Hunt 2002; Rich 2014). However, this assumption and binary fails to acknowledge that not all Western women are secular and that Western religions like Christianity are still oppressive to women. Additionally, some Muslim women choose the veil as an expression of religious freedom. For example, Afghan women continued to wear the hijab and niqab after liberation from the Taliban in 2003 – much to the dismay of American soldiers and Western feminists (Berry 2003; MacDonald 2006; Rich 2014). Also, some Middle Eastern women, like Palestinian women in the liberation movement, are secular and have political agency as they have advocated and protested for freedom (Kawar 1996; Khodary, Salah, and Mohsen 2020; Jaber 2020; Kayali 2021). These assumptions and examples echo Said's idea of Orientalism as, according to Mohanty, some Western feminists define themselves in contradistinction to Global South women and "others" them. Also, it is paramount to ensure that feminist analyses of Palestinian women do not rely on Western assumptions and homogenisation of the experiences and oppression in the Global South. It should be acknowledged how Western feminism may have been seen by other Global South women and how these discourses and assumptions can affect media narratives about Palestinian women's agency in the Intifadas.

The Veil and the Middle East

In Western media landscape[7], the depiction of the veiled Oriental woman has historically persisted regardless of the reality of socio-political realities and cultural identity and change within the Middle East. As inferred by Said (1977; 1997; 1998), the West homogenises the Middle East as entirely Islamic. Thus, the average Oriental depiction of a Middle Eastern woman is veiled per Islamic practices. Myra MacDonald (2006) proposes that the Western depiction of the veiled Oriental woman is a shorthand for the West's representation of "the problems of Islam" and Middle Eastern women's repression.

[7] I am referring to all forms of news media outlets as well as entertainment media like films, television, and literature.

Firstly, Islam is not the only religion that has women's vestments and head coverings; many of these clothing items have been historically observed in different religions and societies. However, the veil symbolises the Middle East's backwardness as Western culture and feminism equate and correlate women's bodily exposure to freedom of expression (MacDonald 2006; Rich 2014; Khan and Zahra 2016). This symbolism connects to Mohanty's (1991a; 1991b) point that Western feminism relies on the image of the veiled woman to indicate the "third world difference" as asserted by Western feminists and their freedom indicators. This implies that Islamic veiling is incompatible with women's freedom. However, this portrayal denies Middle Eastern women's agencies and voices in Western discourses and media as they fail to acknowledge the Middle Eastern culture and historical contexts that differ from the Western understandings of women's freedom (Mohanty 1991a; 1991b; MacDonald 2006; Rich 2014). Therefore, to examine depictions of Palestinian women, it is important to identify how the agency and experiences of veiled women are framed in print news media narratives.

There are Orientalist, racist, and sexist undertones to the West's desire to "unveil" the Middle East, and this is charged with Orientalist, racist, and sexual undertones. This "unveiling" is Orientalist as it implies that the Middle East needs to be uncovered through Western academic study and imperialism (MacDonald 2006; Qutub 2013; Khodary, Salah, and Mohsen 2020; Kirk 2022; Loza 2022). Through this unveiling, the nature of the "Other" is discovered. Orientalist portrayals and media insinuate that the veiled woman is both sexually promiscuous and subordinate to both Western and Middle Eastern men (MacDonald 2006; Qutub 2013; Loza 2022). For example, Orientalist accounts imagined the harem as a space for male sexuality, whereas, in reality, it was a gender-segregated space for women and children to live and interact safely (MacDonald 2006). Moreover, Western discourse constructs the veil as a symbol of the brutality and oppression faced by Muslim women. The process of "unveiling" implies that Middle Eastern women will achieve liberation through Western intervention and rescue from "oppressive" practices of the tyrannical Islamic state (MacDonald 2006; Qutub 2013; Loza 2022). Through unveiling, it is implied that Middle Eastern women can transcend gender oppression by mirroring Western expressions and indicators of women's liberation, like wearing pants (Mohanty 1991a; 1991b). Thus, when analysing media depictions of Palestinian women, narrative patterns in describing the veiling and unveiling of women should be identified.

Palestinian Motherhood, Agency, and Liberation

Boehmer (2005) explains that both the concept of statehood and nationalism are gendered. The structure and terrain of a nation are characterised as inherently masculine. Boehmer (2005) emphasises that when mothers are national liberation symbols, this can affect gender roles in liberation movements and downplay the women's contributions to liberation and politics. In these narratives of statehood, the family unit can be extrapolated to measure the structure and health of a society at large (Hall, Weissman, and Shepherd 2019). This is furthered by the notion that men are viewed as legitimate agents of the state as it emulates the "natural" family structure. However, these narratives conveniently leave out women's actions and roles in society outside of being mothers, wives, and supporters of men (Boehmer 2005). Statehood and nationalism are closely linked to resistance, which requires a set of ideological principles to be achieved through liberation roles (Boehmer 2005; Ranchod-Nilsson and Tétreault 2005; Parpart and Zalewski 2008). Thus, when assessing the concept of statehood, liberation, and resistance, gendered lines and roles should be identified to assess if women have been left out of narratives.

The symbol of the Palestinian mother has been used by the Palestinian liberation movement and by Western media to discuss nationhood and the Palestinian experience. Within Palestine, the term "mother of the martyr" is used to refer to women who have lost their children to violence enacted by Israeli soldiers, civil personnel, or settlers (Kawar 1996; Allen 2009). However, this term does come with baggage because Palestinian mothers are expected to adhere to social and cultural behaviours around death and martyrdom. It is common for families to celebrate when their child has died as a martyr as it is an honorary status (Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2004; Allen 2009). Nevertheless, mothers who try to protect their children may unintentionally put them in danger when facing volatile and unpredictable enemies. Shalhoub-Kevorkian (2004) recounts an interviewee's story of a woman who hid her sons in a well to keep them from being found by IDF soldiers. However, after being forced to leave for a neighbour's house, she helplessly witnessed the soldiers bomb her home with her sons still inside. This does not leave much room for Palestinian mothers to mourn the death of their children. This narrow focus on the primacy of motherhood can contribute to the liberation movement's erasure of the diversity of experiences and roles Palestinian women played in the Intifadas.

When women are confined to the private sphere, disturbances and changes in the home affect women the most. Various authors like Shalhoub-Kevorkian (2004) and Meade (2011)

indicate that there are patterns in Israeli personnel and soldiers conducting house raids and demolitions, specifically when women are alone at home with children (Madar 2023). These raids and demolitions cause rifts in the social fabric and safety of the home. This acutely affects women and children as they witness and experience psychological, physical violence, and sexual violence through the destabilisation of the familial home and structure (Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2004; Meade 2011; Madar 2023). Conversely, Palestinian women's movements have attempted to counter harmful narratives about Palestinian mothers that stem from the Israeli state and media. For example, the Israeli state has accused Palestinian mothers of sending their children to checkpoints to die and blaming the martyr's family for their deaths (Abu Dayyeh Shamas 2001; Allen 2009). Thus, being a mother in Palestine has historically exposed women to forms of psychological and physical violence that disrupt the home, which disenfranchises mothers as they cannot guarantee the safety of their children or the home (Abu Dayyeh Shamas 2001).

The symbol of the mother and being a good wife pushes women and girls who do not have children or who are not married to the outskirts of liberation narratives. As previously discussed, the term "mother of a martyr" is given socio-political importance within the liberation movement, and some women have risen to national prominence because of the death of their sons and husbands (Kawar 1996; Allen 2009). Kawar (1996, 24) states that some Palestinian women leaders married men in the movement and earned the title of "wife of martyr" when their husbands died. Additionally, to achieve adulthood and contribute to the liberation movement, Palestinian girls are expected to get married, support their politically active husbands, and have children to raise the next generation of liberation fighters (Johnson and Kuttab 2001; Aghabekian 2017). However, there are various examples of female Palestinian activists fighting for liberation as young adults and leading Palestinian student movements, like Eileen Kuttab, who later became a leader in the Union of Palestinian Women's Committees in the West Bank (Kawar 1996). However, women's and girls' liberation participation is not always acknowledged.

Johnson and Kuttab (2001) note that the symbol of a young Palestinian boy is used to symbolise the national struggle. For example, martyr posters of young men and boys are displayed in public spaces to remember their deaths and maintain the liberation momentum. Additionally, Holt (2003) notes that the liberation movement has adopted a masculine-based nationalism. Male adulthood is characterised by participation in and fighting for national liberation (Johnson and Kuttab 2001; Holt 2003). Holt (2003, 227) proposes that the

occupation and the ceasing of Palestinian land have resulted in women being positioned as both weaker than their male relatives but also "guardians of national dignity", which is intrinsically tied to female and family honour. These points highlight how Palestinian girls and daughters are positioned as to their male counterparts and write them out of active roles in liberation participation if they differ from Palestinian society's socio-political and cultural expectations about female adulthood (Johnson and Kuttab 2001; Holt 2003). Therefore, to accurately analyse media depictions of Palestinian women during the Intifadas, patterns in women's positioning as mothers, wives, and activists in liberation narratives must be underlined.

The Voice of Palestinian Women and Their Participation during the Intifadas

Palestinian women's voices have often not been heard within the liberation movement and the Intifadas discourses like other Global South women. Regardless of their contributions and participation, women's mobilisation and agency can be sidelined in nationalist narratives during and after liberation. During the First Intifada, women's activism and committees like the Federation of Women's Action Committees were instrumental in Palestinian mobilisation within the oPt and the diaspora (Kawar 1996). These committees and charities ensured access to resources and support for martyrs' families and provided aid, food, and education (Kawar 1996). Furthermore, organisations like Women in Black strove to normalise Israeli-Palestinian relationships and to build solidarity in order to have a combined critique of the Israeli occupation and military actions within the oPt (Pope 1993).

During the Peace Process, many Palestinian female activists were barred from participating, and women's rights concerns were ignored. Holt (2003) highlights that women leaders were excluded from male-dominated circles that determined post-Oslo policies and peace in the oPt. Furthermore, The Basic Law document does not mention gender equality (Baldi 2018a). These examples point to the trend that Palestinian women, like other women in national liberation movements, are often under-represented and excluded from liberation narratives and participation in peace processes and governance.

Palestinians, particularly women and children, often lack a voice in news media (Aqtash, Seif, and Seif 2004; Martin 2011). There is more Western media coverage of women framed as passive victims rather than coverage of women's participation in protest and liberation activity, specifically in the West (Pope 1993; Kayali 2021). Pope (1993) highlights that Intifada media narratives and images focused on confrontations between young stone-throwing Palestinian protestors and Israeli military personnel sporting guns. However, women

participated in non-violent resistance during the Intifadas. Kayali (2021) notes that pragmatic non-violent resistance movements are more likely to gain participation as they are more accessible to different rungs of society, especially women. Women within the oPt, Israel, and the diaspora have been instrumental in the Palestinian Liberation Movement. Hana Ashrawi helped the Palestinian liberation movement gain international support during the First Intifada (Kawar 1996). She later became an advisor to Arafat before the Oslo Accords (Kawar 1996).

Furthermore, Palestinian women and their organisations have frequently and consistently collaborated, engaged with, and maintained relationships with Israeli women to promote solidarity, such as The Peace Quilt Project and Women for Women Political Prisoners (Pope 1993). Additionally, Palestinian women's committees were responsible for organising mobilisations, providing aid and medical care to injured protesters, supporting prisoners, assisting in education, and helping women gain skills and financial independence (Kawar 1996; Johnson and Kuttab 2001; Kayali 2021). Therefore, there is a diverse history of Palestinian women using non-violent resistance and solidarity ideology to contribute to the liberation movement.

Nonetheless, women have also participated in violent resistance. Martin (2011) states that during the First Intifada, some women took up arms to help assist in confrontations with Israeli soldiers. However, the most notable violence women participated in was female suicide bombing. During the Second Intifada, the media paid particular attention to female suicide bombers (Berko and Erez 2007; Naaman 2007; Kirk 2022). Various women participated as female suicide bombers as weapons of the liberation movement but also to challenge the male-dominated resistance leadership and the PA (Naaman 2007; Berko and Erez 2007). In the West, news outlets were fascinated by female suicide bombers as they speculated on why women would decide to commit violence. This ties back to gender roles and assertions that women are "naturally" peaceful and less violent. Still, these women defied the norms. However, they were still framed as mothers, wives, and other caregivers like nurses (Kirk 2022). Occasionally, women were treated as martyrs, but to feminise their non-traditional gender behaviour, they were titled as brides, and "men would come to the mourning house and perform symbolic weddings to the shaheeda [martyr]" (Naaman 2007, 945). Kirk (2022) notes that British media outlets would fixate on the past of these female suicide bombers to identify individual trauma or external patriarchal pressures that pushed these women to commit these crimes. Yet, many of these news outlets would not mention the effects of the occupation on the everyday lives of Palestinian women before the suicide bombing.

Female suicide bombers were denied a voice in media coverage. Western media assumed that these women were victims of male pressure and Islamic jihadism rhetoric, which cast them into passive and submissive roles (Naaman 2007). Not many Western media outlets acknowledged the tapes left by these female suicide bombers documenting the reasons and voices (Naaman 2007; Kirk 2022). Many of these tapes included women criticising male-dominated liberation leadership as well as wanting to achieve martyrdom, which was usually reserved only for men. Hence, regardless of the type of liberation participation and documentation of women's actions and voices, Western news media would frame Palestinian women as passive and oppressed by the liberation movement instead of inquiring into why and how women would participate in the liberation movement (Naaman 2007; Allen 2009; Kirk 2022).

Despite women's participation in the Second Intifada, Palestinian women's liberation participation was reduced due to mobility restrictions placed by the Oslo Accords. With the increase in militarisation of the Second Intifada and the enforcement of gender roles, women were pulled back into the private sphere (Johnson and Kuttab 2001). Also, checkpoints were established to monitor the movement of Palestinians in and out of the oPt. As noted by Johnson and Kuttab (2001) and Baldi (2018), many Palestinian women were unemployed (due to both Israeli political violence and a general fear of violence), and men were more likely to work outside of Palestine. Additionally, women have reported being harassed at checkpoints by Israeli personnel. Madar (2023) states that women are more likely to be sexually harassed and experience sextortion at checkpoints, and Al Issa and Beck (2021) state that Palestinian women often experience sexual harassment and assault when visiting relatives in prison. Thus, women have been motivated to avoid checkpoints to protect the family's honour and prevent community damage (as previously explained). Furthermore, checkpoints were sites for confrontation between Israeli soldiers and personnel with Palestinians and often violence (Mall Dibiasi 2015). Therefore, women avoided traversing different areas of the oPt to avoid being sexually harassed as well as caught in violent confrontations, which inhibited their mobility and participation.

However, the Second Intifada brought violence into the private sphere, which acutely affected Palestinian women (Sharoni 1994; Abu Dayyeh Shamas 2001; Meade 2011; Mall Dibiasi 2015). With increased Israeli military presence and more controls set up by the PA and the Israeli government, violence was occurring within the oPt. Academics highlight that incidents of Israeli house raids and Israeli violence against Palestinians in their homes increased

(Meade 2011; Mall Dibiasi 2015). Sharoni (1994) highlights a case where an Israeli soldier shot a 17-year-old Palestinian girl in the head when she was reading a book on her home veranda.

In addition, there has been an increased illegal expansion of Israeli settlements into the oPt since the Oslo Accords (Meade 2011; Mall Dibiasi 2015). This has led to the forced evictions of Palestinian families from their homes as well as an increase in the demolition of illegal Palestinian homes. As previously mentioned, Meade (2011) has noted a pattern has been identified with home demolitions where Israeli soldiers have purposefully left removal papers in the dead of night on Palestinian doorsteps but shown up to demolish houses specifically after men have left for work. Therefore, the private sphere became a physical and symbolic battleground during the Second Intifada, and this resulted in Palestinian women experiencing violence within the oPt instead of at the borders with Israel.

Palestinian Women's Voices Outside of Non-violent and Violent Resistance

Palestinian women have used non-traditional forms of communication to articulate their experiences of the occupation. There is a rich literary history of Palestinians and Palestinian women using prose and poetry to convey messages and explore themes of violence and occupation that affect their everyday lives (Ashrawi 1978; Ram 2009; Khoury, Dana, and Falah 2013; Olwan 2018). Also, films have offered a space for Middle Easterners, including Palestinians, to critique systems of power and comment on the everyday lives of marginalised people. Most recently, the internet has allowed Palestinian women a voice online. Olwan (2018) highlights that the internet has provided Palestinian women and girls a space to describe their lives, passions, struggles, and daily lives within occupied Palestine. Personal blogs and social media posts allow netizens to interact and engage with Palestinian women across borders. Digital journalists like the WizardBisan have been instrumental in documenting violence committed against Palestinians and organising international boycotts against the Israeli government (Arafat 2023; Al Jazeera 2024). Although the scope of this thesis does not analyse literary, film, and social media narratives of Palestinian women, it is important to highlight that Palestinian women have historically used various forms of media to assert their agency, but this has not always been acknowledged in news media in general.

It is clear from the above literature that Orientalism and feminism influence media written about Palestinian women. The themes common in journal articles, reports and academic books are West versus East, gender, violence, religion, destruction, family, nationalism,

statehood and liberation, and the concept of family. Academic work from scholars like Said (1977; 1997; 1998) and Mohanty (1991a; 1991b) identify Orientalism and Western feminism as responsible for media framings about the Middle East and Global South people, including Palestinian women. Moreover, their work proposes that Middle Eastern women are positioned as inferior due to their association with Islam and the "supposed" oppression of Islam. Hence, Orientalist and Western feminist media framings of Middle Eastern women suggest that they require Western intervention to save them from backwards Middle Eastern culture and Islamic ideals, which contribute to media narratives. Thus, this thesis will analyse media portrayals of Palestinian women by identifying how they are framed and when these framings appear in media narratives.

The theme of gender touches on nearly every theme identified in the above literature. Gender influences the relationship between women and power, women's agency, power, position, and mobility within the public and private spheres, and how they are framed in media narratives. The work of Connell (1994), Boehemer (2005), and Bernau (2007) highlights the significance of gender in our understanding of power and the female body as an inherently political landscape. Literature from scholars like Sharoni (1994), Kawar (1996), Abu Dayyeh Shamas (2001), Johnson and Kuttab (2001), Meade (2011), Mall Dibiasi (2015), Baldi (2018) and others highlight women's oppression under both Palestinian society as well as the Israeli occupation and how it impacts their gendered roles like motherhood, their public status, as well as their leadership and agency in media narratives. For example, the concept of honour and religion affects how Palestinian women are valued and behave publicly, as well as the violence they experience (Sharoni 1994; Kawar 1996; Abu Dayyeh Shamas 2001; Holt 2003; Baldi 2018; Madar 2023).

Explorations of nationalism, statehood, and liberation in the work of Pope (1993), Kawar (1996), Jacoby (1997), Jaber (2020), and Kayali (2021) highlight public and media narratives about who symbolised in the liberation movement as well as the impacts of women's leadership and mobilisation throughout the history of the Palestinian liberation movement and the Intifadas. Work from Pope (1993), Kawar (1996), Jaber (2020), and Kayali (2021) underscore the impact of women's leadership in non-violent resistance. At the same time, scholars like Naaman (2007) and Kirk (2022) emphasise the impact of female suicide bombing in the liberation movement, as well as how Palestinian women are framed within Western media. Additionally, the focus on family and gender roles, as well as the destruction of social and familial stability through Israeli violence, also influences how the ideal gender and

leadership roles of the liberation movement are constructed and maintained in its pursuit of Palestinian statehood (Sharoni 1994; Johnson and Kuttab 2001; Holt 2003; ; Rought-Brooks, Duaibis and Hussein 2010; Meade 2011; Baldi 2018; Madar 2023).

Hence, the themes of gender, violence, family, destruction, religion, nationalism, statehood, and liberation will be used alongside the codes identified with thematic analysis in the data representation section to analyse how Palestinian women are depicted in print news media.

Methodology

Since my study is textual and draws from documents, my primary and secondary sources constitute most of my data. Hence, my methodology mainly consists of interpretative and readily available strategies.

Janks's Critical Literacy Framework

Critical Literacy is a theoretical framework with a concomitant methodology that has been designed and proposed by Hillary Janks, among others. It has roots in critical discourse analysis, which is a framework and methodology that determines who is included and excluded in the meanings and constructions of language and who has access to and power to those depictions. Drawing from sociologists like Michael Foucault and Norman Fairclough's framework of *Critical Discourse Analysis,* Janks creates a framework which can be used to analyse how language reinforces, maintains, or critiques power as well as how language is used to convey messages to media audiences (Fairclough 1992). Janks and Fairclough, who apply slightly different but related analysis systems, aim to empower individuals to recognise and challenge social inequalities and power relations embedded in texts like news media (Fairclough 1992; Janks 2010; 2014). However, Janks goes a step further and proposes that critical Literacy can be used by educators to identify and address the aspects of accessibility, design, diversity, and power to confront and overcome the challenges of inequality, instability, and sustainability in academic language curricula (Janks 2010; 2014).

Critical Literacy ensures a pragmatic approach to reading text. It posits that social practices and values in language construct meanings, and meaning is not absolute, intrinsic, and objective within language. This framework can be applied to a vast range of textual and visual media, including print news media from media companies like the *New York Times (NYT)* and

Al Jazeera, making it appropriate for this thesis. Moreover, it can identify how discourses are presented in media content and how they affect audiences' understanding of news. Discourses can draw on the notions and constructions of identity, the other, stereotypes, rhetoric, socio-political hierarchies, and power systems. Janks' (2010; 2014) framework can decipher the relationships between media content and the audience and how discourses are present in media content. Thus, the framework of Critical Literacy can identify how print news media content portrays, positions, and frames Palestinian women's experiences of VAWG in the Intifadas.

This theoretical framework, whilst it emerged in the disciplines of education and the humanities, is relevant to research questions in social sciences such as International Relations even though Janks (2010; 2014) and Fairclough (1992) predominantly use critical Literacy to focus on teaching, language and curricula. It could be argued that critical media studies models like Scheufele and Tewksbury's (2007) priming, agenda-setting, and framing models and Chomsky and Herman's propaganda model (1988) could be more appropriate in assessing news media. However, these models tend to focus on the economic and political factors that influence media production and processing in addition to assessing the content present in sampled media. This focus on media production makes them slightly limited in conducting a more detailed analysis of the end media product and relationships between the media, the audience, and discourses of power. As they are more generalised and less narrative-oriented, they tend to overlook how systems of social-political power influence media depiction and messaging. However, Critical Literacy is committed to analysing textual portrayals of power relations, socio-political structures, biases, and stereotypes in media framings and content; such discursive analysis is paramount to this thesis.

The critical literacy framework is made up of four components: power (which includes language and discourse), diversity, access, and (re)design (Janks 2010; 2014). However, an adjusted form of this framework and method will be used in conjunction with thematic analysis. Adjustments are necessary because one of Janks's components, namely, (re)design, has a more curricular orientation. Her categories of power, diversity, and access will be foregrounded. Nevertheless, this study could be used to redesign International Relations curricula, but that is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Power

Janks (2014, 5) underlines that power matters to people who have it and people who do not. Systems and institutions of power create "unequal relation[s] of power", and these inequalities

affect who has influence, is valued, and is considered inferior. This understanding of power is directly linked to Said's (1977; 1997; 1998) concept of Orientalism, the power imbalances between the East and the West, and feminist theories that analyse the unequal distribution of power in gender hierarchies. Moreover, Janks states that people can consent to and support rhetoric (which can be enforced by social, political, religious, and media structures), which can be used to justify and maintain their lack of access to power. This allows those in power to maintain the status quo and frame socio-political inequalities and hierarchies as natural and inevitable. This power hierarchy connects with Gramsci's concept of hegemony and power (Bates 1975). Therefore, Janks' framework draws upon Orientalist, feminist, and hegemony-related theories' understandings of the relations of power. This makes it an appropriate framework to identify how different types of power and hierarchies inform the manifold oppression of Palestinian women and how it can be located in textual news media.

Additionally, Jank's framework outlines how language can give power to specific groups of people. This power can affect who has a voice, who has agency, and who is identified, portrayed, and heard in news media (Janks 2010; 2014). Specific identities can be given power, and those who differ from those with power can affect attitudes to difference and the languages associated with it. However, language can also challenge power, as being critical of language can challenge dominant meanings of power and opt for change. Thus, language can support and maintain power inequalities and challenge and liberate people from oppression. Therefore, Critical Literacy can highlight or challenge power inequalities present within language and texts and, by extension, news media narratives.

Discourse is another important angle of Janks' concept of power. Janks (2010; 2014) reiterates that discourse analysis acknowledges how we use language to construct our world in empowered or disempowered ways and to construct our understanding of ourselves and others. Moreover, discourse can be subconsciously absorbed into socio-political structures and hierarchies of power. There are clear connections between Jank's concept of discourse and other critical discourses like Said's (1977) *Orientalism*, feminist critiques of gender hierarchy and bio-essentialism, and Mohanty's (1991a; 1991b) critique of Western feminism (Duley and Edwards 1986; Mohanty, Russo, and Torres 1991; Boehmer 2005). Furthermore, discourse analysis can highlight the language present in print news media to identify constructions of identity and us-versus-them dynamics in news stories about the Middle East. For example, it can be used to ascertain which news outlets use the term 'terrorist' to label people from the Middle East. Hence, discourse can identify how language is used in print news media to

construct and reinforce ideas about our reality, the other, and the marginalised Palestinian woman.

The concept of power is divided into aspects of how power is articulated and framed with texts. There are five textual operations of power: legitimate, conceal, unify, fragment, and "thingify" (Janks 2014). The operation of 'legitimates' determines how something is represented and if it is worthy of support. 'Conceal' is the operation that attempts to hide or disguise the working of power, like leaving out critical information, telling half-truths, and using euphemisms and figures of speech to frame a news story in a particular light. For example, it can be used to analyse how the West has framed itself as a victim of Orientalist aggression or using the "civilising" mission to justify imperialism and subordination of Middle Easterners. "Unify'' is the operation that brings people together by creating a collective identity, symbols of unity, and standards which connect to statehood, martyrdom, and the Palestinian identity. Conversely, 'fragmentation' creates the division of people by emphasising the differences between people and the construction of us versus them binaries. Finally, 'thingify' is where actions are turned into state affairs. This results in verbs being replaced by nouns, using passive voice, and making "something seem natural" instead of a part of history, such as labelling violent confrontations as random outbursts rather than contextualising them. These operations can analyse how a text frames news events.

Diversity

Critical Literacy's concept of diversity acknowledges that there are different ways of being, but people of different identities, communities, and backgrounds will have different languages and social conventions. It also highlights that these differences result in various socialisation rules, understandings of identities, and insights into ethical beliefs about values and acceptable behaviours (Janks 2010; 2014). When people encounter communities, identities, and backgrounds that differ from their own, there are opportunities to learn more types and modes of language and to expand on their knowledge, which can result in hybrid identities. Conversely, some people conceive that those who are different to them are a threat to their identities, which can create othering and the construction of power hierarchies and us-versus-them dichotomies similar to those explored in *Orientalism* and feminist academic canon (Janks 2010; 2014). Moreover, people who have mastered the power of language can gain access to power and influence it. This is relevant to understanding the different depictions of Palestinian women during the Intifadas.

Access

Access refers to who has access to language, knowledge, and power. It also asks questions about what language and knowledge are valuable within socio-political and state structures. However, this aspect of Janks' (2010; 2014) framework specifically connects to how curricula and education affect access to language, knowledge, and power. Nevertheless, access can affect how we learn and how we are taught. This can translate into how narratives and social values are conveyed through media to uphold power hierarchies. Furthermore, access can identify expressions of agency. Therefore, access can identify voices and omissions and evaluate which narratives about the Middle East and Palestinian women are adopted in the media.

(Re)Design

Design could refer to shaping texts and choosing words to convey meaning rather than focusing on the imperative of reshaping curricula. It includes visual elements like size, font, movement, shape, sound, and images, which impact how symbols and meanings are interpreted, shaping knowledge and narratives (Janks 2010; 2014). I have not analysed visual portrayals of Palestinian women due to my focus on print news media. Redesign involves transforming how we read texts by deconstructing and reconstructing them to enhance our understanding of ourselves, others, and global narratives. This potential transformation strives to identify and challenge power structures exhibited in texts, making them more equitable, diverse, and accessible. Part of Janks' (2010; 2014) framework, (Re)Design examines how words shape narratives and how alternative narratives can empower marginalised voices, fostering inclusivity in socio-political and cultural contexts. It also focuses on the necessary reformulation of curricula and reframing power. However, this element will not be explored in this thesis's data presentation and analysis sections.

Thematic Analysis

This thesis will use thematic analysis as a methodology to analyse collected textual data from print news articles. Thematic analysis is ideal because it provides and complements flexible qualitative data analysis, which will assist in systematically identifying, organising and assessing patterns and themes that will come up in the sampled data (Braun and Clarke 2012). The forthcoming data presentation and analysis sections will enumerate the specific themes (gender, violence, nationalism, statehood and liberation, family, destruction, and religion) and patterns from the sampled articles to identify and explain data codes and underlying biases and

stereotypes. Utilising this methodology can extrapolate and group similar patterns in textual codes, analyse media framings and hidden meanings and clarify what is absent in these narrative depictions. Also, through the categorisation process, broad themes and their codes (specified in the data collection section) can be sorted under the components of the adjusted critical literacy framework below that will be used as a theoretical framework.

Moreover, this methodology allows thematic data to be analysed to identify semantic meanings and discover implied meanings in the collected data, such as narratives of agency (Braun and Clarke 2012). This method allows for deductive research through data coding, which draws upon the keywords and phrases used in secondary sources to collect data and codes that arise in the text constructions and language used in the sampled articles. Furthermore, data coding informs and assesses the data presentation and analysis, which will be explored later in this thesis (Braun and Clarke 2012).

The adjusted framework

This thesis uses an adjusted form of Jank's framework and method and thematic analysis to identify themes and patterns in news media's narrative depictions of Palestinian women and identify what these narrative depictions permit and omit in print media. This adjustment ensures that print news content is analysed rather than concentrating on how it can be reformulated within curricula. Janks' category of power highlights how language in print news narratives is used to create and maintain a reinforcement of ideologies such as Orientalism and sexism (Janks 2010; 2014; Loza 2022). For example, elements of language such as the construction of voice and viewpoint and textual evidence of inclusion and omission might impact readers' responses (Janks 2010; 2014; Loza 2022).

Data collection

Primary sources

For this thesis, I am adopting a qualitative and interpretative approach to understanding the textual depictions of Palestinian women in print news media. To collect adequate primary data for the analysis and interpretation of the case studies of this thesis, news media from *The New York Times (NYT)* and *Al Jazeera* will be used to find media content that depicts or discusses Palestinian women and their experiences of violence in conflict zones. These news companies have been selected for numerous reasons. Firstly, both of these news companies serve as agencies of depiction. Additionally, they can represent regional and international perspectives

and leaders in distributing and commenting on news events globally. Secondly, these agencies have opposing biases as *NYT* has a Western and pro-Israel bias, whereas *Al Jazeera* has a somewhat more patriarchal and pro-Palestine bias. Furthermore, both news companies hold narrative power as the *NYT* is a well-established and respected US news agency and can be considered as a key opinion maker (see media coverage of Palestinian children article), whereas *Al Jazeera* is mainly a satellite news channel but still has published print media articles amongst other forms of media, and is considered to be the regional Arab newsmaker and commentator. This is not to say that other news companies like *The Washington Post* or *Arab News* are also not valuable sources to analyse or that these news companies are not key opinion makers. The *NYT* and A*l Jazeera* were selected to limit the sampling and scope of this thesis and allow for a qualitative comparative analysis structure of the First and Second Intifadas as case studies.

Sampling

News media articles considered for sampling included the following content: i. Mentions of Palestinian women, ii. References to the first or Second Intifada or both simultaneously, and iii. references to the outlined types of VAWG experienced by Palestinian women. The chosen sampling method is relevance sampling, which "aims at selecting all textual units that contribute to answering given research questions" (Krippendorff 2004, 122). For this thesis, significant events/cruxes highlighted in the literature and media were used to guide the sampling of articles. These cruxes found in the literature included incidents of incitement, key protests, violent confrontations, military operations, mass home invasions and demolitions, arrests or deaths of prominent individuals, heightened points of tension between Israeli and Palestinian government structures, and notable accounts of violence against civilians.

Case Study Selection

This thesis utilises the timeframes of the First Intifada and the Second Intifada as case studies. This comparison particularly beneficial because it addresses complex qualitative themes and patterns rather than variable-oriented comparisons (Wagemann and Schneider 2010). It can manage multifaceted scenarios and complex themes without reducing them to simple either/or causality. This method is appropriate for examining the narrative depictions of Palestinian women and their experiences of different types of VAWG in the First and Second Intifadas. Thus, case studies can ensure the achievement of a balanced, complete, and nuanced

understanding of narrative media depictions of Palestinian women and their experiences of VAWG in times of conflict.

Using the First and Second Palestinian Intifadas as case studies is advantageous because both conflicts occurred in the same geographic location but differed in the intensity of conflict violence and the ways women participated in Palestinian resistance and experienced VAWG. The First Intifada engaged in more pragmatic, non-violent ways of protest and resistance. In contrast, the Second Intifada saw the rise and prevalence of militant groups, suicide bombing, and female suicide bombers (Al Kayyali 1978; Kawar 1996; Farsoun and Zacharia 1997; Johnson and Kuttab 2001; Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2004; Al-Ghadiry 2006; Mall Dibiasi 2015; Jaber 2020; Kayali 2021). These differences provide a rich context for comparison, as women's related yet distinct experiences in the two Intifadas highlight different aspects of agency and VAWG.

This comparative approach facilitates an in-depth exploration of print news media narratives surrounding Palestinian women and their conflict experiences. It pairs effectively with thematic analysis and critical Literacy (and, by extension, critical discourse analysis), enabling a thorough examination of how these narratives evolved from the First Intifada (December 1987 - September 1993) to the Second Intifada (September 2000 - February 2005) as well as different narratives explored in retrospective articles about the Intifadas (Fairclough 1992; Braun and Clarke 2012; Janks 2010; 2014). Using these periods, we can limit our data collection and identify similarities, differences, and potential narrative evolutions in the narrative depictions in sampled articles from NYT and Al Jazeera. Also, it assists in flagging and analysing textual characteristics within these media narratives to see if they point to disparities in narrative depictions and potential stereotypes or biases in print news coverage.

When news media companies attempt to comment on the Middle East, the coverage of conflicts often emphasises the portrayal of women. Sometimes, print conflict coverage does not comment on women at all. This trend ties back to the broader context of media portrayals of the “War on Terror” in other Middle Eastern countries and other past Middle Eastern conflicts (Badran 1985; Hunt 2002; 2008). Therefore, these case studies are appropriate for exploring how print news media depicts Palestinian women and their experiences of conflict and VAWG. Therefore, this analysis will help uncover media narratives, disparities in women’s representation, stereotypes and biases in media coverage, and their influence on international perceptions of Middle Eastern conflicts.

Data Collection via Relevant Articles

Keywords and phrases like “Palestinian women”, “violence against women and girls”, “violence against Palestinian women and girls”, “women and girls in the intifada”, “violence of the Intifadas”, “gender-based violence of Palestinian women”, “Palestinian women and motherhood”, “views of Palestinian women”, and “Palestinian women and destruction” were used to search for information and relevant documents in newspaper and magazine media catalogues of the *NYT* and *Al Jazeera*. However, it should be noted that keywords were broaden to optimize the *NYT* search engine to locate more articles. Similarly, the top 100 result/ first couple of pages of results that appeared using the search engine were considered for sampling.

Furthermore, catalogue date range tools have been used to identify and sample relevant articles published during and after the Intifadas. For the *NYT* catalogue search engine, time range tool were used to locate top articles publish during the duration of both Intifadas (start of 1987- end of 1993 for the First Intifada and the start of 2000 to the end of 2005 for the Second Intifada) along with the discussed keywords to sample articles. For *Al Jazeera*, as it did not exist during the First Intifada, any retrospective article that directly made reference to the First Intifada were considered for sampling. Similarly to the *NYT*, the same time frame for Second Intifada was used to locate published articles on violence during the Second Intifada. These timeframes helped contain and shape the data collection and minimise the influence of narrative depictions from current and previous conflicts in Palestine. The data will also not be comprehensively compared to media depictions from other Middle Eastern conflicts like the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq or the current war in Gaza. However, they will reference academic articles and analyses that point out trends in depictions of Palestinian women.

It is noteworthy that there were difficulties in sampling and collecting articles from the *NYT* database. Despite using catalogue dating tools and the *NYT* search engine, articles that mentioned women, even peripherally, were challenging to locate. As explained later in footnote number nine, it seems that the *NYT* has a blind spot on Palestinian women. A comparative search using the *NYT* archives revealed that there is more *NYT* media coverage of Afghan, Iraqi, Iranian, Saudi, and Syrian women’s leadership and activism than coverage of Palestinian women. When Palestinian women appear in *NYT* articles, they are often marginalised, unnamed, or portrayed only in relation to militant men. The *NYT* largely overlooks systemic violence against Palestinian women, which may reflect US foreign policy biases at the time or an Orientalist framing of Palestinians. In contrast, *Al Jazeera* consistently foregrounds Palestinian women, their leadership, and their experiences of violence with easily accessible

articles discussing their roles in resistance movements. This contrast underscores a significant gap in how Palestinian women's stories are represented in Western media versus regional outlets.

Secondary sources and literature

My literature review has consulted secondary sources like academic articles, journal articles, books, and book chapters to provide an adequate analytical basis for this thesis. These sources assist in evaluating previous trends in depictions of Middle Eastern people and Middle Eastern women in print news media, specifically Palestinian women.

Notably, many of these secondary sources identified and categorised themes in the depictions of Palestinians and Middle Eastern and Muslim women in media. In sources that generally discussed Palestinians, specifically "familial bonds", "destruction/rubble", "violence from the Israeli military, civil personnel, and Israeli settlers", and "the presence of Islam" were highlighted. Similarly, the themes of "motherhood", "sisterhood", "veiling/unveiling", "women and destruction/rubble", "Muslim women and gender-based violence", and "Muslim women's gender and sexual suppression" were identified by the authors in their studies (Bonner et al. 1992; MacDonald 2006; (Lee-Koo 2007; Kassem 2011)Khodary, Salah, and Mohsen 2020; Kirk 2022). A number of these themes were used as a guide to thematically analyse and categorise prominent themes in the sampled articles.

Gender studies literature, in academic articles and books, was consulted for this thesis. Journal articles and book chapters that discuss gender differences and the connections between the female body and the body politic and International Relations contextualise the socio-political status of third-world/ global South women, including Palestinian women. These sources have been used to identify how depictions of Middle Eastern women are connected to media narratives, gender and Orientalist stereotypes, and biases in regional and international print news media, which aids in contextualising the general perceptions about and depictions of Palestinian women (Shepherd 2010). Moreover, secondary sources which focus on Palestinian women and spotlight VAWG, its depictions, and experiences of the Intifadas, as well as identify how Palestinian women participated and were depicted in the Intifada, were consulted to provide background to the socio-political context of Palestinian women during the Intifadas (and the Oslo Peace Process period) and the media coverage landscape.

Together, these sources have helped inform my use of a theoretical framework and methodology for identifying different forms of stereotyping through relevance sampling, QCA,

and aspects of thematic analysis. Hence, the above literature will form a firm basis for this paper to conduct a thematic analysis of how Palestinian women and their experiences in conflict are depicted in news media.

Data Presentation[8]

Before identifying and exploring the themes and codes present in the sampled articles, this section will outline them. My codification of the themes and commonalities will help group

[8] Before diving into the data presentation, article sampling issues should be noted. In general, articles discussing Palestinian women were difficult to identify in the *NYT* article search engine. I widened my keyword and phrase search to more general terms like "violence during the Intifadas" and "Palestinian women" to sample more articles. Nevertheless, articles that mentioned Palestinian women, even peripherally, were few and far between. To ensure this was not a technical mistake, I did a preliminary search on media narratives about other Middle Eastern women during similar timeframes to the Intifadas. Interestingly, the search engine presented more articles which mentioned and centred on Afghan, Iraqi, Iranian, Saudi Arabian and Syrian women in contrast to Palestinian women. Articles discuss women's leadership in Middle Eastern women's organisations and government, as well as women's mobilisation to acknowledge and enshrine Afghan women's rights into laws (Bumiller 2003; Gall 2003). Moreover, articles that discuss other Middle Eastern conflicts and women's rights development interview women's rights leaders and are framed sympathetically to their views and protests (Ibrahim and Special to The New York Times 1990; Waldman and Gall 2003). For example, in the article "Iranian Accepts Nobel Peace Prize and Criticises the West", differing women's rights activist opinions are highlighted within the same article (Smith 2003).

The precursory search revealed that the *NYT* has a history of acknowledging Middle Eastern women's agency and leadership positions. However, there is a gap in acknowledging Palestinian women's leadership and women's rights issues in media narratives. In the sampled articles, Palestinian women were mentioned infrequently in Intifada narratives, often appearing in the periphery. When women are mentioned or interviewed, they are not prominently featured and are not always named. Palestinian women's leadership and mobilisation go unnoticed compared to other Middle Eastern women focused articles (Ibrahim and Special to The New York Times 1990; Bumiller 2003; Smith 2003; Waldman and Gall 2003). Notably, most sampled articles focused on Palestinian men and men's militancy with women in adjacent roles as supporters or family members. Articles by Rubin (2002) and Erlanger (2007), presented below, mention and feature interviews with Palestinian women; however, they tend to be relegated to the background of the articles. It is this very gap which validates the necessity of my research.

On the other hand, articles which discussed the oppression of other Middle Eastern women's rights, like the right to freedom of speech and domestic abuse, were located in the *NYT* database. Articles like "U.N. Finds That 25% of Married Syrian Women Have Been Beaten" highlight domestic violence committed against Syrian women (Zoepf 2006). Additionally, women like Ebadi acknowledge violations of human rights committed against Middle Eastern women by American and Israeli troops and allude to violence against women and incarcerated Middle Easterners (Smith 2003).

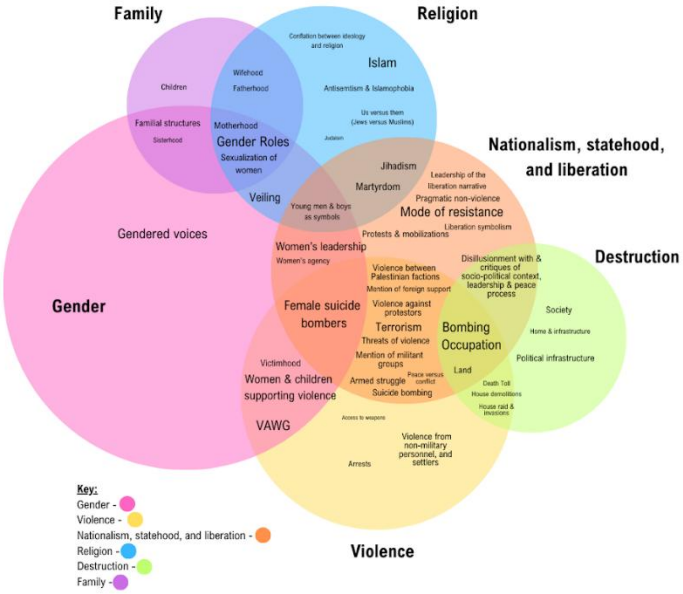
Besides "An Israeli Rights Group Fights for Palestinians" being the only sampled *NYT* article to actively identify human rights violations carried out by the IDF against Palestinians, the majority of sampled articles do not acknowledge systemic violence committed against Palestinians (Special to the New York Times 1990). The death of a bystander is occasionally identified, but there are omissions of VAWG (Special to the New York Times 1990). Nevertheless, the focus on Palestinian women, and the acknowledgement of the VAWG they face, is predominantly absent from *NYT* media narratives, which is a central finding of this thesis. Therefore, this absence of nuanced depictions of Palestinian women could suggest that *NYT* media narratives serve the habit of depicting Palestinians in an Orientalist manner as backward, bloodthirsty and in need of repression from Israeli forces. Moreover, this gap could point to the US foreign policy blindness to the local oppression of Palestinian women. This goes beyond my thesis scope but is important to acknowledge for further research.

Despite there being a few *NYT* articles that discussed Palestinian women in general, many discussed the Intifadas and violent clashes between militants and the IDF, the rise of support for militant groups like Hamas, and articles which explored the moral, ethical, and social corruptive forces of militarism on internal Palestinian stability. Some articles were sampled to paint a more accurate picture of *NYT's* portrayal of Palestinian women in the media (Kifner 1993; Rosenthal 1993; Special to the New York Times 1993). Therefore, to fully explore *NYT* media narratives about Palestinian women and the violence they faced, I had to sample articles that generally depicted Palestinians to inform and infer how *NYT* media narratives frame Palestinian women, specifically.

On the other hand, articles that focused on Palestinian women and their experiences of VAWG were found in abundance in the *Al Jazeera* online database. Al Jazeera articles foregrounded and mentioned women more frequently. Articles that discussed Palestinian women were easy to find using the proposed methodology. Using the catalogue search engine, articles that focused on the experiences of Palestinian women were much easier to

similar factors and interrelated themes in the data, as well as highlight the overlaps between them. These common elements in the data are defined below and then presented in Figure 1, a mind map of all the themes, codes and connections present in the sampled articles from both the *New York Times (NYT)* and *Al Jazeera*. Importantly, these will be used to pinpoint the extent to which they are present or absent in articles from the chosen media companies, in order to identify and explore significant comparisons. Connections between the codes and gender bias, stereotypes, and Orientalism will be explored in the later Analysis section.

Figure 1



The broad themes

- Gender: This theme refers to my focus on Palestinian women as well as to the gender of people spoken about or people interviewed in the collected articles, plus it refers to

find. Furthermore, article titles included references to women, their experiences, and their leadership in the Intifadas. This can be seen in titles such as "Women of the Intifadas", "How Palestinian women led successful non-violent resistance", and "Palestinian women: An untold story of leadership and resistance" (Khalel 2015; Gadzo 2018; El-Kurd 2018). Journalists interviewed various Palestinian women to discuss their experiences, or they described the actions of Palestinian women (many of the accounts referred to family members) in great detail (Khalel 2015; Gadzo 2018; El-Kurd 2018; Abusalama 2020). Even when articles mentioned the experiences of the Intifadas in general, articles like "Stories from the First Intifada: 'They broke my bones' " interviewed men and women, and journalist Sheren Khalel (2015) spoke to different generations of Palestinian women (Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017). Hence, there is a consistent pattern in the selected articles foregrounding women, their experiences, and their roles in the Intifadas. Therefore, all the sampled *Al Jazeera* articles mention Palestinian women and have links to violence or VAWG compared to *NYT's* often peripheral mention and constant absence of Palestinian women from media narratives.

cultural and political gender dynamics present in the Intifadas. For example, if the article refers to an individual by a specific gender, interviews a named or unnamed person and uses specific gendered pronouns, as well as groups of unidentified people or individuals by a specific gender, the theme of gender is interpreted as present. This focus consists of the codes of gender roles like motherhood and wifehood, gendered leadership such as mentions of men's and women's leadership, women's agency or lack thereof, sexualisation of women, veiling, and gendered voices. It encompasses all of the other themes and codes as the ideas and understandings of gender permeate narratives and ideas of nationalism, statehood, and liberation. Furthermore, gender plays a role in understanding religion and religious roles. It assists in assessing the roles women have played in non-violent and violent resistance – this includes non-violent protests as well as female suicide bombing.

- Violence: When violence is mentioned in an article, it refers to acts of aggression such as terrorism, suicide bombing (as well as its gendered dimensions), violence in the form of house raids, invasions and beatings, and Palestinian factional infighting. It includes the mentions of militants and their groups (within the occupied Palestinian territories and other neighbouring states) as well as their 'targeted arrest'; threats of violence (from armed Israelis or Palestinians); of "martyrdom' (through suicide bombing or being killed in confrontations). Mentions of violence from non-military personnel, and settlers; arrests and harm against protestors and bystanders are also included. The theme of violence also encompasses the media's broader understanding of peace and conflict (comments on the peace process as well as violent confrontations). The overlaps of these codes can be connected to nationalism, statehood, and liberation, modes of resistance to occupation and Israeli violence, and the gendered dimensions of participation in or victimhood of violence.
- Nationalism, statehood, and liberation: This composite theme refers to the mention of these main elements: mode of resistance (pragmatic non-violence versus armed struggle, including 'martyrdom' and suicide bombing); disillusionment with the peace process (including peace processes and the accords); Palestinian disillusionment with socio-political and economic instability ,Israeli control, and poverty in the territories. Critiques of the PA, the PLO, Arafat, and the Israeli government (especially in the context of the Second Intifada) are relevant to this grouping of themes. Leadership of the liberation narrative; and liberation symbolism (which relates to who is symbolized

as the face of the movement as well as to national ideals of family, society and state) are evident under this conceptual grouping, too. Some of the relevant sub-codes coincide with the theme of the family, below, (which, in turn, is shaped by liberation narratives) with the idea of hopelessness and futurelessness, and conversely with the mobilization against the occupation. Finally, the theme encompasses mentions of violence and its impacts, and its bearing on ideas of nationalism, statehood, and liberation.

- Family: This theme refers to familial relationships, roles, and structures that are mentioned in the articles. The main components that have been used to categorise the dimensions of this broad theme are motherhood, wifehood, sisterhood, children, and the family structure (its instability and the ideal family structure). Furthermore, this theme has connections to the themes of gender; destruction; violence; as well as nationalism, statehood and liberation. Specifically, the code of family overlaps with gender roles, the codes of the destruction of society, the family, and the home, and the code of violence against the family. Also, the notion of the ideal socio-political structure of the family relates to the notion of ideal narratives of nationalism, statehood, and liberation.
- Destruction: This theme refers to descriptions and implicit mentions of the degradation and disintegration of the home and public infrastructure (bombings and demolitions), society (this includes the overall socio-political and economic context of Palestinian society under Israeli occupation or Israeli society), land itself (physical destruction of land through bombings and shrinking of Palestinian territory through the land annexations, increasing presence of the Israeli military, and settlers), and the family (emotional, economic, and symbolic instability of family). Destruction connects to the idea of disillusionment with peace processes and with the lack of socio-political, gender-related and economic stability. Also, it connects with depictions of Palestinian resistance through violent and non-violent means.
- Religion: This theme encompasses mentions of religion within print news articles, specifically references to Islam and Judaism. It includes identifying individuals by religion, directly or through references to religious clothing and symbols. Furthermore, this theme also relates to mentions of religious concepts like “the holy land” or jihad. The three main codes of this theme are us-versus-them dichotomies (specifically Jews versus Muslims), similarly the conflation between ideology and religion (for example,

the conflation between jihad, armed struggle, and martyrdom), and the mention or intimation of antisemitism and islamophobia present within the print media. Although this theme does not overlap significantly with others, it remains highly impactful. The conflation between ideology and religion is linked to the theme of nationalism, statehood, and liberation as ideal narratives around the family and the state can stem from religious understanding. For example, Islam and Islamism and jihad have differing conceptions of socio-political structures (Paz 2003). Additionally, the theme of religion connects to the conflation of ideologies like jihad and martyrdom with Islam. There are instances where they are connected to violence as these ideologies affect how armed struggle and violence are carried out during the Intifadas, especially the Second one.

NYT Articles that mention Palestinian Women

"Palestinian Uprising Prompts Both Arabs and Jews to Leave" by Joel Brinkley, Special to The New York Times, published on August 29, 1989

This article explores the increasing trend and motivations of Israelis and Palestinians applying for visas to immigrate to other states. Motivations are linked to the effects of the Intifadas on both Israeli and Palestinian society. Brinkley (1989) details the socio-political climate (such as violence from the Palestinian uprising and Israeli settlers and the lack of economic opportunities) and the Intifada's impact on regular Palestinian and Israeli lives. This context is positioned as the reason behind the increase in both Israeli and Palestinian visa applications and immigration. Brinkley (1989) highlights the struggles Palestinians and Israelis face by conducting interviews of people waiting in the queue outside the American Embassy in Tel Aviv and the American Consulate in East Jerusalem. Interestingly, two Palestinian women (named and unnamed), two Palestinian men (named), three Israeli women (named), one Israeli man (unnamed), and numerous unnamed American officials were interviewed. Thus, the voices of Palestinian and Israeli women and men are present in this article.

Salma Fababji, a Palestinian woman, is interviewed and details her reason for leaving, which included the pressure on her family and lack of economic opportunities, stating that "I want to get them away from the Jews" (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times 1989). These factors allude to intifada violence and Israeli occupation. Towards the end of the article, a middle-aged woman is interviewed, and her family's motivation for applying for an immigration visa is to "...avoid being arrested or killed," underlining the threats of

violence Palestinians face from the IDF (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times 1989). Interviewee Mohammed Hamad says that "the Jewish extremists are always yelling at me, threatening me, cursing me," and he has experienced attacks from Israelis (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times 1989). These interviews underline that Palestinians apply for American visas to escape the violence of the Intifadas, the Israeli occupation, violence, and discrimination against Palestinians, seeking safety in a foreign country.

Consulate and embassy officials state an increase in Palestinians applying for visas, including more young men and poor Palestinian women applying for visas. Interestingly, Brinkley (1989) mentions that veiled Palestinian women outside the consulate often lack English language skills. Moreover, Palestinians are less likely to receive approval for visa applications due to lack of assets, lack of family overseas, marginal jobs and lack of sufficient experience with skilled labour. This is punctuated by the multiple interviewed Palestinians. Moreover, Brinkley (1989) mentions interviewees' failed applications. Hamad says that for his most recent visa application, he "brought money with me [him] to show that I do have assets here" and is described as holding a bag of $ 7,000 in cash.

Contrastingly, interviewed Israelis are immigrating due to unemployment and avoid being enlisted, alluding to the fact of avoiding conflict with Palestinians. Israeli interviewee Rachel Auerbach states, "We're [Israelis] doing duty in areas that don't belong to us…People are always pressured and nervous now" (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times 1989). Additionally, she is moving due to the lack of employment opportunities. Significantly, officials say that many Israelis who apply for tourist visas end up immigrating illegally to the US. Many Palestinians are refused visa applications due to illegal immigration suspicions by officials due to their lack of assets and the "exploitation" of familial ties to the US. However, Israeli "exploitation" of familial ties is not implied within the text. Both the article and officials assume that Israelis are more likely to be actual tourists than Palestinians. The following quotation emphasises this.

> *"If these [Palestinian] women have sons or daughters who are United States citizens, as many from the West Bank do, they are almost immediately eligible for green cards, which grant them permanent resident status. Thus, consulate officials say, they come to America, stay only as long as it takes - typically a few months - to get legal residence papers, and then they go home. After that, their other children, now the sons or daughters of a legal resident, are eligible for fast-track applications, too. It is a perfectly legal manipulation of the system, consulate officials say, and it is being*

exploited by West Bank Palestinians every day." - Brinkley and Special to The New York Times (1989)

Additionally, Brinkley (1989) briefly mentions the harassment of immigration and visa applicants. Some Israeli and Palestinian interviewees are heckled by peers on the street, calling them disgraceful for immigrating and not fighting for their country. This further emphasises Brinkley's (1989) statement that immigration is on the rise, but it is not a mass trend in both Palestinian and Israeli society. This is potentially linked to the general social disapproval of immigration.

Notably, there are brief mentions of the non-violent resistance and travel restrictions on Palestinians. Brinkley (1989) mentions that Palestinian non-violent resistance in the form of boycotts has negatively impacted the Israeli economy and that the restrictions on Palestinian movement have affected Israeli industries like construction, which rely on Arab labour to produce profits. This implies that Israeli job opportunities have been deeply affected by the Intifadas. There are inferences that the lack of Palestinian job opportunities is affected by Israeli travel restrictions as well as the general lack of economic activity, which has resulted in dissatisfaction with the occupation and the economic and socio-political context within Palestine.

Table 1

Codes	Present	Codes	Present
Women/girls present	Yes	Access to weapons mentioned (bombs, rifles, military equipment, etc?)	No
Palestinian women/girls mentioned	Yes	Violence between Palestinian militant factions mentioned	No
Palestinian women/girls interviewed	Yes	Arrests mentioned	No
Familial structures or gender roles mentioned (motherhood, wifehood, family, etc.)	Yes	Checkpoints/ military posts mentioned	No
Women's leadership/girls mentioned	No	Occupation of the oPt mentioned or alluded to	Yes
Woman's agency (actions, life, personal opinions, etc.)	Yes	Religion mentioned (religious identities, religious dress, Jew/Muslim as an identifier, etc.)	Yes
Violence is alluded to or mentioned (violence of the intifadas, military, Palestinian militants, bombing, etc.)	Yes	Veiling (and other religious dress) mentioned	Yes
VAWG mentioned explicitly	No	Terms like jihad, holy war, the koran, etc. mentioned explicitly	No
Violence and harassment against Palestinians mentioned (includes violence and harassment from IDF soldiers, settlers, and Israeli/Jewish extremists)	Yes	Holy land references	No

Suicide bombing mentioned	No	Martyrdom mentioned (both the concept and martyrs)	No
Female suicide bombers/bombings mentioned	No	Non-violent resistance is mentioned, including boycotts, peaceful protests and demonstrations, and organised communal support groups, etc.	Yes
Threats of violence mentioned (from the intifada(s), and both Israeli and Palestinian groups or power structures)	Yes	Disillusionment with and critiques of the socio-political context, leadership, and the peace process are mentioned, including critiques of the PLO and Arafat, the failure of the Oslo Accords and the peace process to protect citizens, and dissatisfaction with the economy and unemployment, among other issues.	Yes
Armed struggle/violent resistance mentioned explicitly	No	Palestinian leadership mentioned (this includes groups like the PLO, militant groups like Hamas, the PA, and specific leaders like Arafat)	No
Palestinians depicted as supporting violence	No	Liberation symbols mentioned (martyr posters, people as faces of the liberation movement, etc.)	No
Palestinian women depicted as supporting violence	No	Peace being possible mentioned	No

"An Israeli Rights Group Fights for Palestinians" by Special to The New York Times published on January 19, 1990

In this Special to The New York Times (1990), the work of the Israeli Human Rights Group, B'Tzelem[9], and its founder Dedi Zucker is detailed. Their objective is to record human rights violations against Palestinians like improper arrests, home demolishes, beatings, and deaths. Zucker states that human rights violations committed against Palestinians should be recorded as the Israeli military and army spokespeople cannot be the only source for violence reports. Moreover, democracy should be ensured and "No one should allow the state to be the only source of information. It should be checked and challenged" (Special to The New York Times 1990). He goes on to say that the military routinely minimizes abuses committed by soldiers and are recorded inaccurately or not at all. Later, it posits that army investigations tend to be tedious and "soldiers who are tried usually get light sentences or are quietly disciplined in military hearings" (Special to The New York Times 1990). However, critics posit that B'Tzelem is not a neutral organization as it does not record human rights violations committed by Israelis. Elyakim Haetzni, a Parliamentary member of the far right-wing Tehiya party, asserts that "B'Tzelem is playing into the hands of the enemy" (Special to The New York Times 1990). Nevertheless, Zucker infers that many Israelis have supported the organization and its volunteers and that it receives donations.

This article is unique as it mentions the harassment faced by Zucker, as well as examples of human rights violations committed by soldiers. His activism has led to backlash

[9] Occasionally, this organization is also spelt as B'Tselem.

from the right, and the general Israeli public tends to remain ignorant of Israeli abuses even if confronted with statistics and reports on Israeli indiscretions (Special to The New York Times 1990). Zucker has been harassed outside his home by angry Israelis who insinuated that he is a traitor and called for "Death to the Arabs" (Special to The New York Times 1990). In contrast, video footage of IDF soldiers shooting, without warning, to kill demonstrators is described. However, an army spokesperson reported that soldiers yelled warnings into the air and were instructed to fire at legs. Similarly, the article discusses how a charge against an army colonel who instructed his soldiers to break Palestinian men and women's hands was reversed. The human rights violations stand in contrast to media narratives set out by the Israeli government when discussing unlawful violence and violations of Palestinian human rights.

Table 2

Codes	Present	Codes	Present
Women/girls present	Yes	Access to weapons mentioned (bombs, rifles, military equipment, etc?)	No
Palestinian women/girls mentioned	Yes	Violence between Palestinian militant factions mentioned	No
Palestinian women/girls interviewed	No	Arrests mentioned	Yes
Familial structures or gender roles mentioned (motherhood, wifehood, family, etc.)	No	Checkpoints/ military posts mentioned	No
Women's leadership/girls mentioned	No	Occupation of the oPt mentioned or alluded to	Yes
Woman's agency (actions, life, personal opinions, etc.)	No	Religion mentioned (religious identities, religious dress, Jew/Muslim as an identifier, etc.)	No
Violence is alluded to or mentioned (violence of the intifadas, military, Palestinian militants, bombing, etc.)	Yes	Veiling (and other religious dress) mentioned	No
VAWG mentioned explicitly	Yes	Terms like jihad, holy war, the koran, etc. mentioned explicitly	No
Violence and harassment against Palestinians mentioned (includes violence and harassment from IDF soldiers, settlers, and Israeli/Jewish extremists)	Yes	Holy land references	No
Suicide bombing mentioned	No	Martyrdom mentioned (both the concept and martyrs)	No
Female suicide bombers/bombings mentioned	No	Non-violent resistance is mentioned, including boycotts, peaceful protests and demonstrations, and organised communal support groups, etc.	No
Threats of violence mentioned (from the intifada(s), and both Israeli and Palestinian groups or power structures)	Yes	Disillusionment with and critiques of the socio-political context, leadership, and the peace process are mentioned, including critiques of the PLO and Arafat, the failure of the Oslo Accords and the peace process to protect citizens, and dissatisfaction with the economy and unemployment, among other issues.	No
Armed struggle/violent resistance mentioned explicitly	No	Palestinian leadership mentioned (this includes groups like the PLO, militant groups like Hamas, the PA, and specific leaders like Arafat)	No

Palestinians depicted as supporting violence	No	Liberation symbols mentioned (martyr posters, people as faces of the liberation movement, etc.)	No
Palestinian women depicted as supporting violence	No	Peace being possible mentioned	No

"Israelis and Palestinians Prepare for a Long Struggle" by Clyde Haberman, published on August 18, 2001

Haberman (2001) examines rising Israeli-Palestinian tensions following failed negotiations, highlighting how both sides escalate violence while viewing the conflict through opposing lenses. Israelis justify security measures as a response to Palestinian violence, while Palestinians argue these measures fuel frustration, violence, and radicalisation. The article emphasises Israeli victimhood, detailing security fears and increased safety measures. For example, he comments that local Israelis, like owners of malls and coffee shops, have increased security, and Israelis have used the site of a bombed pizzeria as a shrine to the departed (Haberman 2001). Meanwhile, Palestinian deaths and humanitarian issues receive less attention. Haberman portrays Israeli military responses as necessary for security but gives little focus to Palestinian suffering or Israel's aggressive actions.

In the text, Israeli military strategists predict that the conflict could continue until 2006, leading to widespread anxiety in Israel and the oPt (Haberman 2001). Then President Ariel Sharon suggested that all possible scenarios involve a long-term struggle, causing Israelis to perceive prolonged conflict as a threat to security and economic stability, especially suicide bombing and attacks in public spaces and settlements (Haberman 2001). On the contrary, Palestinians see the conflict as an extension of suffering, restrictions, and occupation with more checkpoints, travel immobility, and a more militarised Israeli presence within Palestine. Also, Palestinians face economic hardship due to these movement restrictions, road closures, and difficulty in accessing basic needs. Thus, Palestinian leadership appealed to international bodies, like the UN, to seek intervention and reduce tensions.

Interestingly, there is a description of how military blockades have limited movement, with Palestinian vehicles not permitted on certain roads. Haberman (2001) highlights that Palestinians use derelict roads to avoid checkpoints. He emphasises, "Long lines of women and children walked through gullies" alongside these vehicles, underlining the restriction on Palestinian movement (Haberman 2001).

Table 3

Codes	Present	Codes	Present
Women/girls present	Yes	Access to weapons mentioned (bombs, rifles, military equipment, etc?)	Yes
Palestinian women/girls mentioned	Yes	Violence between Palestinian militant factions mentioned	No
Palestinian women/girls interviewed	No	Arrests mentioned	No
Familial structures or gender roles mentioned (motherhood, wifehood, family, etc.)	Yes	Checkpoints/ military posts mentioned	Yes
Women's leadership/girls mentioned	No	Occupation of the oPt mentioned or alluded to	Yes
Woman's agency (actions, life, personal opinions, etc.)	No	Religion mentioned (religious identities, religious dress, Jew/Muslim as an identifier, etc.)	Yes
Violence is alluded to or mentioned (violence of the intifadas, military, Palestinian militants, bombing, etc.)	Yes	Veiling (and other religious dress) mentioned	No
VAWG mentioned explicitly	No	Terms like jihad, holy war, the koran, etc. mentioned explicitly	No
Violence and harassment against Palestinians mentioned (includes violence and harassment from IDF soldiers, settlers, and Israeli/Jewish extremists)	No	Holy land references	No
Suicide bombing mentioned	Yes	Martyrdom mentioned (both the concept and martyrs)	No
Female suicide bombers/bombings mentioned	No	Non-violent resistance is mentioned, including boycotts, peaceful protests and demonstrations, and organised communal support groups, etc.	No
Threats of violence mentioned (from the intifada(s), and both Israeli and Palestinian groups or power structures)	Yes	Disillusionment with and critiques of the socio-political context, leadership, and the peace process are mentioned, including critiques of the PLO and Arafat, the failure of the Oslo Accords and the peace process to protect citizens, and dissatisfaction with the economy and unemployment, among other issues.	Yes
Armed struggle/violent resistance mentioned explicitly	Yes	Palestinian leadership mentioned (this includes groups like the PLO, militant groups like Hamas, the PA, and specific leaders like Arafat)	Yes
Palestinians depicted as supporting violence	Yes	Liberation symbols mentioned (martyr posters, people as faces of the liberation movement, etc.)	No
Palestinian women depicted as supporting violence	No	Peace being possible mentioned	No

"Israelis Declare Arab Woman Was in Fact a Suicide Bomber" by James Bennet published on February 9, 2002

Bennet (2002) discusses the first identified female suicide attack conducted by a Palestinian woman, Wafa Idris, on Jaffa Road in Jerusalem, a location of eight bombings and shootings. The reported explosion killed an old Israeli man and injured many others. The militant group, Aksa Martyrs Brigades, labelled her a martyr and claimed responsibility for the attack. However, her friends, family, and Israeli police are unsure of her motives (Bennet 2002). The Israeli police do not understand why Idris decided to blow herself up in the street instead of the

nearby shoe store, as it would have had more casualties. The police note that there has been a rise in women helping bombers and luring Israelis into traps. Also, it is suspected that there is an "intent of Palestinian militants to evade Israeli security and … [a] growing number and diversity of Palestinians willing to perform such missions" (Bennet 2002).

The article then goes on to describe Idris as an individual. She was 28, a "resident of the Amari refugee camp", a Palestinian Red Crescent Society volunteer, and a Fatah activist. Interestingly, Idris did not leave a note or video before the bombing, which is a common trend among suicide bombers (Bennet 2002). Nevertheless, Bennet (2002) interviews Rivka Reuven, a shoe salesman, who witnessed Idris examining merchandise before denoting herself outside the store. Reuven emotively describes "the bomber" holding a green bag slung over one shoulder and held in her hand. She is quoted saying that "her look was not from this earth… she was like a zombie, like she was drugged" (Bennet 2002). This information implies that Idris's motivations for the suicide bombing are unclear, and it is undetermined whether she is a willing participant.

Table 4

Codes	Present	Codes	Present
Women/girls present	Yes	Access to weapons mentioned (bombs, rifles, military equipment, etc?)	Yes
Palestinian women/girls mentioned	Yes	Violence between Palestinian militant factions mentioned	No
Palestinian women/girls interviewed	No	Arrests mentioned	No
Familial structures or gender roles mentioned (motherhood, wifehood, family, etc.)	Yes	Checkpoints/ military posts mentioned	No
Women's leadership/girls mentioned	No	Occupation of the oPt mentioned or alluded to	Yes
Woman's agency (actions, life, personal opinions, etc.)	Yes	Religion mentioned (religious identities, religious dress, Jew/Muslim as an identifier, etc.)	No
Violence is alluded to or mentioned (violence of the intifadas, military, Palestinian militants, bombing, etc.)	Yes	Veiling (and other religious dress) mentioned	No
VAWG mentioned explicitly	No	Terms like jihad, holy war, the koran, etc. mentioned explicitly	No
Violence and harassment against Palestinians mentioned (includes violence and harassment from IDF soldiers, settlers, and Israeli/Jewish extremists)	No	Holy land references	No
Suicide bombing mentioned	Yes	Martyrdom mentioned (both the concept and martyrs)	Yes
Female suicide bombers/bombings mentioned	Yes	Non-violent resistance is mentioned, including boycotts, peaceful protests and demonstrations, and organised communal support groups, etc.	No
Threats of violence mentioned (from the intifada(s), and both Israeli and	Yes	Disillusionment with and critiques of the socio-political context, leadership, and the peace process are mentioned, including critiques of the PLO and Arafat, the failure of	No

Palestinian groups or power structures)		the Oslo Accords and the peace process to protect citizens, and dissatisfaction with the economy and unemployment, among other issues.	
Armed struggle/violent resistance mentioned explicitly	Yes	Palestinian leadership mentioned (this includes groups like the PLO, militant groups like Hamas, the PA, and specific leaders like Arafat)	Yes
Palestinians depicted as supporting violence	Yes	Liberation symbols mentioned?(martyr posters, people as faces of the liberation movement, etc.)	No
Palestinian women depicted as supporting violence	Yes	Peace being possible mentioned	No

"The Most Wanted Palestinian" by Elizabeth Rubin, published on June 30, 2002

Elizabeth Rubin (2002) uses this narrative article to dive into the life of Qeis Adwan, a young and prominent Hamas activist, bomb designer, terrorist, suicide bombing organiser, and a figure who radicalised numerous students and other militants. Overall, the article uses Qeis's life to reflect on how similar individuals like Sheikh Jamal Abu al-Haija and Zaid Kilani are radicalised to carry out attacks, the Israeli response to militarism, and the subsequent suffering of Palestinians, particularly children (Rubin 2002). The psychological and societal consequences of prolonged conflict, including the normalisation of violence and the desire for revenge, are key takeaways.

The article starts with a detailed description of Qeis's assassination, the following shoot-out with soldiers and drones, and the attempted bulldozing of the safe house. Throughout the rest of the article, Rubin (2002) interviews friends and family of Qeis who fill in the details of his life beyond his reputation as a mastermind bomber engineer and suicide bombing planner. Multiple male family members, friends, militants, and religious leaders are interviewed, like Zaid and Jamal. Their beliefs and actions are also explored. Notably, Qeis's mother and five Palestinian women and girls who are mentioned are unnamed, but an Israeli woman, Angelica Francesca Yosefov, is highlighted for her complicity with Palestinian terrorist activities (Rubin 2002).

Family members and friends of Qeis are interviewed to gauge his personality and investigate the life of the most wanted man by the Israeli military (Rubin 2002). His brother, father, and mother detail both their surprise at his death and their disbelief at his radicalisation. Qeis's unnamed and veiled mother is interviewed and paints a picture of Qeis as a loving son who opposed violence and death, saying that "he was an angel in a human body…when he was young, he didn't even like to see insects die" (Rubin 2002). Nasser, Qeis's younger brother, retells an incident when a friend of his showed him evidence that the IDF wanted his brother.

When he confronted Qeis, he denied his involvement in terrorist and suicide bombing activities (Rubin 2002). This favourable depiction of Qeis juxtaposes the Shin Bet's officer's description, positioning him as having "no personal life whatsoever -- no wife, no interest in his family". The officer goes on to call him a "terror machine" and "lethal", contrasting him to militants who had families, were married, and seemingly had more normal lives. The officer goes on to justify Qeis's targeting by saying that "he was Hamas, and Hamas is a terror" (Rubin 2002). Thus, the details of Qeis's life and personality as a kind individual are contrasted by a stranger's description of his terrorist reputation.

Rubin (2002) describes the Palestine in which Qeis grew up. As a child, he regularly witnessed Intifadas confrontations between Israeli soldiers and young stone-throwing Palestinian men. There are mentions of Qeis growing up in a resistance area in which Israeli soldiers constantly invaded neighbours' homes. An aunt (who is not named nor directly interviewed) mentions that Qeis witnessed the IDF beat his then-teenage uncle. When he was a tween, he could be found pasting martyr posters on walls and hanging up Hamas flags (Rubin 2002). Nevertheless, Qeis was a high-achieving high school student and well-versed in Islamic studies. He followed the motto of Hamas, resulting in his being arrested by the Israeli military various times during high school and university for being a Hamas member. In university, Qeis witnessed Israeli soldiers kill a close friend and fellow Hamas activist at a checkpoint.

During a stint in an Israeli prison, Qeis met Sheikh Jamal Abu al-Haija, a Hamas leader who was instrumental in radicalising him, resulting in Qeis being enraged by the illegal detention of Palestinians without trial (Rubin 2002). Qeis believed that violent resistance, Islamism, and sacrifice were needed for Palestinian liberation. When Qeis left prison, he spread similar teachings to other "radical" university students, prisoners, and militants, galvanising them to take up similar beliefs. Additionally, his older brother, Ahmad, highlighted Qeis's discontentment with the peace process, Israeli travel restrictions, the loss of Palestinian land, and his admiration for martyrdom (Rubin 2002). It can be deduced that Rubin uses his background to express Qeis's potential motivations to adopt more radical beliefs and engage in terrorist activities.

Nevertheless, Rubin (2002) describes the IDF's responses to Palestinian terrorism, highlighting that Qeis's assassination was targeted even though he died alongside other men in the hideout house. Moreover, there are excerpts from Qeis's diary that describe university students clashing with armed Israeli soldiers who killed his peers. A friend of Qeis, Muhammad Hambali, remembers a Hamas Exhibition that criticised the occupation, detailing audio and

visual depictions of Nablus being stormed, followed by images of a young Palestinian girl crushed under the building rubble (Rubin 2002). More graphic images of torn up babies and of charred bodies emphasised the effects of Israeli violence. Nonetheless, the exhibition also included models of attack sights designed by Qeis and posters of suicide bombers, Hamas leaders, and Osama Bin Laden.

Later in the article, there are descriptions of demolished Palestinian homes and decorations in the dilapidated homes and camps. Rubin (2002) describes posters of controversial leaders like Saddam Hussein were hung up in these homes and tented camps. There is no direct mention of the martyr posters of regular Palestinians. Additionally, Rubin (2002) interviews Jamal in his home, emphasising his warmth and admiration for other militants. After their interview, his family home was attacked in the night by Israeli soldiers, military vehicles and tanks, destroying his home. His wife recounts her pleading with soldiers not to shoot at her children (Rubin 2002). Other militants are interviewed and describe their treatment in jail and their experiences of violence at the hands of the IDF.

However, Rubin (2002) implies that Israeli violence against Palestinians is an act of defence against terrorism and antisemitism. She highlights the targeted killing of Qeis but does not adequately acknowledge the death of the men in the house with him. In her interviews with other militants, quotes like “I went out onto the streets with a knife… I wanted to kill a Jew” and notes of former Muslim religious leaders who organised systematic killings of Jews (Rubin 2002). In contrast, Jamal is quoted saying, “We don’t like killing Jews, but Al Aqsa [an important holy site and mosque] is under Israeli occupation” (Rubin 2002).

Notably, Rubin (2002) observes that women and children are also being radicalised, describing a girl who desired to become a nuclear physicist to make bombs to blow up Western countries. The article ends with a sentiment from a Gazan psychiatrist who expresses his concern for the emotional development of children. The last line reads, “You only have to wait and see these children of today, what kind of horror they bring to the world” (Rubin 2002). Thus, the consistent reminders of radicalisation, Islamism, and conservatism amongst the youth in the public and private sphere and the impacts of violence suggest that Palestinians participate in armed resistance because of experiences of violence and a rise in conservatism.

Table 5

Codes	Present	Codes	Present
Women/girls present	Yes	Access to weapons mentioned (bombs, rifles, military equipment, etc?)	Yes
Palestinian women/girls mentioned	Yes	Violence between Palestinian militant factions mentioned	Yes
Palestinian women/girls interviewed	Yes	Arrests mentioned	Yes
Familial structures or gender roles mentioned (motherhood, wifehood, family, etc.)	Yes	Checkpoints/ military posts mentioned	Yes
Women's leadership/girls mentioned	No	Occupation of the oPt mentioned or alluded to	Yes
Woman's agency (actions, life, personal opinions, etc.)	No	Religion mentioned (religious identities, religious dress, Jew/Muslim as an identifier, etc.)	Yes
Violence is alluded to or mentioned (violence of the intifadas, military, Palestinian militants, bombing, etc.)	Yes	Veiling (and other religious dress) mentioned	Yes
VAWG mentioned explicitly	Yes	Terms like jihad, holy war, the koran, etc. mentioned explicitly	Yes
Violence and harassment against Palestinians mentioned (includes violence and harassment from IDF soldiers, settlers, and Israeli/Jewish extremists)	Yes	Holy land references	Yes
Suicide bombing mentioned	Yes	Martyrdom mentioned (both the concept and martyrs)	Yes
Female suicide bombers/bombings mentioned	No	Non-violent resistance is mentioned, including boycotts, peaceful protests and demonstrations, and organised communal support groups, etc.	Yes
Threats of violence mentioned (from the intifada(s), and both Israeli and Palestinian groups or power structures)	Yes	Disillusionment with and critiques of the socio-political context, leadership, and the peace process are mentioned, including critiques of the PLO and Arafat, the failure of the Oslo Accords and the peace process to protect citizens, and dissatisfaction with the economy and unemployment, among other issues.	Yes
Armed struggle/violent resistance mentioned explicitly	Yes	Palestinian leadership mentioned (this includes groups like the PLO, militant groups like Hamas, the PA, and specific leaders like Arafat)	Yes
Palestinians depicted as supporting violence	Yes	Liberation symbols mentioned (martyr posters, people as faces of the liberation movement, etc.)	Yes
Palestinian women depicted as supporting violence	Yes	Peace being possible mentioned	No

"Israeli Soldiers Kill 5 Palestinians, Including a Journalist" By Greg Myre on April 20, 2003

Myre (2003) describes a scene of Israeli tanks, armoured vehicles, and attack helicopters launching a large-scale nighttime raid in Rafah, a frequent conflict zone. When Israeli troops retreated, some Palestinians threw bombs, stones, and gunfire to attack a stationary and stuck tank; the Israeli troops returned fire. This operation targeted Palestinian militants, but at least five Palestinians, including a 15-year-old boy and a cameraman, were killed, and more than 35

were injured (Myre 2003). Additionally, Myre (2003) emphasises that Israeli forces carry out nightly raids aimed at apprehending militants and terrorists. Interestingly, it briefly notes that two women were arrested, one of whom is a suspected suicide bomber. No interviews were conducted in this article.

Both Palestinian militants and civilians were among the casualties. Myre (2003) reports that "the emergency room at Najar Hospital in Rafah was a scene of pandemonium" and contrasts this with an Israeli army report that soldiers faced gunfire and attacks but did not confirm Israeli casualties. Later in the article, Myre (2003) mentions that the IDF has killed five journalists in a year. He also mentions that Reuters footage shows an IDF soldier deliberately aiming and firing at the press, killing the Palestinian cameraman, Nazeh Darwaze.

Captivatingly, Myre (2003) intersperses descriptions of clashes and casualties by commenting on the political climate within Palestine. He notes tensions within the PA leadership, specifically between PA Prime Minister-designate Mahmoud Abbas and Arafat, and struggles to form the new government and PA cabinet. Arafat's insistence on remaining in control of the negotiations contributed to the delays in the presentation of the US-backed peace plan and Israel's boycott of Arafat, positioning him as a tyrannical leader (Myre 2003). This portrayal reinforces the internal Palestinian political dysfunction narrative, suggesting that leadership struggles hinder progress toward peace.

Table 6

Codes	Present	Codes	Present
Women/girls present	Yes	Access to weapons mentioned (bombs, rifles, military equipment, etc?)	Yes
Palestinian women/girls mentioned	Yes	Violence between Palestinian militant factions mentioned	Yes
Palestinian women/girls interviewed	No	Arrests mentioned	Yes
Familial structures or gender roles mentioned (motherhood, wifehood, family, etc.)	No	Checkpoints/ military posts mentioned	No
Women's leadership/girls mentioned	No	Occupation of the oPt mentioned or alluded to	Yes
Woman's agency (actions, life, personal opinions, etc.)	No	Religion mentioned (religious identities, religious dress, Jew/Muslim as an identifier, etc.)	No
Violence is alluded to or mentioned (violence of the intifadas, military, Palestinian militants, bombing, etc.)	Yes	Veiling (and other religious dress) mentioned	No
VAWG mentioned explicitly	No	Terms like jihad, holy war, the koran, etc. mentioned explicitly	No
Violence and harassment against Palestinians mentioned (includes violence and harassment from IDF	Yes	Holy land references	No

soldiers, settlers, and Israeli/Jewish extremists)			
Suicide bombing mentioned	Yes	Martyrdom mentioned (both the concept and martyrs)	No
Female suicide bombers/bombings mentioned	Yes	Non-violent resistance is mentioned, including boycotts, peaceful protests and demonstrations, and organised communal support groups, etc.	No
Threats of violence mentioned (from the intifada(s), and both Israeli and Palestinian groups or power structures)	No	Disillusionment with and critiques of the socio-political context, leadership, and the peace process are mentioned, including critiques of the PLO and Arafat, the failure of the Oslo Accords and the peace process to protect citizens, and dissatisfaction with the economy and unemployment, among other issues.	Yes
Armed struggle/violent resistance mentioned explicitly	Yes	Palestinian leadership mentioned (this includes groups like the PLO, militant groups like Hamas, the PA, and specific leaders like Arafat)	Yes
Palestinians depicted as supporting violence	Yes	Liberation symbols mentioned? (martyr posters, people as faces of the liberation movement, etc.)	No
Palestinian women depicted as supporting violence	No	Peace being possible mentioned	No

"THE MIDEAST TURMOIL: THE PALESTINIANS; At Gaza Funeral, Arab Anger Boils and Israel Tightens Checkpoints" by Frank Bruni, published on August 23, 2003

In this article, Bruni (2003) describes a funeral procession for the prominent Hamas leader, Ismail Abu Shanab. He describes Palestinians calling for violence due to Israel's targeted attacks against militant leaders. Bruni (2003) highlights escalating tensions by detailing the assassination of a leader by Israeli soldiers and citing witnesses who observed multiple Al Aksa Martyrs Brigades militants being killed in the attack. These examples of militant deaths, alongside descriptions of the funeral, emphasise the increased rallying around militant leaders as well as the prominence of support of militancy within Palestine.

Bruni (2003) paints a picture of the funeral procession by mentioning the estimated 10'000 attendees shouting revenge, "the sound of wailing women", young children waving large Hamas flags, vehicles covered in martyr posters of Mr Abu Shanab, uniformed militants carrying their faction flags, and attendees raising rifles. Furthermore, Bruni (2003) emphasises call-for-retaliation chants and speeches heard on loudspeakers, such as "Our one constitution is the Koran… the best ambition for us is to die as martyrs" and "They think that targeting leaders will stop jihad…they are mistaken". Additionally, Bruni describes jihad as a word for holy war yet does not entertain other meanings of the word, such as personal religious struggle (Ragionieri 2016).

Within the article, there are mentions of leaders from the PA, the Israeli government, and international leaders like President Bush commenting on the need to end terrorism and fight for peace (Bruni 2003). The article mentions that the Israeli government has reestablished checkpoints, hindering Palestinian mobility. Notably, Bruni (2003) mentions that the checkpoints were established due to a fear of suicide bombings and attacks and emphasises that the checkpoints were taken down two months prior as "an important gesture", implying that it was a move in the peace process. Israeli officials "demanded that Palestinian leaders arrest members of militant groups and dismantle them", yet Palestinian leadership mentioned that the death of Mr Abu Shanab had "thwarted" them (Bruni 2003). Furthermore, Palestinian leadership offered to "crackdown on the militant groups if Israel suspends all military action" (Bruni 2003). Later, the Palestinians called for terrorist and militant activities to cease to encourage peace within the oPt to follow the peace process. However, Bruni (2003) notes that he interviewed multiple Palestinians, none of whom are quoted or named, that the PA's crackdown on militancy would be "acceptable and could lead to civil war among Palestinians" (Bruni 2003). Hence, the throughline of this article focuses on the militarism present in the oPt, using the descriptions of the funeral to underscore the "apparent" widespread support of militancy.

Table 7

Codes	Present	Codes	Present
Women/girls present	Yes	Access to weapons mentioned (bombs, rifles, military equipment, etc?)	Yes
Palestinian women/girls mentioned	Yes	Violence between Palestinian militant factions mentioned	No
Palestinian women/girls interviewed	No	Arrests mentioned	Yes
Familial structures or gender roles mentioned (motherhood, wifehood, family, etc.)	No	Checkpoints/ military posts mentioned	Yes
Women's leadership/girls mentioned	No	Occupation of the oPt mentioned or alluded to	Yes
Woman's agency (actions, life, personal opinions, etc.)	No	Religion mentioned (religious identities, religious dress, Jew/Muslim as an identifier, etc.)	No
Violence is alluded to or mentioned (violence of the intifadas, military, Palestinian militants, bombing, etc.)	Yes	Veiling (and other religious dress) mentioned	Yes
VAWG mentioned explicitly	No	Terms like jihad, holy war, the koran, etc. mentioned explicitly	Yes
Violence and harassment against Palestinians mentioned (includes violence and harassment from IDF soldiers, settlers, and Israeli/Jewish extremists)	Yes	Holy land references	No
Suicide bombing mentioned	Yes	Martyrdom mentioned (both the concept and martyrs)	Yes

Female suicide bombers/bombings mentioned	Yes	Non-violent resistance is mentioned, including boycotts, peaceful protests and demonstrations, and organised communal support groups, etc.	No
Threats of violence mentioned (from the intifada(s), and both Israeli and Palestinian groups or power structures)	Yes	Disillusionment with and critiques of the socio-political context, leadership, and the peace process are mentioned, including critiques of the PLO and Arafat, the failure of the Oslo Accords and the peace process to protect citizens, and dissatisfaction with the economy and unemployment, among other issues.	No
Armed struggle/violent resistance mentioned explicitly	Yes	Palestinian leadership mentioned (this includes groups like the PLO, militant groups like Hamas, the PA, and specific leaders like Arafat)	Yes
Palestinians depicted as supporting violence	Yes	Liberation symbols mentioned(martyr posters, people as faces of the liberation movement, etc.)	Yes
Palestinian women depicted as supporting violence	Yes	Peace being possible mentioned	No

"Palestinian Girl Killed" by New York Times published on the 1st of February, 2005

This article reports the case of an 11-year-old Palestinian girl who was killed due to a gunshot wound to the head outside her school on the 31st of January (New York Times 2005). The article goes on to mention that after this incident, Hamas "fired mortars" at a nearby Jewish settlement in retaliation. However, there were no injuries, only implied damage to infrastructure. Witnesses at the scene reported that the girl was reportedly shot by personnel at an Israeli military post less than 250 metres away. However, the Israeli government stated that no soldiers fired shots (New York Times 2005).

This article is striking. The Palestinian girl is unnamed, and no defining features of her character are mentioned (New York Times, 2005). Besides the mention of witnesses, there are no Palestinians interviewed in the article, and the alleged perpetrators are not identified explicitly. The article implies that an Israeli soldier is most likely suspect in the crime. However, it states that Israel does not claim responsibility for the killing even though multiple witnesses state that the shot came from the Israeli military post (New York Times 2005). Also, the article mentions militant violence in retaliation against an Israeli settlement for the crime.

Table 8

Codes	Present	Codes	Present
Women/girls present	Yes	Access to weapons mentioned (bombs, rifles, military equipment, etc?)	No
Palestinian women/girls mentioned	Yes	Violence between Palestinian militant factions mentioned	No
Palestinian women/girls interviewed	No	Arrests mentioned	No

Familial structures or gender roles mentioned (motherhood, wifehood, family, etc.)	No	Checkpoints/ military posts mentioned	Yes
Women's leadership/girls mentioned	No	Occupation of the oPt mentioned or alluded to	Yes
Woman's agency (actions, life, personal opinions, etc.)	No	Religion mentioned (religious identities, religious dress, Jew/Muslim as an identifier, etc.)	No
Violence is alluded to or mentioned (violence of the intifadas, military, Palestinian militants, bombing, etc.)	Yes	Veiling (and other religious dress) mentioned	No
VAWG mentioned explicitly	Yes	Terms like jihad, holy war, the koran, etc. mentioned explicitly	No
Violence and harassment against Palestinians mentioned (includes violence and harassment from IDF soldiers, settlers, and Israeli/Jewish extremists)	Yes	Holy land references	No
Suicide bombing mentioned	No	Martyrdom mentioned (both the concept and martyrs)	No
Female suicide bombers/bombings mentioned	No	Non-violent resistance is mentioned, including boycotts, peaceful protests and demonstrations, and organised communal support groups, etc.	No
Threats of violence mentioned (from the intifada(s), and both Israeli and Palestinian groups or power structures)	Yes	Disillusionment with and critiques of the socio-political context, leadership, and the peace process are mentioned, including critiques of the PLO and Arafat, the failure of the Oslo Accords and the peace process to protect citizens, and dissatisfaction with the economy and unemployment, among other issues.	No
Armed struggle/violent resistance mentioned explicitly	Yes	Palestinian leadership mentioned (this includes groups like the PLO, militant groups like Hamas, the PA, and specific leaders like Arafat)	No
Palestinians depicted as supporting violence	No	Liberation symbols mentioned (martyr posters, people as faces of the liberation movement, etc.)	No
Palestinian women depicted as supporting violence	No	Peace being possible mentioned	No

"Children of the intifada: The lost generation of Palestine" by Steven Erlanger published on March 11, 2007

Erlanger's (2007) article spotlights the lasting impacts of the Second Intifada on Palestinians. This is done through interviews with five young men, six older men (two militants, a political scientist, and four fathers), a Palestinian mother, and a young woman. Many interviewees highlight the lack of opportunities for employment in Gaza and disillusionment with the resistance and allude to dissatisfaction with the socio-political context of Gaza. There are mentions of Israeli checkpoints, and Erlanger (2007) highlights that Palestinians lack interaction with regular Israelis, often only seeing soldiers or settlers. Throughout the article, Erlanger (2007) details the rise in access to weapons, the youth's general support of violent resistance by joining Palestinian militant groups, and the admiration of suicide bombers.

Throughout the article, Erlanger (2007) describes Palestine as “poor” and “chaotic”, Palestinian anxiousness for the future, and the hopelessness of reaching peace and stability due to violence. Furthermore, Erlanger (2007) highlights youth unemployment and there is general discontentment with the peace process. Erlanger (2007) states that “some 58 per cent of those under 30… expect a more violent struggle with Israel… and only 22 per cent believe that there will be a negotiated solution”. He purports that only “48 per cent of the youth believe a negotiated solution is possible”. Erlanger (2007) goes on to say that children who were alive or born during the First Intifada are “more supportive of armed struggle and terrorism than its parents”. The article emphasises that Palestinians favour political parties that are also militant groups like Fatah and Hamas. The combination of this information implies that the majority of young Palestinians support militant groups, violence, and terrorism without including the socio-political context of the occupation and the Intifadas.

Erlanger (2007) posits that there are increasing levels of radicalisation and conservatism amongst the youth, stemming from the discontentment with the socio-political and economic state of Palestine. Some interviewees expressed pressure to join militant factions or fear that their child would join a faction. Moreover, interviewees like Najwa el-Assar say that her children aspire to be violent, asking for specific weapons as gifts and dreaming of suicide bombing. She posits that the increase in violence in everyday life has deeply affected her children, making them more anxious and violent towards others (Erlanger 2007). Moreover, Khader Fayyad, a 46-year-old father and ambulance driver, says, “I call these kids the destroyed generation… nobody pays attention to this generation, except to recruit them, and it's very dangerous”. This quotation implies that youth hopelessness makes them vulnerable to militant groups and supports violent resistance (Erlanger 2007).

Erlanger (2007) describes Palestine as being filled with weapons and gangs and mentions that “many Israelis agree that the current generation of young Palestinians has been radicalised, but say it is the product of Palestinian political and religious leaders who have promoted violence and terrorism against Israel”. This implies that violence between Israelis and Palestinians is religiously motivated, and militant ideologies from groups have radicalised the youth to be terrorists. Erlanger (2007) suggests that Palestinians are also motivated by religious teachings to fight against Israel by quoting a 16-year-old Palestinian boy, Ayman Fayyad, saying, “The Jews should go back to where they came from”. These statistics, along with quotations referring to youth radicalisation and conservatism, imply that Israeli-

Palestinian violence can be attributed to a rise in religiosity, specifically Islam, and hopelessness for a peaceful resolution between Palestine and Israel.

Erlanger (2007) interviewed multiple men to detail their everyday life experiences. Many young men highlight the pressure to join a military faction and their lack of hope. On the other hand, Erlanger (2007) interviews Raed, a 30-year-old father who has been a militant since the First Intifada. Raed is quoted as saying, “No one can resist with stones or build a nation without violence," but also mentions Palestinian militant faction infighting and its impact on resistance. Despite Raed being a militant, he “talk[s] about willing my [his] children to be martyrs for Allah, but I [he] honestly wish for them to be safe and healthy” (Erlanger 2007). Raed’s and Khader Fayyad’s sentiments, along with those of Nader Said, a university political scientist, infer that the symbol of young men participating in non-violent resistance has been eroded and has shifted to the militant young men.

Erlanger (2007) prominently mentions three Palestinian women within the article, two of whom are interviewed and have differing opinions on the rise of militarism in the Second Intifada. Erlanger (2007) mentions Mirvat Massoud, an 18-year-old female suicide bomber who was inspired by her cousin’s suicide bombing and was enraged by the violence committed against school children by Israeli soldiers. Her parents noted the rise in her religiousness, and her father, Amin Massoud, attempted to discourage her martyrdom desire by saying that her “education will be jihad. Going to school is jihad”, yet he does not know what drove her to make this decision (Erlanger 2007). Erlanger (2007) noted that Mirvat’s room was covered in martyr posters. Paired with this story, Erlanger interviews a young Palestinian woman, Suhaila Badawi, who believes that Mirvat is a symbol of bravery and goes on to say that she “wouldn’t commit such an act, but I [she] understand[s] her completely”. The mention of female suicide bombing and support for female suicide bombing reinforces the idea that support for and participation in violent resistance occurs across gender lines.

Notably, the story of Mirvat, along with Suhalia’s admiration for female suicide bombing, directly contradicts the opinions of Nawar el-Assar, who laments the youth’s support for violent resistance and her anxiety that her children will commit acts of violence (Erlanger 2007). This contrast in Suhalia’s and Nawar’s interviews, coupled with the emphasis on rising conservatism and youth violence, reinforces the perception of Palestine as regressive due to its “perverse” endorsement of violence over peaceful resolution. Nevertheless, there is no detailed commentary on non-violent protest.

Table 9

Codes	Present	Codes	Present
Women/girls present	Yes	Access to weapons mentioned (bombs, rifles, military equipment, etc?)	Yes
Palestinian women/girls mentioned	Yes	Violence between Palestinian militant factions mentioned	Yes
Palestinian women/girls interviewed	Yes	Arrests mentioned	Yes
Familial structures or gender roles mentioned (motherhood, wifehood, family, etc.)	Yes	Checkpoints/ military posts mentioned	Yes
Women's leadership/girls mentioned	No	Occupation of the oPt mentioned or alluded to	Yes
Woman's agency (actions, life, personal opinions, etc.)	Yes	Religion mentioned (religious identities, religious dress, Jew/Muslim as an identifier, etc.)	Yes
Violence is alluded to or mentioned (violence of the intifadas, military, Palestinian militants, bombing, etc.)	Yes	Veiling (and other religious dress) mentioned	No
VAWG mentioned explicitly	No	Terms like jihad, holy war, the koran, etc. mentioned explicitly	Yes
Violence and harassment against Palestinians mentioned (includes violence and harassment from IDF soldiers, settlers, and Israeli/Jewish extremists)	Yes	Holy land references	Yes
Suicide bombing mentioned	Yes	Martyrdom mentioned (both the concept and martyrs)	Yes
Female suicide bombers/bombings mentioned	Yes	Non-violent resistance is mentioned, including boycotts, peaceful protests and demonstrations, and organised communal support groups, etc.	No
Threats of violence mentioned (from the intifada(s), and both Israeli and Palestinian groups or power structures)	Yes	Disillusionment with and critiques of the socio-political context, leadership, and the peace process are mentioned, including critiques of the PLO and Arafat, the failure of the Oslo Accords and the peace process to protect citizens, and dissatisfaction with the economy and unemployment, among other issues.	Yes
Armed struggle/violent resistance mentioned explicitly	Yes	Palestinian leadership mentioned (this includes groups like the PLO, militant groups like Hamas, the PA, and specific leaders like Arafat)	Yes
Palestinians depicted as supporting violence	Yes	Liberation symbols mentioned (martyr posters, people as faces of the liberation movement, etc.)	Yes
Palestinian women depicted as supporting violence	Yes	Peace being possible mentioned	No

NYT articles that discuss Palestinians in general

"On My Mind; The Road to Palestine" By A. M. Rosenthal, published on September 3, 1993

Rosenthal (1993) presents his thoughts on the Oslo Accords, detailing past tensions between Palestinians and Israelis, as well as potential avenues for Israeli-Palestinian reconciliation. Rosenthal (1993) insinuates that the creation of a Palestinian state will result in Palestinians

dominating and claiming the entirety of Israel. This notion is backgrounded by Rosenthal (1993), who briefly describes the Palestinian dissatisfaction with and rejection of the UN partition plan, saying, "Rather than accept the price, living with Israel, they entered a half-century of warfare -- military, political, economic and terrorist". This implies that Palestinians have historically initiated confrontations with Israel to claim its statehood. Additionally, he posits that if Palestine is recognised "by its enemy, that has control over land and its internal security as stated in the P.L.O.-Israel agreement, that [Palestinian] government is a state" (Rosenthal 1993). The PLO is described as a terrorist organisation and undermines Israeli politics for engaging with the enemy as "idiotic". Moreover, the article suggests that the PA's establishment will lead to self-determination and statehood within five years or less. He purports that Israel's government has flexibility in peace and reconciliation. Nevertheless, Rosenthal (1993) suggests that Palestinians and Palestinian statehood are a constant threat to Israeli security and land.

Although Rosenthal (1993) briefly entertains peace and Palestinian democracy, but he asserts that "the Mideast is ruled largely by dictators and religious holy warriors who care no more for what the people wish than did the Fascists they so resemble". This quote, along with other references to Palestinians seizing land, reinforces the stereotype of the Middle East as backward and portrays Arabs, particularly Palestinians, as religious extremists who disregard the peace process and the changes brought by Israel. To end the article, Rosenthal (1993) calls upon Israel's "American friends" to concentrate on what both sides want and desire as it is crucial to the maintenance of the Israeli state.

Table 10

Codes	Present	Codes	Present
Women/girls present	No	Access to weapons mentioned (bombs, rifles, military equipment, etc?)	No
Palestinian women/girls mentioned	No	Violence between Palestinian militant factions mentioned	No
Palestinian women/girls interviewed	No	Arrests mentioned	No
Familial structures or gender roles mentioned (motherhood, wifehood, family, etc.)	No	Checkpoints/ military posts mentioned	No
Women's leadership/girls mentioned	No	Occupation of the oPt mentioned or alluded to	Yes
Woman's agency (actions, life, personal opinions, etc.)	No	Religion mentioned (religious identities, religious dress, Jew/Muslim as an identifier, etc.)	Yes
Violence is alluded to or mentioned (violence of the intifadas, military, Palestinian militants, bombing, etc.)	Yes	Veiling (and other religious dress) mentioned	No

VAWG mentioned explicitly	No	Terms like jihad, holy war, the koran, etc. mentioned explicitly	No
Violence and harassment against Palestinians mentioned (includes violence and harassment from IDF soldiers, settlers, and Israeli/Jewish extremists)	No	Holy land references	No
Suicide bombing mentioned	No	Martyrdom mentioned (both the concept and martyrs)	No
Female suicide bombers/bombings mentioned	No	Non-violent resistance is mentioned, including boycotts, peaceful protests and demonstrations, and organised communal support groups, etc.	No
Threats of violence mentioned (from the intifada(s), and both Israeli and Palestinian groups or power structures)	Yes	Disillusionment with and critiques of the socio-political context, leadership, and the peace process are mentioned, including critiques of the PLO and Arafat, the failure of the Oslo Accords and the peace process to protect citizens, and dissatisfaction with the economy and unemployment, among other issues.	Yes
Armed struggle/violent resistance mentioned explicitly	Yes	Palestinian leadership mentioned (this includes groups like the PLO, militant groups like Hamas, the PA, and specific leaders like Arafat)	Yes
Palestinians depicted as supporting violence	Yes	Liberation symbols mentioned (martyr posters, people as faces of the liberation movement, etc.)	No
Palestinian women depicted as supporting violence	No	Peace being possible mentioned	Yes

MIDEAST ACCORD: Settlers; Israelis in Territories Feel Cast Adrift in Angry Sea" by John Kifner, published on September 11, 1993

Kifner (1993) interviewed Israeli citizens, both men and women, to present an overview of Israeli settlers' opinions on the Oslo Accords and what it would entail for them in the oPt. The article presents contrasting views, but the settlers' perspective—especially their fears and grievances—is emphasized. Some settlers see economic opportunities in peace agreements. Others fear displacement and insecurity. Overall, most interviewees are hesitant and weary of the PA and Palestinian police and what it will mean for their future safety (Kifner 1993). Many express anxiety about being under the control of who they deem as "terrorists". Additionally, Kifner (1993) highlights the historic political support for Israeli settlements, but construction has been halted due to the peace process, causing widespread anger amongst Israeli settlers. The quotation highlights, "Many settlers feel they have been shoved aside, betrayed even, in a rush for peace" (Kifner 1993).

Kifner (1993) describes the origins and appeal of Israeli settlements in the Jordan Valley, portraying them as suburban "quality of life" communities with amenities. While some settlers are committed Zionists, many are young Israelis seeking affordable housing. Despite representing only 2% of the population, settlers wielded significant political influence and were

supported for religious and territorial reasons. However, their power is waning due to shifts in government and the peace process.

Notably, many interviewees justify their presence in Israeli settlements by invoking religious and historical narratives (Kifner 1993). They claim a right to live in what they consider historic Israel and Judea while portraying Arabs as a threat. This framing suggests that they view Palestinians as inherently hostile, driven by antisemitism or violence. An interviewee explicitly states, “Hey, I’m Jewish. This is my land. Arabs have been fighting us for a hundred years. Let’s get on with it” (Kifner 1993). Similarly, a foreign settler expresses her fears, asserting, “They [Palestinians] won’t be satisfied until there’s not a Jewish presence in the Middle East” (Kifner 1993). While the article acknowledges settlers’ religious and historical justifications, it does not profoundly explore Palestinian claims to the same land.

Table 11

Codes	Present	Codes	Present
Women/girls present	Yes	Access to weapons mentioned (bombs, rifles, military equipment, etc?)	No
Palestinian women/girls mentioned	No	Violence between Palestinian militant factions mentioned	No
Palestinian women/girls interviewed	No, but Israeli women are.	Arrests mentioned	No
Familial structures or gender roles mentioned (motherhood, wifehood, family, etc.)	Yes	Checkpoints/ military posts mentioned	No
Women's leadership/girls mentioned	No	Occupation of the oPt mentioned or alluded to	Yes
Woman's agency (actions, life, personal opinions, etc.)	Yes, opinions of Israeli women are highlighted.	Religion mentioned (religious identities, religious dress, Jew/Muslim as an identifier, etc.)	Yes
Violence is alluded to or mentioned (violence of the intifadas, military, Palestinian militants, bombing, etc.)	Yes	Veiling (and other religious dress) mentioned	No
VAWG mentioned explicitly	No	Terms like jihad, holy war, the koran, etc. mentioned explicitly	No
Violence and harassment against Palestinians mentioned (includes violence and harassment from IDF soldiers, settlers, and Israeli/Jewish extremists)	No	Holy land references	Yes
Suicide bombing mentioned	No	Martyrdom mentioned (both the concept and martyrs)	No
Female suicide bombers/bombings mentioned	No	Non-violent resistance is mentioned, including boycotts, peaceful protests and demonstrations, and organised communal support groups, etc.	No
Threats of violence mentioned (from the intifada(s), and both Israeli and Palestinian groups or power structures)	Yes	Disillusionment with and critiques of the socio-political context, leadership, and the peace process are mentioned, including critiques of the PLO and Arafat, the failure of the Oslo Accords and the peace	Yes

		process to protect citizens, and dissatisfaction with the economy and unemployment, among other issues.	
Armed struggle/violent resistance mentioned explicitly	No	Palestinian leadership mentioned (this includes groups like the PLO, militant groups like Hamas, the PA, and specific leaders like Arafat)	Yes
Palestinians depicted as supporting violence	Yes	Liberation symbols mentioned (martyr posters, people as faces of the liberation movement, etc.)	No
Palestinian women depicted as supporting violence	No	Peace being possible mentioned	No

"MIDEAST ACCORD: Arabs and Jews; Reflections on Accord: New Hopes, Old Fears" by Special to The New York Times, published on September 14, 1993

This article examines the public opinion of both Israelis and Palestinians regarding the Oslo Accords and their proposed peace process (Special to The New York Times, 1993). The article presents perspectives from ten individuals (half Israeli and half Palestinian) with varying backgrounds regarding the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. Their reactions range from cautious optimism to deep scepticism and fear. Beyond the interviews, the article does not take an explicit stance on the Accords and relies on the interviewees to create a holistic overview of the public's opinion.

Interestingly, each interviewee is labelled an identity within the article before being named. For example, the first label given to Ankie Rekhess-Spitzer is "An Athlete's Widow." Then, the article discusses her conflicted feelings about the Accords (Special to The New York Times, 1993). This labelling reduces interviews to their fundamental identities, highlighting their nationality, gender, and connection to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. All the Palestinian interviewees are men and are noted as professionals such as journalists, delegates, writers, and intellectuals; however, there is a mixture of settlers, Israeli citizens, and professionals like journalists who were interviewed (Special to The New York Times 1993).

Generally, there is a sentiment that the Oslo Peace Process should be approached with caution. There are direct mentions that Palestinian leadership's adherence to the peace process will be the key determiner of ensuring that violence does not occur. For example, multiple interviewees, regardless of nationality, insinuate that the agreement is fragile and healing hatred of the other side will take time (Special to The New York Times 1993). Palestinian interviewees tended to be sceptical about how issues between the governments would be resolved but hopeful about the peace process. Some Palestinian interviewees see the agreement as a foundation towards sovereignty, but some see the agreement as a submission to Israeli and

American demands (Special to The New York Times 1993). Nevertheless, there is measured optimism amongst Palestinians.

Meanwhile, Israeli interviewees tended to be strongly opposed and fearful of the Oslo agreement. Israeli interviewees believe that Palestinian statehood will threaten Israel's existence and that its leadership and statehood are dangerous as Arafat is the "father of all terrorists" (Special to The New York Times 1993). Additionally, more religious and Zionist viewpoints are entertained. A former Soviet dissident and Zionist expresses that Palestinians have "no tradition of democracy" (Special to The New York Times 1993). Other far-right Israelis and Zionist settlers cite that Palestine and neighbouring Arab states are a threat to Israeli security, Jewish sovereignty, and the holy land. A right-wing Israeli journalist goes so far as to state that "a sovereign state cannot be demilitarised, any more than Hitler's Germany was demilitarised", comparing Palestinian statehood and nationalism to Nazi Germany (Special to The New York Times 1993). This is also exemplified in the quotation below from a West Bank Settler.

> *"There is room for both Arabs and Jews to expand [land]. We could all live here if there is Jewish sovereignty. If it is Arab, it will be like this wild place, and any Israeli who goes in will risk his life. We came here because we believed in Greater Israel. We didn't come to live under Arab sovereignty"* - Special to The New York Times 1993

The article's primary focus is the emotional, political, and security concerns of different individuals, showing the situation's complexity and the deep divisions between and within both sides (Special to The New York Times 1993). Overall, the article reveals a deep divide in public opinion, with reactions ranging from optimism to outright rejection, reflecting the broader challenges of achieving lasting peace.

Table 12

Codes	Present	Codes	Present
Women/girls present	Yes	Access to weapons mentioned (bombs, rifles, military equipment, etc?)	Yes
Palestinian women/girls mentioned	No	Violence between Palestinian militant factions mentioned	No
Palestinian women/girls interviewed	No	Arrests mentioned	No
Familial structures or gender roles mentioned (motherhood, wifehood, family, etc.)	Yes	Checkpoints/ military posts mentioned	No
Women's leadership/girls mentioned	No	Occupation of the oPt mentioned or alluded to	Yes
Woman's agency (actions, life, personal opinions, etc.)	No	Religion mentioned (religious identities, religious dress, Jew/Muslim as an identifier, etc.)	Yes

Violence is alluded to or mentioned (violence of the intifadas, military, Palestinian militants, bombing, etc.)	Yes	Veiling (and other religious dress) mentioned	No
VAWG mentioned explicitly	No	Terms like jihad, holy war, the koran, etc. mentioned explicitly	No
Violence and harassment against Palestinians mentioned (includes violence and harassment from IDF soldiers, settlers, and Israeli/Jewish extremists)	No	Holy land references	Yes
Suicide bombing mentioned	No	Martyrdom mentioned (both the concept and martyrs)	No
Female suicide bombers/bombings mentioned	No	Non-violent resistance is mentioned, including boycotts, peaceful protests and demonstrations, and organised communal support groups, etc.	No
Threats of violence mentioned (from the intifada(s), and both Israeli and Palestinian groups or power structures)	Yes	Disillusionment with and critiques of the socio-political context, leadership, and the peace process are mentioned, including critiques of the PLO and Arafat, the failure of the Oslo Accords and the peace process to protect citizens, and dissatisfaction with the economy and unemployment, among other issues.	Yes
Armed struggle/violent resistance mentioned explicitly	Yes	Palestinian leadership mentioned (this includes groups like the PLO, militant groups like Hamas, the PA, and specific leaders like Arafat)	Yes
Palestinians depicted as supporting violence	No	Liberation symbols mentioned? (martyr posters, people as faces of the liberation movement, etc.)	No
Palestinian women depicted as supporting violence	No	Peace being possible mentioned	Yes

Al Jazeera articles that discuss Palestinian women

"Activists hear Palestinians' woes" by Khalid Amayreh, published on August 22, 2005

This article covers the 13th International Women in Black conference visit to Hebron, where international feminist activists advocate against the occupation and for justice for Palestinians facing violence, illegal incarceration, and harassment by Israelis (Amayreh 2005). Moreover, Amayreh (2005) underscores how the international Women in Black movement originated through non-violent resistance, which has resulted in solidarity and support for the Palestinian cause. It has given Palestinian activists a global platform to discuss the violence of occupation without censorship. For example, the visiting conference delegation was made up of different EU activists and lobbyists who opposed Israel's actions and its human rights violations (Amayreh 2005). Overall, the article centres on Palestinian women's experience, leadership, human rights violations, and calling for justice.

Within the article, Palestinian women organisation leaders and activists are quoted discussing their and their peers' experiences of violence from the IDF and Israeli government.

Multiple women leaders mention how family members such as husbands, fathers, and children have been violently targeted, leading to incarceration or death by the IDF (Amayreh 2005). Multiple Palestinians mention male family members being killed by soldiers or experiencing a "slow death" through Israeli imprisonment, which often treats prisoners and visitors like animals (Amayreh 2005). The most explicit mention of VAWG is a description of a Palestinian woman's 14-year-old daughter being shot by an Israeli soldier near a mosque (Amayreh 2005). Towards the end of the article, activists were assaulted by Jewish settlers, resulting in three women activists being hit. Italian activist Corinna Vicenzi describes the separation wall as inhumane and states the need for public awareness about the occupation (Amayreh 2005). All of these experiences punctuate Palestinian calls for justice through international solidarity and the creation of an international tribunal as a judicial body for Palestinians, as "the Israeli justice system doesn't and can't give us true justice" (Amayreh 2005). The article narrates men, women, and girls' experiences of violence.

The article emphasises how public opinion and media narratives impact Palestinian lives and liberation. Moreover, Amayreh (2005) notes that Palestinians recognise their stereotyped media portrayals. Sarah Karajeh, a president of a Palestinian women's union, is quoted saying that women from around the world should not be "deceived by the negative stereotypical images about our people and our cause" (Amayreh 2005). Further, Karajeh suggests that the international perception of Palestinians is integral to the liberation cause since the international community is a means of defence against the Israeli government. Sara Abu Sharar, another Palestinian woman, identifies the trend in pro-Israeli media using suicide bombing as a legitimisation of the repression of Palestinians (Amayreh 2005). Therefore, the article acknowledges stereotyped portrayals of Palestinians and how they impact international opinion and support for Palestinians in the face of Israeli repression.

Table 13

Codes	Present	Codes	Present
Women/girls present	Yes	Access to weapons mentioned (bombs, rifles, military equipment, etc?)	No
Palestinian women/girls mentioned	Yes	Violence between Palestinian militant factions mentioned	No
Palestinian women/girls interviewed	Yes	Arrests mentioned	Yes
Familial structures or gender roles mentioned (motherhood, wifehood, family, etc.)	Yes	Checkpoints/ military posts mentioned	Yes, the separation wall is mentioned
Women's leadership/girls mentioned	Yes	Occupation of the oPt mentioned or alluded to	Yes

Woman's agency (actions, life, personal opinions, etc.)	Yes	Religion mentioned (religious identities, religious dress, Jew/Muslim as an identifier, etc.)	Yes
Violence is alluded to or mentioned (violence of the intifadas, military, Palestinian militants, bombing, etc.)	Yes	Veiling (and other religious dress) mentioned	No
VAWG mentioned explicitly	Yes	Terms like jihad, holy war, the koran, etc. mentioned explicitly	No
Violence and harassment against Palestinians mentioned (includes violence and harassment from IDF soldiers, settlers, and Israeli/Jewish extremists)	Yes	Holy land references	No
Suicide bombing mentioned	Yes	Martyrdom mentioned (both the concept and martyrs)	Yes
Female suicide bombers/bombings mentioned	No	Non-violent resistance is mentioned, including boycotts, peaceful protests and demonstrations, and organised communal support groups, etc.	Yes
Threats of violence mentioned (from the intifada(s), and both Israeli and Palestinian groups or power structures)	Yes	Disillusionment with and critiques of the socio-political context, leadership, and the peace process are mentioned, including critiques of the PLO and Arafat, the failure of the Oslo Accords and the peace process to protect citizens, and dissatisfaction with the economy and unemployment, among other issues.	No
Armed struggle/violent resistance mentioned explicitly	No	Palestinian leadership mentioned (this includes groups like the PLO, militant groups like Hamas, the PA, and specific leaders like Arafat)	No
Palestinians depicted as supporting violence	No	Liberation symbols mentioned (martyr posters, people as faces of the liberation movement, etc.)	No
Palestinian women depicted as supporting violence	No	Peace being possible mentioned	Yes

"No bliss for Palestinian-Israeli union" By Rachel Shabi, published on 15 May 2006

This unique article depicts the love story between Jasmin Avissar, an Israeli woman, and Osama Zatar, a Palestinian man, who are married but face challenges due to Israeli laws and restrictions. Shabi (2006) details how the Israeli Nationality and Entry Law forbids Israelis from living in Palestinian-controlled zones, as well as denying Israeli citizenship to Palestinian spouses born in the oPt. These laws has resulted in the married couple being unable to live together due to Israeli security concerns. Despite there being a movement to denounce this law as unconstitutional, the law is positioned as just as "a state has the right to prevent the entry of enemy citizens into its territory", framing Palestinians as an inherent threat (Shabi 2006). Throughout the article, interviews from minority rights organizations and lawyers mention that the Israeli government and military use the term security to justify discriminatory laws and practices. For example, an amendment to the Nationality law that allows spouses to have temporary permits to visit their partners is useless as "less than 50 out of the thousands who applied received such permits" (Shabi 2006).

Intriguingly, both Avissar and Zatar's families are welcoming of their union, highlighting solidarity and trust despite socio-political tensions and religious differences. Interestingly, outside of family and friends, they have received no backlash for their union (Shabi 2006). The couple state that they do not want to be positioned as political symbols of their nationalities, as mixed marriages are often viewed with suspicion by the other side. Significantly, Avissar highlights her dissatisfaction with the Israeli government and the treatment of her marriage. She says, "I served in the army, paid taxes and tried to contribute to society. But the minute I married Osama, I was tossed aside" (Shabi 2006). It is implied that she may have been disregarded due to said suspicions.

The themes of love and hope are the core of this article. Both Avissar and Zatar are interviewed and state their hopes for their future. Avisar hopes to live in Ramallah and pursue her career as a ballet dancer and teacher. Zatar goes on to say that he hopes that people do not bother them and that they can live peacefully (Shabi 2006). Zatar explicitly says that he hopes the law will change soon and that he has found the most important thing: love.

Table 14

Codes	Present	Codes	Present
Women/girls present	Yes	Access to weapons mentioned (bombs, rifles, military equipment, etc?)	No
Palestinian women/girls mentioned	Yes	Violence between Palestinian militant factions mentioned	No
Palestinian women/girls interviewed	No	Arrests mentioned	No
Familial structures or gender roles mentioned (motherhood, wifehood, family, etc.)	Yes	Checkpoints/ military posts mentioned	No
Women's leadership/girls mentioned	No	Occupation of the oPt mentioned or alluded to	Yes
Woman's agency (actions, life, personal opinions, etc.)	Yes, specifically Jasmin Avissar	Religion mentioned (religious identities, religious dress, Jew/Muslim as an identifier, etc.)	Yes, and there is mention of religious conversion to Islam.
Violence is alluded to or mentioned (violence of the intifadas, military, Palestinian militants, bombing, etc.)	Yes	Veiling (and other religious dress) mentioned	No
VAWG mentioned explicitly	No	Terms like jihad, holy war, the koran, etc. mentioned explicitly	Yes
Violence and harassment against Palestinians mentioned (includes violence and harassment from IDF soldiers, settlers, and Israeli/Jewish extremists)	No	Holy land references	No
Suicide bombing mentioned	Yes	Martyrdom mentioned (both the concept and martyrs)	No

Female suicide bombers/bombings mentioned	No	Non-violent resistance is mentioned, including boycotts, peaceful protests and demonstrations, and organised communal support groups, etc.	Yes
Threats of violence mentioned (from the intifada(s), and both Israeli and Palestinian groups or power structures)	No	Disillusionment with and critiques of the socio-political context, leadership, and the peace process are mentioned, including critiques of the PLO and Arafat, the failure of the Oslo Accords and the peace process to protect citizens, and dissatisfaction with the economy and unemployment, among other issues.	Yes
Armed struggle/violent resistance mentioned explicitly	No	Palestinian leadership mentioned (this includes groups like the PLO, militant groups like Hamas, the PA, and specific leaders like Arafat)	No
Palestinians depicted as supporting violence	No	Liberation symbols mentioned (martyr posters, people as faces of the liberation movement, etc.)	Yes
Palestinian women depicted as supporting violence	No	Peace being possible mentioned	Yes

"Women of the Intifadas" by Sheren Khalel, published on October 23, 2015

In this long-form article, Khalel (2015) counters negative or absent portrayals of Palestinian women by highlighting the instrumental role women have played in the Palestinian liberation movement and resistance. She achieves this by interviewing three generations of Palestinian women who share their experiences of resistance and violence during the First and Second Intifadas, as well as the current resistance movements. There is a particular focus on their individual lives and contributions to the Palestinian liberation movement through past actions like defending their homes from IDF soldiers or attacking soldiers who were committing arrests of fellow demonstrators. Furthermore, Khalel (2015) includes details of their identity, such as their family relations and photos of them in their homes, resulting in a more humanised portrayal of Palestinian women.

The first interviewee is Raja Mustafa, a Palestinian woman who was photographed with three gas masks on her couch in her home. The article includes a newspaper clipping of an image of Mustafa fighting IDF soldiers with a broomstick from entering her home in 1993. In this incident, she recounts fighting off the soldiers as IDF forces were known to steal the possessions of families in home raids. Additionally, Raja mentions that in this house raid, she was used as a decoy so her family could escape (Khalel 2015). Despite the violence and loss of the First Intifada, Raja recounts her story fondly. She and other teenage girls were involved in demonstrations against the occupation, throwing stones alongside the men, emphasising how women were critical in resistance momentum.

However, she laments that the PA and increase in IDF soldiers using disproportionate use of force has made resistance dangerous (Khalel 2015). Nevertheless, as a grandmother, she

attends the occasional protest and watches both men and women confronting Israeli soldiers (Khalel 2015). Moreover, she notes that in the demonstrations of resistance in 2015, more women and girls were present than in the Second Intifada. She theorises that the rise in militias inhibited the participation of women. She comments that her daughters, who have children, do not participate in demonstrations, but her teenage sons do. Interestingly, she raised her sons to view women as girls and equals (Khalel 2015). She also mentions the improved women's status as there is greater access to education and fewer obstacles to participation in the movement.

The next interviewee, Manal Abu Akhar, recounts the VAWG she faced during the First Intifada and her resistance experiences. At 12 years old, Manal was shot in the chest by an Israeli at a funeral. However, as a wife and mother of two during the Second Intifada, she participated in resistance by preventing arrests (Khalel 2015). Manal purports she, along with other women, would use their bodies and fight soldiers to "'de-arrest' those being detained by Israeli forces", particularly boys (Khalel 2015). She and other women assisted martyr's families by providing lookouts and emotional support. Additionally, she opened her home as a refuge for protestors (Khalel 2015). However, she notes that women faced obstacles to participation due to the rise of militarism.

Manal's family were reportedly worried about her activism but did not disrupt or interfere with her actions (Khalel 2015). Despite her worry, Manal's daughter is involved in the resistance movement. Nevertheless, she expresses that she wants to ensure her daughter's safety but is sympathetic to her resistance. She ends her interviewee by saying, "Without hope for a future, any generation would take to the streets" (Khalel 2015).

The final interviewee is Nour Hussein, a 16-year-old girl who was involved in the recent uprising. She learned about the Intifadas from history books and from the experiences of her female family members during the Intifada resistance. Khalel (2015) underscores that Nour is "one of many young women who have started to appear at the popular protests, which nearly always turn into violent clashes on the streets." Despite the previously male-dominated nature of the space, Nour notes that the presence of women encourages more women to feel comfortable participating in protests again (Khalel 2015). Notably, Nour mentions that previous generations have viewed the younger generation as "disillusioned with politics and protests", yet the current generation is reacting and mobilising (Khalel 2015).

Overall, this article provides a retrospective of the First and Second Intifadas and offers a contemporary reflection on women's status in Palestinian resistance and politics. It considers

the points of view of different generations of Palestinian women and their understandings of the Intifadas, regardless of whether they participated in all of them or not. For example, Raja shares her opinion on the Second Intifada and the then-current conflict, despite not being as active in the movement (Khalel 2015). It is pertinent that the interviewees discuss the obstacles women have faced or overcome in participating in resistance, such as the rise of militarism. However, the interviewees have not explicitly participated in armed resistance. Along with differing opinions and experiences, the article contains images which depict both veiled and veiled women, suggesting differing levels of religiosity and age (Khalel 2015). Thus, besides the article having only three interviewees, there is a diversity in identity, age, religiosity, experience, and opinions.

Another characteristic of this article is that it highlights individual stories and opinions to emphasise how resistance has remained the same and evolved. However, the most noteworthy aspect is how the interviewees comment on women's participation and overcoming the obstacles of sexism within the movement (Khalel 2015). The piece reminds the reader that women have always been present in and maintained the resistance movement. Moreover, this sentiment could counter media narratives that dismiss women, their actions, and the participation of Palestinian women in liberation.

Table 15

Codes	Present	Codes	Present
Women/girls present	Yes	Access to weapons mentioned (bombs, rifles, military equipment, etc?)	No
Palestinian women/girls mentioned	Yes	Violence between Palestinian militant factions mentioned	No
Palestinian women/girls interviewed	Yes	Arrests mentioned	Yes
Familial structures or gender roles mentioned (motherhood, wifehood, family, etc.)	Yes	Checkpoints/ military posts mentioned	No
Women's leadership/girls mentioned	Yes	Occupation of the oPt mentioned or alluded to	Yes
Woman's agency (actions, life, personal opinions, etc.)	Yes	Religion mentioned (religious identities, religious dress, Jew/Muslim as an identifier, etc.)	Yes
Violence is alluded to or mentioned (violence of the intifadas, military, Palestinian militants, bombing, etc.)	Yes	Veiling (and other religious dress) mentioned	No, but two of the three women appeared veiled in their images.
VAWG mentioned explicitly	Yes	Terms like jihad, holy war, the Koran, etc. mentioned explicitly	No
Violence and harassment against Palestinians mentioned (includes violence and harassment from IDF soldiers, settlers, and Israeli/Jewish extremists)	Yes	Holy land references	No

Suicide bombing mentioned	No	Martyrdom mentioned (both the concept and martyrs)	Yes
Female suicide bombers/bombings mentioned	No	Non-violent resistance is mentioned, including boycotts, peaceful protests and demonstrations, and organised communal support groups, etc.	Yes
Threats of violence mentioned (from the intifada(s), and both Israeli and Palestinian groups or power structures)	Yes	Disillusionment with and critiques of the socio-political context, leadership, and the peace process are mentioned, including critiques of the PLO and Arafat, the failure of the Oslo Accords and the peace process to protect citizens, and dissatisfaction with the economy and unemployment, among other issues.	Yes
Armed struggle/violent resistance mentioned explicitly	Yes	Palestinian leadership mentioned (this includes groups like the PLO, militant groups like Hamas, the PA, and specific leaders like Arafat)	Yes
Palestinians depicted as supporting violence	No	Liberation symbols mentioned (martyr posters, people as faces of the liberation movement, etc.)	Yes, specifically there are mentions of stone-throwing - a symbol of Palestinian resistance
Palestinian women depicted as supporting violence	No	Peace being possible mentioned	No

"When Palestinian women take up arms" by Khaled Diab published on December 9, 2015

Diab (2015) utilises a psychological lens to explore the then-current wave of violence across the West Bank to explore the potential motivations behind women's increased participation in violent attacks and women's historic contributions to violent resistance. This article is paired with an image that shows a veiled woman being held back by IDF soldiers (Diab 2015). One of the first comments made is that people are surprised to see women participating in violence and connect the double-fold oppression Palestinian women face: sexism and orientalism. Stereotypes of Arab women being portrayed as passive, weak and submissive are present in local and international media and society. Palestinian women have defied this portrayal by historically participating in non-violent and violent resistance.

The subtitle "No more a mere life-giver" acknowledges peaceful resistance but explores women's history of performing violent attacks and suicide bombings. Some women believe motherhood is radical, making women "faithful to the revolution because they defend the lives of their children" (Diab 2015). Nevertheless, violent women defy stereotypes that cast women as inherently more peaceful and gentler due to their capacity to make life. Furthermore, he posits that women are less likely to act on typically masculine traits like anger due to social constraints like honour.

Diab (2015) argues that conflict and occupation are gender-neutral, impacting everyone, a view supported by psychologist Nadia Dabbagh, who highlights the socio-political and psychological effects that fuel frustration and violence. For men, they can feel powerless and unmasculine for not being able to protect themselves and their families from violence. However, Diab (2015) argues that Palestinian women experience more oppression due to patriarchal repression and family honour. This oppression can result in women who are troubled and suicidal seeking an honourable path by choosing martyrdom or violence to be patriotic and prevent social dishonour to their families. Moreover, Amal Abusif, a researcher, states that motivations behind acts of violence for women are more personal and may be an act of rebellion against gender inequality, even among religious women (Diab 2015).

Table 16

Codes	Present	Codes	Present
Women/girls present	Yes	Access to weapons mentioned (bombs, rifles, military equipment, etc?)	No
Palestinian women/girls mentioned	Yes	Violence between Palestinian militant factions mentioned	No
Palestinian women/girls interviewed	Yes, a female Palestinian psychologist is interviewed.	Arrests mentioned	Yes, a female Palestinian attacker's arrest is mentioned.
Familial structures or gender roles mentioned (motherhood, wifehood, family, etc.)	Yes	Checkpoints/ military posts mentioned	No
Women's leadership/girls mentioned	Yes	Occupation of the oPt mentioned or alluded to	Yes
Woman's agency (actions, life, personal opinions, etc.)	Yes	Religion mentioned (religious identities, religious dress, Jew/Muslim as an identifier, etc.)	Yes
Violence is alluded to or mentioned (violence of the intifadas, military, Palestinian militants, bombing, etc.)	Yes	Veiling (and other religious dress) mentioned	Yes, the article image includes a veiled Palestinian woman being held back by IDF soldiers.
VAWG mentioned explicitly	No, but abuse is mentioned.	Terms like jihad, holy war, the koran, etc. mentioned explicitly	No
Violence and harassment against Palestinians mentioned (includes violence and harassment from IDF soldiers, settlers, and Israeli/Jewish extremists)	Yes	Holy land references	No
Suicide bombing mentioned	Yes	Martyrdom mentioned (both the concept and martyrs)	Yes
Female suicide bombers/bombings mentioned	Yes	Non-violent resistance is mentioned, including boycotts, peaceful protests and demonstrations, and organised communal support groups, etc.	Yes
Threats of violence mentioned (from the intifada(s), and both	Yes	Disillusionment with and critiques of the socio-political context, leadership, and the	No, but there are allusions to

Israeli and Palestinian groups or power structures)		peace process are mentioned, including critiques of the PLO and Arafat, the failure of the Oslo Accords and the peace process to protect citizens, and dissatisfaction with the economy and unemployment, among other issues.	disillusionment with the conflict as well as the social structure of a patriarchal Palestine.
Armed struggle/violent resistance mentioned explicitly	Yes	Palestinian leadership mentioned (this includes groups like the PLO, militant groups like Hamas, the PA, and specific leaders like Arafat)	No
Palestinians depicted as supporting violence	Yes	Liberation symbols mentioned (martyr posters, people as faces of the liberation movement, etc.)	Yes
Palestinian women depicted as supporting violence	Yes	Peace being possible mentioned	No

"Stories from the first Intifada: 'They broke my bones'" by Shatha Hammad, published on December 10, 2017

Thirty years after its outbreak, Shatha Hammad (2017) interviews three Palestinians, two older men and one older woman, who lived through the First Intifada to share their experiences of Israeli violence and the occupation. There is a brief interview with Khitam Saafin, the then-current President of the Union of Palestinian Women's Committees. Hammad (2017) outlines the interviewees' identities and recounts their resistance to participation in protests, communication, and symbolism. Like the "Women of the Intifadas" article, Hammad (2017) mentions each interviewee's name, age, family relations, and hometown, along with a picture of them, putting a face to the experience. The article title is also paired with a photo of young Palestinian men throwing stones, a common symbol of Palestinian resistance (Hammad 2017). Overall, this article is orientated to situate regular Palestinians' experiences and hardships during the First Intifadas whilst reflecting on the continued effects of Israeli occupation and violence in Palestinian society.

Before the interviews, Hammad (2017) provides the historical factors of the Intifada, specifically, the initiation of the conflict and the violence it entailed. On December 8th, 1987, the death of four Palestinians who were run over by an Israeli vehicle incited protests within Jabalya refugee camp, which quickly spread across the territories. This incident resulted in six years of uprising where Palestinians demonstrated, mobilised, organised, and protested against the occupation, expropriation of land, and Israel's control of the socio-economic and political development in Palestine. For example, Palestinians participated in widespread "civil disobedience, well-organised strikes, and communal cooperatives" and organised boycotts of Israeli goods and increased Palestinian agricultural activity (Hammad 2017).

Palestinians experienced Israel's excessive use of force, violence from settlers, and mass arrests. Statistics from B'Tzelem report that "1,070 Palestinians were killed by Israeli forces… including 237 children…Jewish settlers also killed 54 Palestinians" (Hammad 2017). During the First Intifada, over 175,000 Palestinians were arrested and "2,000 homes were demolished in Israel's systematic method of collective punishment" (Hammad 2017). Moreover, Hammad states that the Israeli government instructed soldiers to break protestors' bones, which persisted after the First Intifada. These statistics and examples highlight the intifada violence as well as the destruction of society, communities, homes, and infrastructure.

Wale Joudeh, a 46-year-old husband and father of four from Iraq al-Tayeh village, is interviewed. Wael details his experience of Israeli violence and his arrests during the Intifadas. Critically, Wael and his cousin Osamah became icons of the First Intifada after they were attacked and beaten by Israeli soldiers on their way home after sheep herding (Hammad 2017). He chronicles the use of force by soldiers, highlighting that they utilised stones and hard shell helmets to break the teenage boys' bones. Wael recounts that one soldier shouted out the phrase, "I was born to kill Palestinians" (Hammad 2017).

Unbeknownst to them, a neighbour video-recorded the attack, becoming the first recorded incident of Israel's break-bones policy. Some women attempted to stop the attack, yet both boys were detained and then released due to international media pressure (Hammad 2017). However, Wael states that this incident was not his only experience of Israeli violence, as he had been kidnapped by soldiers back in 1985. Wael's story underlines that Israeli violence was both physical and psychological and intended to break their spirits (Hammad 2017). Despite their attack causing demonstrations and grassroots resistance, Wael laments that the PA has not shown respect for their experience.

Khadija Abu Shreifa, a 65-year-old grandmother from the Jalazone camp in Ramallah, recounts her intifada story to Hammad and her family (Hammad 2017). Her family was forced out of their village during the Nakba before returning to Palestine in 1970. Nevertheless, Khadija recounts the day she experienced VAWG at a large camp demonstration, which ended in the violent suppression of protesters. She witnessed a group of young girls being verbally sexually harassed. This prompted her to confront the soldier, which resulted in him attacking her (Hammad 2017). Moreover, she mentions that an entire military squad beat her, and one soldier intended to kill her but ended up shooting her in the shoulder and foot. Luckily, some women rescued Khadija, bound her wounds with scraps of a hijab, and took her to a hospital. However, an Israeli officer tried to arrest her, so she had to be smuggled out of the hospital

(Hammad 2017). She was the first wounded person in the Jalazone camp in the First Intifada, resulting in women protesting in anger against her attack yet being violently suppressed by the IDF.

Khadija became disabled by her injuries. Despite her difficulty with walking, she continued to participate in resistance by preventing the arrests and beatings of Palestinian children (Hammad 2017). Additionally, she and other women would collect food and medicine for fellow camp members during curfews. During this time, Khitan Saafin, the President of the Union of Palestinian Women's Committees, stated that women's committees taught children during general strikes, organised demonstrations and boycotts, and built an alternative agricultural market for Palestinians (Hammad 2017). Interestingly, she mentions that women were central in protests as they would transport stones and participate alongside men in demonstrations.

Lastly, Hammad (2017) interviewed Abdullah Abu Shalbak, a 49-year-old man who used graffiti as a resistance tool during the First Intifada. During curfews, Abdullah and his friend, disguised in keffiyehs, would graffiti communications, slogans of resistance, and threats of violence to Israeli troops and collaborators on the walls of Palestinian neighbourhoods (Hammad 2017). There were incidents in which they were nearly caught by Israeli troops, but Abdullah was never suspected of making graffiti by the Israeli forces, even when he was detained. Still, he was falsely accused of throwing stones and Molotov cocktails. Later, after joining the Hamas military wing, Abdullah was arrested and imprisoned for 21 years (Hammad 2017).

Interestingly, Abdullah mentions that he was bothered not just by the Israeli forces but also by members of the community who resented him and his friend for spraying graffiti communications on the walls of their homes. These neighbours attempted to wash the messages to avoid suspicion (Hammad 2017). Different resistance groups also used the walls to write over the slogans of other groups. Controversially, collaborators would also use the walls for communicating with Israeli soldiers.

Overall, this article provides insight into and humanises the experiences of a generation of resistance fighters. Notably, there is a particular focus on the violence against protestors and innocents as well as resistance techniques like militant and non-violent resistance (Hammad 2017). Interestingly, there are both direct and indirect references to the veiling of men and women. Khadija's photo depicts her wearing a hijab, and she mentions another woman wearing

a hijab in her story. Additionally, Abdullah mentions that he and his friend veiled themselves to create graffiti, suggesting that they did so to prevent identification by collaborators and the IDF (Hammad 2017).

Table 17

Codes	Present	Codes	Present
Women/girls present	Yes	Access to weapons mentioned (bombs, rifles, military equipment, etc?)	No
Palestinian women/girls mentioned	Yes	Violence between Palestinian militant factions mentioned	No, but rivalry is mentioned.
Palestinian women/girls interviewed	Yes	Arrests mentioned	Yes, both men and women are arrested.
Familial structures or gender roles mentioned (motherhood, wifehood, family, etc.)	Yes	Checkpoints/ military posts mentioned	No
Women's leadership/girls mentioned	Yes	Occupation of the oPt mentioned or alluded to	Yes
Woman's agency (actions, life, personal opinions, etc.)	Yes	Religion mentioned (religious identities, religious dress, Jew/Muslim as an identifier, etc.)	Yes
Violence is alluded to or mentioned (violence of the intifadas, military, Palestinian militants, bombing, etc.)	Yes	Veiling (and other religious dress) mentioned	Yes, both veiled men and women are mentioned. also, Khadija appears veiled in her photo.
VAWG mentioned explicitly	Yes	Terms like jihad, holy war, the koran, etc. mentioned explicitly	No
Violence and harassment against Palestinians mentioned (includes violence and harassment from IDF soldiers, settlers, and Israeli/Jewish extremists)	Yes	Holy land references	No
Suicide bombing mentioned	No	Martyrdom mentioned (both the concept and martyrs)	No
Female suicide bombers/bombings mentioned	No	Non-violent resistance is mentioned, including boycotts, peaceful protests and demonstrations, and organised communal support groups, etc.	Yes
Threats of violence mentioned (from the intifada(s), and both Israeli and Palestinian groups or power structures)	Yes	Disillusionment with and critiques of the socio-political context, leadership, and the peace process are mentioned, including critiques of the PLO and Arafat, the failure of the Oslo Accords and the peace process to protect citizens, and dissatisfaction with the economy and unemployment, among other issues.	Yes
Armed struggle/violent resistance mentioned explicitly	Yes	Palestinian leadership mentioned (this includes groups like the PLO, militant groups like Hamas, the PA, and specific leaders like Arafat)	Yes
Palestinians depicted as supporting violence	No	Liberation symbols mentioned (martyr posters, people as faces of the liberation movement, etc.)	Yes
Palestinian women depicted as supporting violence	No	Peace being possible mentioned	No

"How Palestinian women led successful non-violent resistance" by Mershia Gadzo, published on March 8, 2018

Mershia Gadzo (2018) explores the success of women-led non-violent resistance by interviewing two Palestinian women who share their stories of protest against Israel's occupation. This article highlights statistics of women-led resistance and spotlights the challenges faced and successes obtained by the interviewees Naila Ayyash and Iltizam Morrar (Gadzo 2018). The article mentions that non-violent and women-led resistance is statistically more successful than violent resistance as it is less likely to cause physical harm. Also, gender equality in liberation discourse improves the chances of widespread support and adoption. In the interviews with Naila and Iltizam, there are undercurrent references to these claims and statistics when discussing women's mobilisation, leadership, and resistance (Gadzo 2018).

Naila Ayyash was in her mid-20s during the First Intifada. She participated by printing and handing out leaflets with her husband that detailed Palestinian demands to keep civilians informed. She highlights that different Palestinian factions were unified, and resistance was more powerful and centralised (Gadzo 2018). Additionally, she attributes the resistance's success to women's organisations, which were disguised as homemaking groups that assisted in creating and maintaining centralised communication, co-operatives, education, healthcare, mobilisation, and community support and took over the absence of PLO leadership in Palestine. Furthermore, these organisations assisted in boycotts against Israeli goods, which, alongside other forms of mobilisation, pressured the Israeli government to negotiate (Gadzo 2018). This resulted in women's roles changing as they became self-sufficient and critical to resistance, as the IDF assumed that women were not involved in resistance.

The success of women's mobilisation resulted in a delegation being sent to the Madrid Conference in 1991, where they presented their demands. Unbeknownst to the delegation, the PLO was in secret talks with Israel, which undermined their objectives and allowed for the continuation of the occupation, checkpoints, and illegal Israeli settlements (Gadzo 2018). Also, the creation of the PA "usurped" women's grassroots resistance and reduced women's status. Nevertheless, Nalia mentions that civilian resistance forces Israelis (and, by extension, the international community) to confront the occupation (Gadzo 2018). She ends off by saying that Palestinians will continue to struggle until liberation is achieved.

Gadzo (2018) interviews Iltizam about how she led a successful resistance against her village's land confiscation conducted by the Israeli forces. As a 15-year-old girl, Iltizam

explains that Israel's illegal separation was going to cut through her village and olive groves on which they economically depended (Gadzo 2018). Her father, Ayed, formed the Popular Resistance Committee Against the Wall, which organised daily protests against the wall building. At first, only men attended the protests, but Iltizam encouraged female classmates to participate in the protests with her (Gadzo 2018). This resulted in a women-led unarmed movement becoming more widespread throughout their community. By continuing protests for 10 months, they managed to save 95% of their land.

However, Iltizam details a near-death experience she had during a particular protest. One day, a group of 200 soldiers and a massive bulldozer appeared on their land and started digging (Gadzo 2018). She saw a gap between some soldiers and jumped in the bulldozer's hole, hoping to stop it from digging. Earlier that year, American activist Rachel Corrie was killed and run over by a bulldozer, making this incident all the more dangerous. However, her actions resulted in her community successfully swarming the bulldozer and forcing the soldiers to retreat. This incident ended up protecting their village's land, which would have been impossible without women's support. The article ends with a quotation from Ayed: "Everybody knows that women make up half of the people, but few of them understand that women are half of our power" (Gadzo 2018).

This article explores how women as leaders and resistance participants are critical to the success of non-violent resistance. These detailed experiences underscore the importance of women's participation as it leads to more resistance, momentum and continuation. Interestingly, the interviewees were relatively young women, with Iltizam and her classmates being teenagers involved in protests (Gadzo 2018). Additionally, the article emphasises how women's leadership has been celebrated but also undermined by other leaders and groups in the Palestinian liberation movement, such as the PLO, which undermined the demands made by Palestinians at the 1991 Madrid conference.

Table 18

Codes	Present	Codes	Present
Women/girls present	Yes	Access to weapons mentioned (bombs, rifles, military equipment, etc?)	No
Palestinian women/girls mentioned	Yes	Violence between Palestinian militant factions mentioned	No
Palestinian women/girls interviewed	Yes	Arrests mentioned	No
Familial structures or gender roles mentioned (motherhood, wifehood, family, etc.)	Yes	Checkpoints/ military posts mentioned	Yes

Women's leadership/girls mentioned	Yes	Occupation of the oPt mentioned or alluded to	Yes
Woman's agency (actions, life, personal opinions, etc.)	Yes	Religion mentioned (religious identities, religious dress, Jew/Muslim as an identifier, etc.)	No
Violence is alluded to or mentioned (violence of the intifadas, military, Palestinian militants, bombing, etc.)	Yes	Veiling (and other religious dress) mentioned	No, but in images women appear veiled and unveiled.
VAWG mentioned explicitly	Yes	Terms like jihad, holy war, the koran, etc. mentioned explicitly	No
Violence and harassment against Palestinians mentioned (includes violence and harassment from IDF soldiers, settlers, and Israeli/Jewish extremists)	Yes	Holy land references	No
Suicide bombing mentioned	No	Martyrdom mentioned (both the concept and martyrs)	No
Female suicide bombers/bombings mentioned	No	Non-violent resistance is mentioned, including boycotts, peaceful protests and demonstrations, and organised communal support groups, etc.	Yes
Threats of violence mentioned (from the intifada(s), and both Israeli and Palestinian groups or power structures)	Yes	Disillusionment with and critiques of the socio-political context, leadership, and the peace process are mentioned, including critiques of the PLO and Arafat, the failure of the Oslo Accords and the peace process to protect citizens, and dissatisfaction with the economy and unemployment, among other issues.	Yes
Armed struggle/violent resistance mentioned explicitly	Yes	Palestinian leadership mentioned (this includes groups like the PLO, militant groups like Hamas, the PA, and specific leaders like Arafat)	Yes
Palestinians depicted as supporting violence	No	Liberation symbols mentioned (martyr posters, people as faces of the liberation movement, etc.)	Yes
Palestinian women depicted as supporting violence	No	Peace being possible mentioned	Yes

"Palestinian women: An untold history of leadership and resistance" by Mohammed El-Kurd, published on October 28, 2018

El-Kurd (2018) critiques the "collective deafness" to Palestinian women's contributions and experiences. He contrasts the stories and experiences of women in his life with media portrayals that have not accurately represented women's leadership, importance, and experiences during the Intifada. Thus, El-Kurd (2018) references his Intifada memories and intersperses them with the actions of his female relatives and community members who assisted and maintained the momentum of resisting Israeli occupation.

In the beginning, El-Kurd (2018) describes his childhood, during which he read poetic portrayals of Palestinian women that often reduced them by comparing their success and bravery to men, thereby denying their complexity and womanhood. These portrayals are contrasted by pairing the text with an image of a veiled young Palestinian woman waving a

Palestinian flag in front of IDF soldiers (El-Kurd 2018). He argues that Western media depictions of Palestinian women were unintentionally reductive, portraying Palestinian women stereotypically as uneducated and helpless or, at worst, terrorists (El-Kurd 2018). These media portrayals are paired with an image of a veiled, young Palestinian woman waving a flag in front of IDF soldiers, highlighting her resilience and her agency. Later in the article, El-Kurd (2018) mentions that the documentary *Naila and The Uprising* is a piece of media that represents the unheard experiences of women like his grandmother. These examples illustrate the media landscape and the limited narratives surrounding Palestinian women in resistance.

He recounts the violence perpetrated by Israeli forces and settlers against members of his family and community through references to assaults and the confiscation of homes (El-Kurd 2018). He purports that women in his community protested and demanded justice for the violations enacted by the Israeli occupation and troops on Palestinians. For example, El-Kurd (2018) details that his aunt "alongside the women of Sheikh Jarrah, paraded around the neighbourhood, chanting and drumming on pots and pans – demanding justice", which resulted in continued protests that involved Israeli and Palestinian activists. Additionally, he highlights the instrumental role women played in protecting fellow Palestinians from incarceration, providing medical assistance to the injured, and organising protests and boycotts like the BDS movement[10] (El-Kurd 2018). Moreover, the article argues that the success of women's participation and leadership resulted in punishment from the Israeli government, with restrictions to movement and curfews, cutting off telephone lines, and excessive bone-breaking force against protestors. Thus, women have always been integral to political conversations and resistance organisations.

In the end, El-Kurd (2018) theorises that Western media and racism have contributed to the general erasure of Palestinian women from liberation narratives. However, he also emphasises that Palestinian patriarchy has influenced the collective deafness on women's resistance impact and leadership, pointing to liberation narratives insinuating that heroism is masculine. Moreover, a woman from the documentary is quoted critiquing the subjugation of women in the occupation and Palestinian society. The article concludes with El-Kurd (2018) reiterating that Palestinian women are crucial to the pursuit of liberation and statehood. Nevertheless, it underscores that these women must be spotlighted so that younger generations can recognise their agency.

[10] BDS stands for Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions. It is a Palestinian-led non-violent movement for freedom, justice and equality, promoting Palestinians' right to access human rights.

Table 19

Codes	Present	Codes	Present
Women/girls present	Yes	Is access to weapons mentioned? (bombs, rifles, military equipment, etc?)	No
Palestinian women/girls mentioned	Yes	Is violence between Palestinian militant factions mentioned?	No
Palestinian women/girls interviewed	No	Are arrests mentioned?	Yes
Familial structures or gender roles mentioned (motherhood, wifehood, family, etc.)	Yes	Are checkpoints/ military posts mentioned?	No, but restrictions to movement is mentioned.
Women's leadership/girls mentioned	Yes	Is the occupation of the Palestinian territories mentioned or alluded to?	Yes
Woman's agency (actions, life, personal opinions, etc.)	Yes	Is there a mention of religion (religious identities, religious dress, Jew/Muslim as an identifier, etc.)	No
Violence is alluded to or mentioned (violence of the intifadas, military, Palestinian militants, bombing, etc.)	Yes	Is veiling (and other religious dress) mentioned?	No, but there is an image of a veiled woman in the article.
VAWG mentioned explicitly	No, but violence against all protestors is inferred.	Are terms like jihad, holy war, the koran, etc. mentioned explicitly?	No
Violence and harassment against Palestinians mentioned (includes violence and harassment from IDF soldiers, settlers, and Israeli/Jewish extremists)	Yes	Are there references to the holy land?	No
Suicide bombing mentioned	No	Is martyrdom mentioned? (both the concept and martyrs)	No
Female suicide bombers/bombings mentioned	No	Is non-violent resistance mentioned (boycotts, peaceful protests and demonstrations, organised communal support groups, human rights organizations, etc.)	Yes
Threats of violence mentioned (from the intifada(s), and both Israeli and Palestinian groups or power structures)	Yes	Is disillusionment with and critiques of the socio-political context, leadership, and peace process mentioned? (this includes critiques of the PLO and Arafat, mentions of the failure of the Oslo Accords/peace process to protect citizens, mentions of dissatisfaction with the economy and unemployment, etc.)	No
Armed struggle/violent resistance mentioned explicitly	No	Is Palestinian leadership mentioned? (this includes groups like the PLO, militant groups like Hamas, the Palestinian Authority (PA), and specific leaders like Arafat)	No
Palestinians depicted as supporting violence	No	Are liberation symbols mentioned? (martyr posters, people as faces of the liberation movement, etc.)	No
Palestinian women depicted as supporting violence	No	Is peace mentioned in the article?	No

“My first lockdown was during the first Intifada” by Majed Abusalama, published on May 9, 2020

Abusalama (2020) reflects on his experience of Israeli lockdowns and curfews during the First Intifada and compares it to the COVID-19 lockdown in Germany. These lockdowns were central to Abusalama’s childhood experience. He purports that unlike in Germany, where restrictions were for public health, in Palestine, they were a form of military control and repression. He goes on to elaborate on the First Intifada’s impact on his family and the role female family members played in resistance and keeping their families afloat.

Firstly, Abusalama (2020) casually recounts the inciting incident for the Intifada, the killing of four Palestinians by an Israeli vehicle, which led to widespread protests calling for justice and an end to the occupation in which the IDF utilised disproportionate force against Palestinians. Throughout this Intifada, it is estimated that around 1500 Palestinians were killed by soldiers and settlers. Nevertheless, the persistent harassment, restrictions, and violence from the IDF did not deter Palestinian resistance.

He underscores that the Israeli government and IDF utilised restrictions like lockdowns and curfews to control the population and prevent more mobilisation (Abusalama 2020). Curfews were very popular and prevented Palestinians from accessing basic. He recounts that his aunts and grandmother would dangerously break curfew to collect food. Additionally, public spaces like schools, parks, and beaches were closed, leading to a loss in education and preventing widespread community organising (Abusalama 2020).

Abusalama (2020) highlights the culture of self-sufficiency as a form of resistance. His father and other family members were part of popular resistance committees “which coordinated various activities to provide for the people” like education, co-cooperatives, food, and healthcare. His father assisted in communal agriculture (Abusalama 2020). He was arrested, and their home was raided due to his political leadership. On the other hand, his mother was a UNWRA nurse who assisted the injured and was the family breadwinner. He details her work at the UNRWA clinic and states that during the first two years of the Intifada, “between 23,600 and 29,900 sought medical help for injuries”. This coordinated grassroots resistance, and communal support affected the Israeli government and economy, resulting in IDF soldiers raiding homes and detaining Palestinians for political activities.

Most importantly, Abusalama (2020) recounts the birth of his sister Shahd and the threats of violence his mother faced. During curfew hours, his mother went into labour. She

had to walk to the clinic to receive medical attention, where armed Israeli soldiers interrogated his mother and grandmother on why they were breaking curfew (Abusalama 2020). Luckily, the soldiers did not injure either woman, and his sister was born safely. However, his mother expresses that she tried to protect her belly from Israeli weapons. Regardless of harassment and interrogation, Abusalama's parents instilled in their children the value of perseverance in grassroots resistance.

Interestingly, Abusalama (2020) ends the article by discussing frustration with global inaction on Palestinian suffering. He laments that as much as he is worried about COVID-19 in Germany, he fears the worst for those in the oPt. He worries about his mother's health as she still works at the UNRWA hospital. Also, he emphasises that Gaza's healthcare system is weak due to the Israeli occupation and decades of Israeli and Egyptian siege on Gaza. He ends the article by asking the question of whether the international community will accept Palestine's inhuman conditions and not hold Israel accountable (Abusalama 2020).

Table 20

Codes	Present	Codes	Present
Women/girls present	Yes	Access to weapons mentioned (bombs, rifles, military equipment, etc?)	Yes
Palestinian women/girls mentioned	Yes	Violence between Palestinian militant factions mentioned	No
Palestinian women/girls interviewed	No	Arrests mentioned	Yes
Familial structures or gender roles mentioned (motherhood, wifehood, family, etc.)	Yes	Checkpoints/ military posts mentioned	Yes
Women's leadership/girls mentioned	Yes	Occupation of the oPt mentioned or alluded to	Yes
Woman's agency (actions, life, personal opinions, etc.)	Yes	Religion mentioned (religious identities, religious dress, Jew/Muslim as an identifier, etc.)	No
Violence is alluded to or mentioned (violence of the intifadas, military, Palestinian militants, bombing, etc.)	Yes	Veiling (and other religious dress) mentioned	No, but the accompanying article image has veiled women.
VAWG mentioned explicitly	Yes	Terms like jihad, holy war, the koran, etc. mentioned explicitly	No
Violence and harassment against Palestinians mentioned (includes violence and harassment from IDF soldiers, settlers, and Israeli/Jewish extremists)	Yes	Holy land references	No
Suicide bombing mentioned	No	Martyrdom mentioned (both the concept and martyrs)	No
Female suicide bombers/bombings mentioned	No	Non-violent resistance is mentioned, including boycotts, peaceful protests and	Yes

		demonstrations, and organised communal support groups, etc.	
Threats of violence mentioned (from the intifada(s), and both Israeli and Palestinian groups or power structures)	Yes	Disillusionment with and critiques of the socio-political context, leadership, and the peace process are mentioned, including critiques of the PLO and Arafat, the failure of the Oslo Accords and the peace process to protect citizens, and dissatisfaction with the economy and unemployment, among other issues.	No, but there is a critique of the international community's unwillingness to hold Israel accountable for its actions against Palestinians.
Armed struggle/violent resistance mentioned explicitly	No	Palestinian leadership mentioned (this includes groups like the PLO, militant groups like Hamas, the PA, and specific leaders like Arafat)	No
Palestinians depicted as supporting violence	No	Liberation symbols mentioned (martyr posters, people as faces of the liberation movement, etc.)	No
Palestinian women depicted as supporting violence	No	Peace being possible mentioned	No

Al Jazeera articles that discuss Palestinians in general

"From Intifada to Intifada" by Azzam Tamimi, published on September 28, 2003

This article explores the reasons and motivations behind the Second Intifada, laying out the context of the First Intifada, the rise in Islamic revival and militias, the increasing usage of violent resistance, and the weakening of nationalist sentiments. Tamimi (2003) provides context to both the First and Second Intifadas by highlighting inciting incidents like the Jabalia refugee camp deaths in December 1987 and Sharon's visit to Temple Mount in 2000. Throughout the rest of the article, Tamimi (2003) foregrounds the rise of ideologies and militias as a response to disillusionment with the peace process, negotiations, and the PLO, which led to a breeding ground for the prominence of militias like Hamas and support for violent resistance.

In terms of the First Intifada resistance, Tamimi (2003) highlights that Palestinians were fuelled by longstanding grievances over occupation, settlement expansion, and perceived Arab inaction. Tamimi (2003) highlights that armed with stones and with well-organised mobilisation, Palestinians were able to combat the IDF and the occupation. However, the PLO's compromises and acceptance of UN Resolution 242 led to the rise of Islamic resistance groups, including Hamas. After the signing of the Accords, there were divisions between Palestinians who supported peace and those who saw the Accords as a betrayal of the Palestinian cause. Between 1993-2000, Israeli settlements continued to expand under the PA, which undermined Palestinian trust in the peace process (Tamimi 2003). Moreover, the loss of hope in the

international community, the Arab neighbours, and PA leadership left a vacuum in which religion and ideology became prominent motivators to mobilise and fight against the occupation.

In the lead-up to the Second Intifada, the widespread dissatisfaction with the peace process, the control of the PA and its collusion with the Israeli government, and the continuation of Israeli military actions, restrictions and Israeli settlement growth and the annexation of land further increased Palestinian frustrations (Tamimi 2003). Before Sharon's visit to Temple Mount, the failure of the Camp David talks in 2000 collapsed due to key permanent status issues like refugees, settlements, and Jerusalem. This set the stage for Palestinian resistance to be sparked by Sharon's infamous visit and storming of Temple Mount. The outbreak of confrontations with the IDF at Temple Mount and other sites in the oPt led to increased violence, including the rise of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades within Fatah (Tamimi 2003). Finally, the article closes by discussing various peace initiatives, including the Roadmap For Peace". This plan collapsed due to Israeli demands for Palestinian disarmament, and the collapse of Mahmud Abbas's cabinet was seen as a missed opportunity, further fueling the uprising (Tamimi 2003).

Notably, this article takes a more pragmatic and sympathetic stance towards Palestinian militias and frustrations. For example, Tamimi (2003) uses language like "loss of hope", "frustration", and "misery" to explain Palestinians' emotions and motivations behind the initial reaction to both Intifadas as well as the prevalence of adherence to Islam. This is highlighted by the quotation, "After 40 years of misery and tribulation, they [Palestinians] came to learn the hard way that no ideology and no way of life could empower them to face up to the Israelis, but that of Islam" (Tamimi 2003). This quotation implies that Islam rose to prominence due to the failures of the PA leadership and the occupation. Interestingly, Tamimi mentions that Palestinians were frustrated with specific demographics of Jewish settlers, specifically settlers from the US and the former USSR, because they believe that the right to land claims are considered to be unfounded. Also, the article implies that settlers enjoy a more comfortable and stable lifestyle whilst surrounding Palestinian towns and villages are restricted and isolated into "Bantustans", resulting in the physical separation and marginalisation of Palestinians to uplift Israelis (Tamimi 2003).

Table 21

Codes	Present	Codes	Present
Women/girls present	No	Access to weapons mentioned (bombs, rifles, military equipment, etc?)	Yes
Palestinian women/girls mentioned	No	Violence between Palestinian militant factions mentioned	Yes
Palestinian women/girls interviewed	No	Arrests mentioned	Yes
Familial structures or gender roles mentioned (motherhood, wifehood, family, etc.)	No	Checkpoints/ military posts mentioned	No, but closures and military presence is mentioned in the article.
Women's leadership/girls mentioned	No	Occupation of the oPt mentioned or alluded to	Yes
Woman's agency (actions, life, personal opinions, etc.)	No	Religion mentioned (religious identities, religious dress, Jew/Muslim as an identifier, etc.)	Yes
Violence is alluded to or mentioned (violence of the intifadas, military, Palestinian militants, bombing, etc.)	Yes	Veiling (and other religious dress) mentioned	No
VAWG mentioned explicitly	No	Terms like jihad, holy war, the koran, etc. mentioned explicitly	No
Violence and harassment against Palestinians mentioned (includes violence and harassment from IDF soldiers, settlers, and Israeli/Jewish extremists)	Yes	Holy land references	No
Suicide bombing mentioned	Yes	Martyrdom mentioned (both the concept and martyrs)	No
Female suicide bombers/bombings mentioned	No	Non-violent resistance is mentioned, including boycotts, peaceful protests and demonstrations, and organised communal support groups, etc.	Yes
Threats of violence mentioned (from the intifada(s), and both Israeli and Palestinian groups or power structures)	Yes	Disillusionment with and critiques of the socio-political context, leadership, and the peace process are mentioned, including critiques of the PLO and Arafat, the failure of the Oslo Accords and the peace process to protect citizens, and dissatisfaction with the economy and unemployment, among other issues.	Yes
Armed struggle/violent resistance mentioned explicitly	Yes	Palestinian leadership mentioned (this includes groups like the PLO, militant groups like Hamas, the PA, and specific leaders like Arafat)	Yes
Palestinians depicted as supporting violence	No, but it suggests that there is an increase in violent resistance as a tactic to counter the occupation.	Liberation symbols mentioned (martyr posters, people as faces of the liberation movement, etc.)	Yes, specifically, stone-throwing Palestinians are mentioned.
Palestinian women depicted as supporting violence	No	Peace being possible mentioned	Yes

“Israeli peaceniks face uphill battle” by Khalid Amayreh, published on March 11, 2004

Within this article, Amayreh (2004) reports on Israeli activist Yossi Beilin being barred from talking to students at a school by the principal. This barring was supported by the education minister, who accused him of harming Israel. Amayreh (2004) uses this article to explore the decline of the Israeli Peace Movement and the challenges faced by activists who are advocating for the end of the Israeli occupation. In the article, he posits that the rise in militant activity and violent resistance within the oPt is counterproductive and has strained international support for the Palestinian liberation movement. Amayreh (2004) ultimately highlights the shrinking space for dialogue and peace advocacy in Israel while emphasizing how increased militancy in the oPt has weakened international backing for the Palestinian cause.

Additionally, the rise in right-wing conservatism within Israel has prompted Israelis to view peaceniks like Yossi Beilin as traitors to Zionism and conspiring with the enemy or unrealistic idealists (Amayreh 2004). Israeli leaders, particularly Ariel Sharon and Ehud Barak, have shaped Israeli public opinion by arguing that Palestinians rejected peace and seek Israel’s destruction. This has not been helped by the rise in Palestinian attacks, especially suicide bombings, which have reinforced the Israeli shift to the right. However, Israeli-Arab Knesset member Ahmad Tibi argues that this shift to the right began before the start of the Second Intifada (Amayreh 2004).

Other Israeli activists like Mary Schweitzer suggest that the peace movement is facing a public jingoist mindset because many Israelis do not want to accept the “reality of the occupation” (Amayreh 2004). The main objective of the peaceniks is to assist Israelis in acknowledging the oppression faced by Palestinians due to the occupation. Additionally, Schweitzer suggests that Palestinian non-violence would be a more effective strategy for peace and getting support from Israeli citizens. Nevertheless, Amayreh (2004) highlights that Schweitzer and other activists' criticisms of the occupation are not received well by the majority of the Israeli public and infers that this stems from prejudice against Arabs.

The article highlights the recent Geneva Accords and its reception. The new set of Accords provides a framework for peace but failed to gain traction in Israel. Uri Avnery notes its success abroad but limited impact domestically (Amayreh 2004). Moreover, Avnery blames Barak for misleading Israelis into believing he made all possible concessions, leading

to further right-wing shifts. He warns against trusting Sharon's words, urging people to judge his actions instead. Interestingly, the article includes photos of Arafat and Sharon and has a photo of Palestinians "celebrating" the third anniversary of the Intifada by burning what seems to be an Israeli aircraft with the Israeli flag.

Table 22

Codes	Present	Codes	Present
Women/girls present	Yes	Access to weapons mentioned (bombs, rifles, military equipment, etc?)	Yes
Palestinian women/girls mentioned	No	Violence between Palestinian militant factions mentioned	No
Palestinian women/girls interviewed	No, but an Israeli women activist is interviewed.	Arrests mentioned	No
Familial structures or gender roles mentioned (motherhood, wifehood, family, etc.)	No	Checkpoints/ military posts mentioned	Yes
Women's leadership/girls mentioned	No	Occupation of the oPt mentioned or alluded to	Yes
Woman's agency (actions, life, personal opinions, etc.)	Yes, but it discusses the opinions of Mary Schweitzer, an Israeli peacenik.	Religion mentioned (religious identities, religious dress, Jew/Muslim as an identifier, etc.)	No
Violence is alluded to or mentioned (violence of the intifadas, military, Palestinian militants, bombing, etc.)	Yes	Veiling (and other religious dress) mentioned	No
VAWG mentioned explicitly	No	Terms like jihad, holy war, the koran, etc. mentioned explicitly	No
Violence and harassment against Palestinians mentioned (includes violence and harassment from IDF soldiers, settlers, and Israeli/Jewish extremists)	Yes	Holy land references	No
Suicide bombing mentioned	Yes	Martyrdom mentioned (both the concept and martyrs)	No
Female suicide bombers/bombings mentioned	No	Non-violent resistance is mentioned, including boycotts, peaceful protests and demonstrations, and organised communal support groups, etc.	Yes
Threats of violence mentioned (from the intifada(s), and both Israeli and Palestinian groups or power structures)	Yes	Disillusionment with and critiques of the socio-political context, leadership, and the peace process are mentioned, including critiques of the PLO and Arafat, the failure of the Oslo Accords and the peace process to protect citizens, and dissatisfaction with the economy and unemployment, among other issues.	Yes, specifically the shift to the right, the Palestinian "rejection" of peace, and the failure of the Geneva Accords taking root in Israel.
Armed struggle/violent resistance mentioned explicitly	Yes	Palestinian leadership mentioned (this includes groups like the PLO, militant groups like Hamas, the PA, and specific leaders like Arafat)	Yes, there is a photo of Arafat with Yossi Beilin and the Israeli-Arab Knesset member, Ahmad Tibi is interviewed. Also,

			Israeli leaders are mentioned by name.
Palestinians depicted as supporting violence	No, but it infers that there is rise in violent resistance as a tactic to fight against the occupation.	Liberation symbols mentioned? (martyr posters, people as faces of the liberation movement, etc.)	No
Palestinian women depicted as supporting violence	No	Peace being possible mentioned	Yes, specifically the peace movement.

"Palestinian Intifada: How Israel orchestrated a bloody takeover" by Ali Adam, published on September 28 2020

This article provides an overview of the Second Intifada, focusing on the factors that contributed to the initial tensions, the inciting incident, and the widespread violence of the conflict. The first part of the article posits that Ariel Sharon's visit and storming of the al-Aqsa Mosque [Temple Mount] compound in East Jerusalem sparked outrage across Palestine (Adam 2020). Interest groups, such as advisors and negotiators, had warned Sharon that his visit would cause a stir, yet he followed through on the visit. This visit, paired with the anniversary of the 1982 Sabra and Shatila massacre, for which Sharon was found responsible for failing to stop the bloodshed, contributed to Palestinian frustrations around the failure of the Camp David talks, the continued occupation and the increase in Israeli settlers leading to the outbreak of the Second Intifada (Adam 2020).

Hani al-Masri, director-general of Masarat, the Palestinian Centre for Policy Research and Strategic Studies, theorises that the Israeli government used the Intifada as a means to force Palestinians to accept the initial conditions of occupation and give up on issues like the status of Jerusalem (Adam 2020). Furthermore, Wasel Abu Yusuf, a senior Palestinian official, posited that the Temple Mount Visit provoked a violent reaction from Palestinians, which would be met with "a severe military blow" by the IDF and cause the Palestinians to "lower their political demands in the negotiations in the aftermath of Camp David summit". He (2020) suggests that during the initial stages of the Second Intifada, there was widespread non-violent resistance like civil disobedience and protest that was met with military excessive force and ammunition and excursions in Palestine. For example, Amnesty International found that the "majority of Palestinian casualties were civilian bystanders, and 80 per cent of those killed in the first month posed no life-threatening danger to Israeli forces" (Adam 2020). Diane Buttu, an analyst and former negotiator, suggests that the heavy reliance on the use of force indicates

that Israel intended to militarise the Second Intifada and distract from Israel's illegal activities like the building of settlements (Adam 2020). Thus, the excessive use of force and loss of Palestinian lives resulted in Palestinian armed resistance taking prominence.

Adam (2020) lists characteristics of the Second Intifada, such as suicide bombing, death tolls, and infrastructure damage. Interestingly, he notes that suicide bombings began occurring just one month into the conflict. In terms of civilian casualties, the Palestinian Centre for Human Rights reports that nearly 5000 Palestinians were killed during the Second Intifada, with "1,262 children, 274 women and 32 medical personnel" among the dead (Adam 2020). Moreover, Defence for Children International reported that over 10000 children were injured during the Second Intifada. Additionally, 5000 homes were demolished, and over 6500 Palestinian homes were damaged by the Israeli army (Adam 2020). These statistics highlight the destruction of the physical and social infrastructure of the oPt.

Notably, Adam (2020) emphasises the lack of media attention on the widespread non-violent resistance and the Palestinian leadership's attempts to quell the conflict. Palestinians organised, demonstrated and protested in non-violent ways against the military, Israeli settlements, the demolitions of Palestinian homes as well as the separation wall. Many of these non-violent protests and violence against protestors went unreported in Western media. Moreover, Buttu implies that the non-violent resistance movement conflicted with Western media narratives (Adam 2020). During the Intifada, the PA submitted or approved proposals to stop the conflict. In 2002, Arafat endorsed the Arab Peace Initiative, which aimed to end the military confrontation, whilst Israel ignored (Adam 2020). Again, in 2003, the PA submitted a proposal to the Israeli government, which proposed an end to Palestinian militarism in exchange for a slow withdrawal of the Israeli occupation, but the conflict continued (Adam 2020). These examples highlight that regular civilians and Palestinian leaders alike intended to negotiate and fight for their demands more peacefully yet were ignored by international media and the Israeli government.

Adam (2020) ends the article by positing that Israel used the Second Intifada as a pretext to justify its actions for the sake of security. This allowed the IDF and government to increase territorial control and checkpoints, the continued proliferation of Israeli settlements, and the building of the separation wall and military bases within Palestine. The then-current Trump Middle East plan aligns with Israel's past and present actions and demands, like demolishing homes, building settlements, annexing Palestinian land, and denying Palestinian statehood (Adam 2020). Moreover, fellow Arab nations have normalised relations with Israel. Thus,

Israel continues its human rights violations, partly due to the lack of accountability from the international community. Nevertheless, Palestinian resistance is committed to ending the occupation and achieving internationally recognised statehood.

Table 23

Codes	Present	Codes	Present
Women/girls present	No	Access to weapons mentioned (bombs, rifles, military equipment, etc?)	Yes
Palestinian women/girls mentioned	No	Violence between Palestinian militant factions mentioned	No
Palestinian women/girls interviewed	Yes, a female Palestinian negotiator is interviewed.	Arrests mentioned	No
Familial structures or gender roles mentioned (motherhood, wifehood, family, etc.)	No	Checkpoints/ military posts mentioned	No
Women's leadership/girls mentioned	No	Occupation of the oPt mentioned or alluded to	Yes
Woman's agency (actions, life, personal opinions, etc.)	No, but there are images of Palestinian women protesting.	Religion mentioned (religious identities, religious dress, Jew/Muslim as an identifier, etc.)	No
Violence is alluded to or mentioned (violence of the intifadas, military, Palestinian militants, bombing, etc.)	Yes	Veiling (and other religious dress) mentioned	No
VAWG mentioned explicitly	No	Terms like jihad, holy war, the koran, etc. mentioned explicitly	No
Violence and harassment against Palestinians mentioned (includes violence and harassment from IDF soldiers, settlers, and Israeli/Jewish extremists)	Yes	Holy land references	No
Suicide bombing mentioned	Yes	Martyrdom mentioned (both the concept and martyrs)	No
Female suicide bombers/bombings mentioned	No	Non-violent resistance is mentioned, including boycotts, peaceful protests and demonstrations, and organised communal support groups, etc.	Yes
Threats of violence mentioned (from the intifada(s), and both Israeli and Palestinian groups or power structures)	Yes	Disillusionment with and critiques of the socio-political context, leadership, and the peace process are mentioned, including critiques of the PLO and Arafat, the failure of the Oslo Accords and the peace process to protect citizens, and dissatisfaction with the economy and unemployment, among other issues.	Yes, specifically the shift to the right, the Palestinian "rejection" of peace, and the failure of the Geneva Accords taking root in Israel.
Armed struggle/violent resistance mentioned explicitly	Yes	Palestinian leadership mentioned (this includes groups like the PLO, militant groups like Hamas, the PA, and specific leaders like Arafat)	No
Palestinians depicted as supporting violence	No, but it does mention that violent resistance became popular due to Israel's excessive use of force	Liberation symbols mentioned (martyr posters, people as faces of the liberation movement, etc.)	No

	against non-violent resistance.		
Palestinian women depicted as supporting violence	No	Peace being possible mentioned	No

Background

Before 1948

The territory of Palestine has existed for thousands of years, contrary to the popular belief that it existed only from the late 1800s onwards. Fawzy Al-Ghadiry (2006) highlights that most of the history of Palestine and the Middle East is slanted in favour of Zionist and Western understandings of Middle Eastern history. However, human activity in Palestine dates back to the Stone Age and has been recorded by ancient empires as a territory. However, Palestine has different borders and framings due to different historical empires and occupations, such as the Roman Empire and Ottoman Imperialism. Nevertheless, it has remained as a regional entity (Al-Ghadiry 2006).

Other scholars, such as Farsoun and Zacharia (1997), emphasize that Palestine has held both secular and religious significance in the Arab region due to its historical significance, abundant resources, and rich religious heritage. Moreover, Palestine connects the western and eastern regions of the Middle East (Farsoun and Zacharia 1997). However, Western powers and the Zionist movement have consistently underplayed its significance in Middle Eastern history. Nevertheless, Palestine has a rich history that predates the Zionist movement and Western imperialism.

The Zionist movement and the Balfour Declaration were instrumental in supporting the establishment of Israel in historic Palestine. Broadly, Zionism is a political movement that promotes the establishment, development, and protection of a Jewish nation (Gottheil 1899; Taylor 1972; Alroey 2011; Husan 2014). This movement gained momentum in the mid to late nineteenth century, specifically in Europe (Gottheil 1899). Notably, not all Jewish people support Zionism or territorialism ideology for the creation and maintenance of a Jewish state, and there are many non-Jewish Zionists like British Prime Minister Arthur Balfour (Taylor 1972; Husan 2014). Between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Zionist movement grew in tandem with the rise of European antisemitism. Husan (2014) posits that leaders of the Zionist movement negotiated with European leaders to leverage antisemitism and anti-immigrant sentiments, imperial self-interest, and the established Jewish influence to combat revolutionary activities within European borders to gain support. The UK became an ally of the possible new Israeli state as British political interests coincided with Zionist interests, despite the complicated prehistory of British governance of Palestine (Mathew 2013;

Husan 2014). The British needed more allies to ensure its imperial power in the Middle East, and Palestine served as a politically strategic region (Mathew 2013; Husan 2014). With the release of the Balfour Declaration in 1917, it gave British support to the establishment of the Jewish state in Palestine. The declaration also facilitated Jewish immigration to Palestine under the British Mandate (Al-Ghadiry 2006, 33). Therefore, the political support from European governments for the Zionist movement and the Balfour Declaration gave legitimacy to the idea of a Jewish state in modern Palestine before the fall of the Ottoman Empire in 1922 and the British Mandate over Palestine.

1948 and the Palestinian Nakba

The establishment of Israel is the root of the socio-political tensions and confrontations between Israelis and Palestinians for years to come. In 1947, UN Resolution 181 partitioned Palestine into distinct Arab and Jewish states, with Jerusalem being controlled by international powers (Farsoun and Zacharia 1997; Zupan 2014). On November 27, 1947, international support for participation led to the immediate escalation of clashes between Israelis and Arabs (Farsoun and Zacharia 1997). In May of 1948, along with the official withdrawal of the British military, Israel declared its independence, resulting in Arab neighbours attacking Israel and Southern Palestine (Farsoun and Zacharia 1997; Zupan 2014).

During these military confrontations, hundreds of thousands of indigenous Palestinians experienced forced displacement into neighbouring Arab states. This event is called the Nakba. Palestinian villages were raided and occasionally massacred, which forced Palestinians to flee (Farsoun and Zacharia 1997; Zupan 2014; Almassri 2023). Notably, neighbouring Arab states intervened and escalated it to an interstate conflict in which Israel ended up becoming the victor. It is estimated that around 750,000-850,000 Arabs that were present in historic Palestine before the establishment of Israel were displaced, and 76% of historic Palestine was under Israeli control by May of 1949 in violation of Resolution 181 (Farsoun and Zacharia 1997).

Noteworthily, the Nakba roughly translates to catastrophe in Arabic (Flores 2016; Almassri 2023). However, these confrontations between Arabs and the Israelis are called the War of Independence, which has led to the systematic erasure of this event from modern historical narratives (Anziska 2019; Shezaf 2019). For example, state narratives that posited the Arabs left voluntarily and denied violence against Palestinians like rape and massacres (Farsoun and Zacharia 1997; Barakat 2018; Shezaf 2019; Almassri 2023). Therefore, the Nakba marks the modern occupation of historic Palestine and the forced migration of refugees, the

establishment of Israel, and the commencement of tensions and violent clashes between Israelis, Palestinians and Arabs.

The 6-Day War (1967)

The most significant conflict between the Nakba and the First Intifada was the 6-day War in 1967. Before this War, there had been a couple of years of skirmishes between Palestinian resistance fighters and neighbouring Arab states. This resulted in the Israeli Air Force attacking these states and other parts of the oPt over a couple of months. Moreover, in May 1967, the Egyptian military stationed troops in the Sinai Peninsula and blockaded Israeli ships from entering the Gulf of Aqaba (Bali and Mohammad 2017). This blockade, along with the establishment of Arab-state military alliances, was an act of War by the Israeli government. During the 6-day War, the Israeli military pre-emptively assaulted both the Egyptian and Syrian air forces, resulting in Israel capturing the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula and driving Jordanian forces out of Jerusalem and the West Bank (Farsoun and Zacharia 1997; Bali and Mohammad 2017). This War is significant because it led to the modern occupation of Palestinian territories under Israeli control, which furthered strained relations between Palestinians and the Israeli government, military, and settlers (Farsoun and Zacharia 1997; Bali and Mohammad 2017).

The First Intifada (1987-1993)

The inciting incident of the First Intifada is credited to a handful of successive events in 1987. On December 8 1987, an Israeli truck deliberately hit convey vans carrying Palestinian workers from the Jabalia[11] refugee camp - located in the Gaza Strip- which resulted in the death of four Palestinians —outraged by their deaths, Palestinians from the refugee camp mobilised to throw stones and attack the nearby Israeli military post (Farsoun and Zacharia 1997; Allen 2008). In retaliation, Israeli soldiers committed acts of police brutality against protestors (Wolkoff 2024). Protests became widespread and led Palestinians to protest against the steading trend of illegal Israeli settlements expanding into Palestinian territories and advocated for Palestinian statehood (Farsoun and Zacharia 1997; Wolkoff 2024). Over the next six years, The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Israeli military engaged in confrontations, leading to violence against civilians and the mass incarcerations of Palestinians (Farsoun and Zacharia 1997; Wolkoff 2024). The official end of the First Intifada is attributed to the signing of the

[11] There are multiple spellings of this camp, including Jabalya. However, most of the resources I have used in this thesis use the Jabalia spelling.

Israel-PLO Declaration of Principles on September 13, 1993, between the Prime Minister of Israel, Yitzhak Rabin, and the PLO leader, Yasser Arafat.

The First Intifada was uniquely characterised by its widespread organised demonstrations that condemned Israeli state violence and called for Palestinian independence. Mobilisations included protests, demonstrations, boycotts, stone-throwing, and other forms of civil disobedience with the oPt and at the Palestinian borders (Jaber 2020; Wolkoff 2024). Moreover, these mobilisations were organised by various Palestinian committees, the PLO, and the Palestinian diaspora, garnering international attention (Kawar 1996; Farsoun and Zacharia 1997).

Secondly, Western media highlighted the extreme use of force against Palestinian protestors. Nevertheless, Martin (2011) notes three media coverage trends in this Intifada: activists and protestors, physical combatants, and the casualties of War. Palestinians were framed as victims of state violence and underlined the violation of Palestinian human rights (Martin 2011). Martin (2011) states that the First Intifada humanised Palestinians in international media by emphasising the brute force used against civilians and the violations of international law conducted by the military and the Israeli government. Palestinian media portrayed the Israeli government negatively, garnering sympathy and support for the liberation movement from international NGOs and philanthropists (Jamal 2004; Martin 2011). Additionally, women's organisations like The General Union of Palestinian Women promoted women's voices in media and highlighted women's resistance roles in media distribution, influencing international media's portrayal of Palestinian women (Jamal 2004). This shift in portrayal strayed from common Orientalist framings of Palestinians as terrorists and antisemites to people who were seeking liberation from a violent and oppressive state.

There was more media coverage of women's participation, contributions, experiences, and individual and communal roles in the Intifada (Pope 1993; Kawar 1996; Martin 2011). For example, the Palestinian women's committees bolstered efforts to assist injured and incarcerated Palestinians, teach skills, and provide alternative incomes for women, organise mobilisations, and engage in protest activities and projects with Israeli peace organisations, such as the Peace Quilt (Pope 1993; Kawar 1996). Moreover, 50% and 65% of young women within the oPt participated in liberation protests and demonstrations (Martin 2011). Furthermore, Thornbill (1993) notes that there was an extreme increase in Palestinian women being incarcerated in Israeli Prisons and put through the Israeli military court systems. These examples underscore women's instrumental participation in protests and liberation

mobilisations, which was highlighted in the media. Hence, media coverage of Palestinian women's agency, participation, and myriad contributions were included in media narratives.

The Oslo Accords (1993)

The signing of *The Israel-PLO Declaration of Principles* in Oslo outlined significant implementations to allow for a slow withdrawal of Israel from the oPt over five years ("Agreement - Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements (a.k.a. 'Oslo Accord')" 1993; Khouri 1998; Malik 2001; Jad 2010; Jaber 2020). The Oslo Accords are a set of agreements between the PLO and Israel that would assist further negotiations about Israeli-Palestinian relations until the final status of the oPt was completed (Hassan 2011, 67). The document officially recognised the PLO as the political representative of Palestinians. It established the PA as a self-governing body in the oPt during the interim period ("Agreement - Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements (a.k.a. 'Oslo Accord')" 1993). In exchange, the PLO recognised Israel's statehood and denounced terrorism. Moreover, this document was internationally recognised and initially considered a successful example of Arab-Israeli peace negotiations. Therefore, the Oslo Accords serve as both an endpoint to the First Intifada and the turning point in Israeli-Palestinian cooperation.

The Successes and Failures of the Oslo Accords

Before the Oslo Accords, shuttle diplomacy and peace conferences organised by countries like the US and Russia were integral to Oslo's lead-up. Before the signing of the Accords, there had been several years of tense negotiations between Israel and its neighbours, such as the Madrid Conference in 1991 ("The Madrid Peace Conference" 1992; Barak 2005). Notably, the US chaired this conference and leveraged the Persian Gulf War to create a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation that the Israeli government might accept as a reward for Arab states' support of American intervention in Iraq (Barak 2005; Rodriguez 2011). In the lead-up to the conference, the Palestinian leadership sought to have the PLO and East Jerusalem Palestinians present at the international peace conference. However, Arab states permitted only Palestinians from the oPt to join the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. Though no solid agreements were reached, the conference initiated a dialogue between Israel and its Arab neighbours on regional conflicts like the Intifada. Ultimately, it forced Israel to acknowledge the need for direct negotiations with the PLO ("The Madrid Peace Conference" 1992; Rodriguez 2011).

The most notable success of the Accords was the immediate reduction of Israeli-Palestinian hostilities and confrontations in the oPt following the signing of the agreement and

the establishment of the PA and its governing units. The Articles XIII and XIV state that Israeli forces would withdraw from the Gaza Strip and Jericho areas but be redeployed in less populated areas to maintain Israeli state security ("Agreement - Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements (a.k.a. 'Oslo Accord')" 1993). Under Article VIII, a special Palestinian police force would help reduce internal violence within the oPt. Therefore, the Declaration of Principles and its implementations resulted in less violent confrontations within the oPt as well as violence within Israel.

Furthermore, the establishment of the PA allowed for some Palestinian self-rule and control. Article VI highlights that the withdrawal of the Israeli military and Civil Administration allowed control to be handed over to the PA, which would manage public sectors such as health and education ("Agreement - Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements (a.k.a. 'Oslo Accord')" 1993). Additionally, Articles III and IV facilitated Palestinian elections and jurisdiction over the oPt. Along with the PA, the Joint Israeli-Palestinian Liaison Committee helped coordinate and resolve disputes between Palestinian and Israeli powers ("Agreement - Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements (a.k.a. 'Oslo Accord')" 1993). Under Article VII, the PA was permitted to establish authorities to manage economic development, exports, service delivery, and land, which could expand according to further negotiations ("Agreement - Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements (a.k.a. 'Oslo Accord')" 1993). Hence, the Declaration of Principles partially legitimised Palestinian power within the oPt.

The main criticism of the Oslo Accords is that it did not achieve Palestinian independence, which resulted in the fragmentation of the Palestinian liberation movement as groups like Hamas saw the Accords as a legitimisation of Israeli power and detrimental to Palestinian statehood (Pressman 2003; Barak 2005; Mall Dibiasi 2015). Therefore, the Oslo Accords were heavily contested within the fragmented Palestinian community and liberation movement as it did not result in the liberation from Israeli power. The Israel-PLO Declaration of Principles was not specific on how Israel would withdraw from the oPt and did not address critical topics that would need to be negotiated after the establishment of the PA. The document under Article V, states that negotiations around Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements, borders, relations and cooperation with other neighbours, and other issues of common interest would be discussed in the interim period ("Agreement - Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements (a.k.a. 'Oslo Accord')" 1993). However, many amendments pertained to elaborations on articles, such as refugee rights, which were

postponed to final-status talks, causing an escalation in disputes (Allen 2008). For example, permanent status negotiations were to commence by 1996 at the latest but were consistently delayed until 1999 (Malik 2001; Barak 2005; Mahle 2005). The agreements' lack of specificity enabled the continued Israeli military presence and the expansion of illegal settlements, violating international law and exploiting loopholes in the Declaration of Principles (Mall Dibiasi 2015). Pressman (2003, 120) notes that between 1993 and 2000, "the number of Israeli settlers increased by at least 117 per cent in Gaza and at least 46 per cent in the West Bank", which fuelled Israeli-Palestinian tensions. Therefore, the lack of agreement specificities and delayed negotiations about the implementation and practicalities of Israeli withdrawal enabled the Israeli government to find loopholes to continue Israeli settlements in the West Bank.

Both Israeli and Palestinian society had internal divisions over the Declaration of Principles and the Accords. Within Israel, the right-wing opposition, such as the Likud party, challenged the legitimacy of the peace process (Malik 2001). As previously alluded to, Palestinian liberation groups like the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and militant groups like Hamas rejected the settled agreements and continued with attacks against the Israeli state and civilians (Barak 2005; Jaber 2020). Additionally, the PLO's majority control over the PA led to disagreements between the PLO and other socio-political groups, which further fragmented the liberation movement into militant groups, those that opposed the Accords, and those that benefitted from the Accords and peace process (Malik 2001; Barak 2005). Hence, internal divisions in Israeli and Palestinian societies negatively impacted socio-political views on the success of the peace process.

Along with internal tensions, there were tensions between Palestinian and Israeli leadership in communication and negotiations. Historically, both sides grew sceptical of each other's intentions due to ongoing acts of violence against their communities (Barak 2005). These sentiments did not disappear, and constant delays in key negotiations eroded confidence in the peace process. The continuation of violence committed by Palestinian militant groups and Israeli forces underlined that the Accords had failed to establish lasting security guarantees (Malik 2001; Barak 2005). Violence, internal divisions, bilateral disagreements, and delayed negotiations led to the collapse of the peace process in 2000; all of these factors contributed to the outbreak of the Second Intifada.

Palestinian Women and the Oslo Accords

Despite a range of specific women's committees, mobilisation, participation, and grassroots activism, women were largely excluded from the Oslo peace process, barring a handful of female Palestinian negotiators for the PLO delegation (Holt 2003). This exclusion resulted in a lack of female representation and input in key stages of the peace process. Consequently, gender issues and women's specific concerns, like women's status in Palestinian society, were ignored mainly despite men's initial acceptance of women's participation and activism in the First Intifada. This links back to the notion that women's issues and concerns are often considered secondary in nationalist liberation movements.

Likewise, the recognition of the primarily male-led PLO resulted in a largely patriarchal PA, which marginalised women's roles in Palestinian politics (Jaber 2020). For example, women's activists conducted campaigns to demand that 30% of the Legislative Council be represented by women, which was largely ignored by the PA (Jacoby 1997). Moreover, illiterate women were uninformed about voting, and there were cases where male relatives would vote on their behalf, which undermined their political sovereignty (Baldi 2018b). Therefore, the male dominance present within the PA, women's lack of political representation, and lack of access to political rights affected women's political leadership and representation at the highest level in Palestine.

During the interim period, Palestinian women's committees and organisations lost their political relevance and shifted their focus to social welfare rather than socio-political feminist approaches. Following Oslo, the PA shifted its focus to state-building, aiming to encourage economic development and attract foreign direct investment from the West. This focus on economic development contributed to the fragmentation of the women's movement, as some Palestinian authorities and liberation movements prioritised state development and activities over other social issues. This resulted in women's committees occupying the social welfare space instead of the liberation organisation space (Aghabekian 2017). Yet, some women activists and organisations critiqued the PA's hegemony. However, the factionalism over interpretations of Sharia law and the political status of women's rights stalled their political momentum (Jacoby 1997). Some women argued that women's emancipation through religious ideology was possible, while others disagreed. This focus on religious ideology diverted energy from using feminist approaches and critiques of the liberation movement to assert women's socio-political leadership (Jacoby 1997). As a result, the women's movement lost its unified political momentum, shifting towards social welfare and its internal religious and ideological

divisions, overshadowing feminist commitments to advancing women's socio-political leadership.

Overall, the Oslo process and initial Declaration of Principles neglected women's issues, which sidelined gender equality for the broader Palestinian national agenda, resulting in continued gender hierarchy and oppression. When women are excluded from domestic and international policy-making and peace processes, it can marginalise them and limit their access to rights despite well-intentioned policies (Bant and Girard 2008). These impacts can be seen in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People as it perpetuates gender blindness to Indigenous women's issues and is incongruent with UN conventions that protect women's rights (Bant and Girard 2008). Palestinian women occupy a similar marginalised space due to their identities. Furthermore, women's contributions were not adequately acknowledged and rewarded with equal representation and rights. For example, many scholars, such as Holt (2003) and Baldi (2018), have highlighted that the PA did not adequately address women's rights and failed to acknowledge gender equality in Palestinian Basic Law. Additionally, the Accords failed to address issues of accountability and justice, particularly concerning conflict-related VAWG, as women's rights issues were not addressed in subsequent peace process negotiations (Abu Dayyeh Shamas 2001; Holt 2003; Allen 2009; Aghabekian 2017). Hence, Palestinian women lacked access to equal rights and laws, access to justice, and access to policy-making during the Oslo peace process.

Finally, the Accords reinforced the hypermasculinity present within Palestinian male leadership, including in the PA. This hypermasculinity reinforcement is not unique to nationalist liberation movements, as the state and government are conceptualised as a masculine domain. The peace process intended to promote Palestinian statehood, which was linked to masculinised ideas of the state and the gender roles in nationalist ideology (Jacoby 1997; Jaber 2020). In some national liberation ideologies, women were relegated to traditional gender roles, which confined them to the private sphere. The Accords and the peace process legitimised nationalist ideological understandings of gender roles, which reasserted traditional patriarchal structures. Thus, the signing of the accords reasserted traditional patriarchal structures within the PA and pushed women into the private sphere, which diminished their socio-political roles.

The Second Intifada (2000-2005)

The conditions of the interim period and the general failure of the Oslo peace process were significant factors in Palestinian pessimism and unrest that contributed to the outbreak of the Second Intifada. During the interim period, Israeli military preparations caused tension as militant Palestinian groups routinely made threats of violence, straining Israeli-Palestinian negotiations. Nevertheless, several events contributed to the outbreak, including the failure of the Camp David Summit in July and Ariel Sharon's visit to the holy site of the al-Aqsa Mosque (also known as the Temple Mount) on September 28 (Pressman 2003; Mall Dibiasi 2015). Sharon was advised not to visit the al-Aqsa Mosque both by Israeli advisers and Palestinian leadership as it would provoke violence. Sharon's motivations were political and he wanted assert the "right" for Israelis to visit Temple Mount and strengthen right-wing support. Mall Dibiasi (2015) notes that two months after the visit, the Israeli government approved the creation of the separation wall to deter Palestinian violence, which violated the Accords and international law. All of these factors sparked and spurred the violent Israeli-Palestinian confrontations during the Second Intifada.

In 2005, at the Sharm el-Sheikh summit, Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas and Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon agreed to take steps to de-escalate hostilities between Israelis and Palestinians. Both delegations reaffirmed their commitment to the "Road Map for Peace" that was back in 2003 (Reinhart 2006, 12). This roadmap required all Palestinian militant factions to discontinue violence against Israelis and the IDF to cease all military activities against Palestinians (Abbas 2005). Additionally, Sharon agreed to release 900 Palestinian prisoners and to withdraw Israeli troops from areas such as the West Bank, which were reoccupied during the Intifada (Reinhart 2006).

Unique aspects of the Second Intifada

The Second Intifada caused a shift from Palestinian liberation groups using pragmatic non-violence to violent resistance. Mall Dibiasi (2015) notes that the initial Intifada strikes and mass demonstrations lost momentum as cycles of violent confrontations made nonviolent civil action challenging to undertake. Scholars have noted that the fragmented Palestinian liberation movement led to Islamic militant groups gaining political prominence (Pressman 2003; Barak 2005; Mall Dibiasi 2015). These groups tended to disapprove of the peace process and were frustrated with the PA's adherence to the Israeli government's wants and the continued presence of the PA in the oPt (Pressman 2003). Furthermore, the regional rise of political Islam promoted

jihadism, which contributed to violence being used as a vehicle for political liberation (Paz 2003). Additionally, there was factionalism pertains to understanding political Islam between militant groups (Paz 2003; Pressman 2003; Milton-Edwards 2014). For example, there were debates about the use of non-violence or violence in defiance against the Israeli government (Paz 2003). Therefore, the rise of Islamic militant groups and the spread of political Islam impacted Palestinian liberation mobilisations by shifting towards a violent resistance.

The front lines of conflict entered the private sphere

The divisions and Israeli military control of the Palestinian spaces and targeted assassinations and terrorist attacks moved the front lines of conflict into the private sphere (Mall Dibiasi 2015). In the First Intifada, the majority of demonstrations and mobilisations occurred around Israeli military structures and along borders. However, the interim period led to the division of the oPt based on the levels of PA control, jurisdiction, services, and security (Mall Dibiasi 2015). In particular, 61% of Palestine was under exclusive Israeli control. Palestinians in these areas were subject to more arrests, curfews, land confiscations, house demolitions, evictions, raids, and targeted harassment from military personnel and settlers (Mall Dibiasi 2015). Thus, Palestinians were subjected to Israeli control and violence in public spaces and near their homes. This caused tensions between Palestinians, and Israeli settlers, military and administrative personnel to fester.

Moreover, temporary and permanent Israeli military checkpoints were established outside heavily populated Palestinian towns and cities. These checkpoints subjected Palestinian civilians to Israeli control as the Israeli military determined Palestinian mobility. This resulted in Palestinian civilians coming into close contact with military and administrative personnel who could harass, exploit, and commit acts of violence against Palestinians, which negatively impacted the psychological and socio-political stability of Palestinians (Sharoni 1994; Abu Dayyeh Shamas 2001). Additionally, there was an escalation in violence committed against civilians and alleged militants in public spaces or homes. For example, the Beersheba bus bombings, amongst others, occurred on buses and at bus stations (Butterworth et al. 2012). Also, the IDF shot and killed alleged militants and other civilians in a stand-off at the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (Young 2003).

The rise of terrorism

Connected to the increased use of violent resistance and violent confrontations within the private sphere, it led to the utilisation of terrorist attacks as a resistance technique. Within the

oPt, terrorist attacks allowed militants to combat Israeli military violence through the element of surprise when fighting a more militarily advanced IDF. This element prevented the Israeli government and military from using intel to prepare for violent confrontations as terrorist attacks because of its unpredictability, creating uncertainty within the public consciousness and political instability (Hoffman 2017). On July 31, 2002, Palestinian militants planted a bomb in a Hebrew University cafeteria, killing seven and injuring over 80. Witnesses, students, and staff saw the campus as a safe space, believing it would not be targeted due to the presence of Arab students (Bennet & Kifner, 2002). This example is one of many infamous terrorist attacks conducted in public spaces that the PA and the Israeli government condemned during the Second Intifada. Still, this example highlights the effects of terrorist attacks on Israeli safety and stability. Also, it underscores how these attacks gave Palestinian militant groups an avenue to disrupt communications and talks between the PA and the Israeli government.

Furthermore, terrorist attacks can be conducted by anyone and anywhere with makeshift bombs and weapons, causing massive damage to civilian infrastructure and casualties. From an affordability and accessibility angle, terrorist attacks are an ideal option for a less-resourced militant side. Thus, the rise of terrorist attacks not only intensified the conflict violence but also severely undermined the sense of socio-political stability, creating a fearful environment which allowed Palestinian militant groups to exert political influence.

The Second Intifada and its effects on Palestinian women

During the Second Intifada, women's overall participation in and leadership of resistance dramatically declined (Johnson and Kuttab 2001; Kayali 2021). This decrease is mainly attributed to the shift towards violent resistance, which discouraged widespread participation of vulnerable groups like women, children, and the elderly as they feared Israeli retaliation. As alluded to, the fragmentation of the women's movement and the decline of women's committees and their political relevance led to a decrease in women's involvement and leadership. Women were limited by PA's power structures, which reasserted traditional patriarchy and gender roles (Jacoby 1997; Johnson and Kuttab 2001; Holt 2003; Berko and Erez 2007; Jad 2010; Jaber 2020). Hence, violent resistance, combined with the exclusion of women from political processes and leadership structures, led to a significant decline in women's participation and socio-political influence.

The peace process, conflict, and Palestinian Area system heavily impacted women's mobility. The post-Oslo process introduced mobility restrictions based on area laws,

checkpoints, violence, and varying levels of PA control. Overall, these factors restricted the free movement of Palestinians within and outside of the oPt. However, Palestinian women and girls faced restricted mobility due to the increased Israeli military presence, which posed a safety threat through the fear of sexual violence and harm to their honour (Sharoni 1994; Abu Dayyeh Shamas 2001; Holt 2003; Baldi 2018; Madar 2023). Scholars like Sharoni (1994) and Madar (2023) purport that women were more likely to experience sexploitation from Israeli civil personnel at checkpoints and faced sexual harassment when visiting family members in military prisons. These experiences and fears over the sexual purity and honour of Palestinian women further restricted women's mobility (Sharoni 1994; Abu Dayyeh Shamas 2001; Holt 2003). With increased Israeli political violence, Palestinian women were less likely to be employed, let alone employed in Israel (Baldi 2018). Thus, women were less likely to participate in the public sphere, both within and outside Palestine. As a result, the fear of sexual violence, compounded by limited employment opportunities and the heightened Israeli military presence, significantly restricted Palestinian women's mobility and their participation in the public sphere during the Second Intifada.

Despite mobility and increased violent resistance, not all Palestinian women were deterred from participating in violence. This led to the emergence of Palestinian female suicide bombers. While women had historically engaged in both non-violent and violent forms of resistance within the Palestinian liberation movement, female suicide bombers garnered significantly more media attention than their male counterparts during this period. Wafa Idris, the first female Palestinian suicide bomber, became a focal point for Western media, which scrutinised her background to understand her motivations (Berko and Erez 2007; Naaman 2007; Kirk 2022). Motivations varied—some aimed to challenge patriarchal structures within Palestinian resistance, while others sought to restore personal or familial honour, achieve martyrdom, or make a meaningful contribution to the struggle (Berko and Erez 2007; Naaman 2007). After the first few female suicide bombings, Palestinian militant groups, like Hamas, publicly issued a religious ruling that permitted women to commit suicide bombings and granted them martyr status, which was met with mixed regional and international responses (Berko and Erez 2007; Naaman 2007). Thus, the inclusion of female suicide bombers in the Second Intifada marked a significant shift in the dynamics of Palestinian resistance, challenging traditional gender roles while highlighting the intensifying violence of the conflict.

Data Analysis

Critical Literacy, Power, and Palestine

Before analysing the sampled article data, it is important to note that it addresses five areas of Jank's concept of power, namely, power and inequality; consent to power and hegemony; language as a tool for power and resistance; discourse and power structures; and textual operations of language. These are interconnected in shaping knowledge and identity, particularly in print media, and are analysed through critical theories like Orientalism and feminist critiques to explore how news media narratives reinforce or challenge socio-political inequalities. This analysis will organise the data by themes and codes, examining their connections to power, hegemony, resistance, discourse, and textual language operations. This section will reinforce, extend, and pull together the analytic work previously offered in this report thus far.

The Concept of Power in *NYT* articles

Gender and Power in NYT's Representations of the Intifadas

In the sampled articles, women were mentioned infrequently and not prominently featured in Intifada narratives. As previously mentioned, there were difficulties in locating and sampling *NYT* articles that briefly mentioned women, let alone Palestinian women and their experiences of VAWG. Notably, most sampled articles focused on Palestinian men and many articles concentrated on issues around militant men with women in adjacent roles. Articles by Rubin (2002) and Erlanger (2007) feature interviews with Palestinian women, but they often tend to be relegated to the background as men are foregrounded in the articles. Thus, there is a lack of *NYT* articles that specifically discuss Palestinian women's roles in the Intifadas, indicating a disparity in coverage and gender blindness.

When *NYT* articles mention Palestinian women, they are stereotyped and footnoted in intifada narratives. The most common framing of Palestinian women is mentioning they are devastated mothers. Moreover, these women are positioned as either mothers of militants or mothers concerned about violence. For example, Erlanger (2007) interviews Najwa el-Assar, who discusses the effects of violence on her sons by asserting that the surrounding violence has resulted in her children exhibiting violent behaviours and desires to commit violent acts against Israelis. However, women are slotted into article narratives focusing on Palestinian militancy, especially articles published during the Second Intifada. There is inconsistency in

the way women are referred to by their names. They are often depersonalised, unnamed, and generally called mothers or mourning women (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times 1989; Rubin 2002; Bruni 2003). This results in women being labelled according to gender roles and framed as passive and homogenised, which prevents more nuanced opinions and identities.

Along with framing women as devastated mothers, many *NYT* articles discuss female suicide bombers and women who sympathise with female suicide bombers. The article "Israelis Declare Arab Woman Was in Fact a Suicide Bomber" mentions Wafa Idris, the first Palestinian female suicide bomber. Bennet (2002) mentions that there was no information left behind as to why she would commit such a violent act. Conversely, articles may briefly mention a suspected female suicide bomber, but there will be no further commentary (Myre 2003). Additionally, in "Children of the intifada: The lost generation of Palestine", Erlanger (2007) interviews a young Palestinian woman, Suhaila Badawi, who admires the female suicide bomber, Mirvat Massoud. Badawi purports that Massoud was not misled and that she was brave. Intriguing, Massoud was inspired to become a martyr following the suicide bombing conducted by her cousin. Notably, female suicide bombers were more likely to be mentioned by name than other Palestinian women (Bennet 2002; Erlanger 2007). This emphasis on female suicide bombing exaggerates the frequency of female suicide bombing over male suicide bombing.

Furthermore, a prominent throughline in the sampled articles is the emphasis on Palestinians, especially women supporting violence, armed struggle, and idealising 'martyrs' during the Second Intifada (Rubin 2002; Bruni 2003; Erlanger 2007). For example, Bruni (2003) asserts that Palestinians, including men, women, and children, are overall supportive of armed struggle by emphasising the masses of people that attend the funerals of militants as well as mentioning people chanting for revenge against Israelis. Additionally, Bruni (2003) mentions scores of women mourning the death of a Hamas leader. Emphasising women supporting violence plays into narratives that Palestinians are inherently more supportive of violence, which reinforces Orientalist power hierarchies and us-versus-them dichotomies, simplifying complex conflict dynamics.

Violence and Power in NYT's Representations of the Intifadas

Violence and its codes are present in all sampled *NYT* articles. Its prominence suggests that Intifada narratives heavily circulate violence; almost every article mentions Palestinian militant groups or violence perpetrated by Palestinians, even when headlines reference Israeli violence (Special to The New York Times 1993; Rosenthal 1993; Rubin 2002; Myre 2003; New York

Times 2005). In the article "Israeli Soldiers Kill 5 Palestinians, Including a Journalist", the first sentence mentions the Israeli army utilised armed vehicles for a nighttime raid. However, it was directed at Palestinian militants (Myre 2003). Additionally, this article does mention the deaths of the press and civilians but intersperses this information by mentioning Palestinian gunfire as well as men and women who are suspected militants and suicide bombers.

Similarly, other articles do mention Palestinian victims of Israeli violence but follow-up these remarks with an emphasis on Palestinian retaliation and faction infighting increasing violence, specifically in the Second Intifada (Myre 2003; The New York Times 2005; Erlanger 2007). The mention of the violence perpetrated against Palestinians, followed by allusions to the perpetuation of violence by Palestinians against Israelis (they do not often differentiate the violence committed against Israeli soldiers or civilians), downplays Israeli state violence (The New York Times 2005; Erlanger 2007). For example, the only *NYT* article that explicitly mentions VAWG is "Palestinian Girl Killed", but it also highlights Hamas's retaliation against an Israeli settlement despite the IDF not claiming responsibility for the girl's death (The New York Times 2005). Media narratives like this imply that Palestinians are using and engaging in violence regardless of other socio-political factors and also infer that Israeli violence is intended to be more targeted.

Almost all of the sample *NYT* articles frame Israelis on the defensive. This framing is conveyed by positioning the IDF's actions and violence as a response mechanism to Palestinian militancy. Myre's (2003) article frames Israel's offensive nighttime raid in Rafah as a response to Palestinian militant violence, even when innocents are caught in the crossfire. In Addition, Myre mentions that these are regular raids. Also, Erlanger's (2007) article positions Israel on the defensive by stating that Israeli checkpoints, barriers, closures, and controls were installed to protect Israelis from suicide bombers and militants. However, Erlanger (2007) omits that many of these checkpoints and controls were installed during the peace process and before the prevalence of Palestinian suicide bombings. Therefore, these media framings position Israel as on the defence and as a victim of internal and external aggression whilst omitting Israeli acts of aggression and control of Palestinians.

Moreover, The Israeli government and military frame its actions as justified to prevent attacks and violence as well as highlight the Israeli government's 'restraint' on violence. *NYT* journalists mention mass arrests during night raids; Haberman (2001) refers to them as "quick in-and-out raids to make arrests", as well as threats to continue targeting militants whilst skimming over details of civilians being unlawfully arrested or caught in the crossfire

(Haberman 2001; Rubin 2002; Bruni 2003; Myre 2003). In Bruni's (2003) article, he mentions that the Israeli military reestablished checkpoints after being retrenched as a step towards peace to counter the firing of bullets and rockets by Hamas without referencing the origins of checkpoints in the peace process. It goes on to highlight how Palestinian "anger" results in revenge and calls for terrorist violence when militant leaders are hunted down (Bruni 2003). This frames Palestinians as attackers and targeting civilians when the Israeli military has done the same. These framings present in *NYT* articles reinforce the perception of Israel as a defensive actor while portraying Palestinians as responsible for initiating violence, often neglecting the broader context of occupation and control. Hence, the framing of Israel as the defence and Palestine as the aggressor suggests that Palestinians are irrational and bloodthirsty, reinforcing Orientalist stereotypes.

Along with this positioning, *NYT* articles consistently purport that the majority of Palestinians support violence, especially in articles that were written during the Second Intifada. Journalists like Haberman (2001), Rubin (2002), Bruni (2003), Myre (2003), and Erlanger (2007), as well as *NYT* Special Issue (1990), make mention of interviewees or Palestinians as supporting violence by referring to their demonstration attendance against the occupation, their support or membership of Palestinian liberation groups with armed wings (not all of them were armed militants), or the normalisation of violence in everyday life. Erlanger (2007) makes mention of opinion polls conducted by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research that indicate that "a generation [those that were children or born during the First Intifada] as more supportive of armed struggle and terrorism than its parents". This statement is paired with population statistics that indicate that "75.6% of Palestinians are considered as youth". Also, the article emphasises that Palestinians favour political parties that are also militant groups like Fatah and Hamas. The combination of this information implies that the majority of Palestinians support militant groups, violence, and terrorism without including the context of the occupation and Intifadas, which makes Palestine socio-political unstable. Additionally, there are limited mentions of non-violent resistance conducted during the Second Intifada and its support.

Furthermore, Bruni's (2003) article highlights how Palestinians who attended the funeral of Ismail Abu Shanab, a Hamas official, vowed to commit violence. Attendees' aggression was punctuated by mentioning that "loudspeakers on vans and trucks broadcast voices that swore revenge". Erlanger's (2007) article echoes a similar sentiment of revenge.

[Quoting interviewee Mrs Najwa Assar speaking about her son, Mustafa] "[he said] 'I want to be fat, Mommy… Because I want to put on a suicide belt and not have the Israelis see it.'"

The above quotations, along with other articles, imply that Palestine is chaotic, violent, and radical, inferring that Palestinians are more supportive of violence and terrorist groups like Hamas. Additionally, Bruni's (2003) article goes on to mention that in interviews, civilians oppose the PA's promise of a militant crackdown as "unacceptable and could lead to civil war among Palestinians" without specific references. These quotations purport the idea that Arabs, including Palestinians, are inherently violent, conservative, and religious (Said 1977; 1997). This plays into Orientalist stereotypes and power hierarchies and deepens the us versus them dynamics between Palestinians and Israelis.

When Palestinians do not support violence or want to leave Palestine, they are framed as the minority. Erlanger (2007) interviews a young Palestinian man who says that the youth are pressured to associate with militant factions, and parents mention that young people are vulnerable to recruitment. In the article "Palestinian Uprising Prompts Both Arabs and Israelis to Leave", Brinkley (1989) interviews a Palestinian woman who is trying to move to the US and mentions that the trend of Palestinians moving abroad to avoid being killed or arrested by Israeli forces, yet it is "not a mass migration". Additionally, the article emphasises that some Palestinians are fed up with Palestinian nationalism and the economy but does not emphasise Israeli violence explicitly (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times 1989). However, it does posit that young Palestinian men are on the receiving end of Israeli cruelty and are more likely to be mobilised. Nevertheless, it does mention that there is non-violent Palestinian resistance through boycotts and strikes and the fact that some Israelis disagree with the presence and activities of the military. However, these are less emphasised in mainstream narratives (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times 1989). This framing minimises the extent of Israeli violence and non-violent resistance efforts, instead depicting non-violent Palestinians and those seeking to immigrate as exceptions within a predominantly militant society.

Articles published during the First Intifada and the peace process highlight Palestinians' and Israelis' uncertainty about continued peace. Many articles written during the peace period, including Kifner's (1993) "MIDEAST ACCORD: Settlers; Israelis in Territories Feel Cast Adrift in Angry Sea", focused on Israeli settlers who were weary of the peace agreement as they feared violence under the jurisdiction of the new PA. Additionally, articles that interview

both Palestinians and Israelis highlight their hesitancy to trust Palestinian leadership to adhere to the peace process without acknowledging Israel's compliance with the peace process as well (Special to The New York Times 1993).

Another common trend is the mention of suicide bombings as well as female suicide bombers. Journalists mention female suicide bombers or the arrest of potential female suicide bombers (Bennet 2002; Erlanger 2007). Additionally, Rubin (2002) remarks that Qeis Adwan was a mastermind behind suicide bombing plans and that "suicide bombers are the new celebrities and heroes of Palestine", suggesting that they are aspirational to the Palestinian populace. This focus on suicide bombing takes attention away from violence and human rights violations conducted by the IDF against Palestinians and underlines the unique trend of suicide bombing as a form of "terrorism".

Articles purport that Palestinian faction infighting and the increase of weapons in Palestine have increased the overall violence of the Second Intifada (Rosenthal 1993). This implies that the higher rates of use of force are attributed to Palestinians rather than the increased use of force by Israeli forces. Some articles suggest that violence will occur during the peace process because of militant groups' opposition to the peace settlement conditions. Some articles suggest the possibility of violence recurring during the peace process period because some militant groups strongly opposed the peace settlement conditions and refused to adhere to them. With the signing of the Accords, journalists like Rosenthal (1993) predicted that a peace settlement would likely result in Palestinian militants taking over the PA, resulting in more violence. This sentiment is echoed by interviewed Israelis (Kifner 1993; Special to The New York Times 1993). In the *New York Times* Special (1993), Israeli interviewees highlight that they see Arafat as a terrorist, view the new PA as dangerous, and assert that "there is no tradition of democracy in the Palestinian society". This sentiment stems from the historical support of neighbouring Arab states for nationalist armed struggles and dictatorships. The Palestinians that were interviewed echoed that the peace process will depend on Palestinian action and leadership and did not mention Israeli accountability. These framings place the onus of peace and stability almost entirely on Palestinian actions and governance, downplaying the role of Israeli military presence and accountability in the regional tensions.

Destruction and Power in NYT's Representations of the Intifadas

NYT articles rarely focus on the destruction of Palestinian society, land annexation, damage to Palestinian infrastructure, and the effects of the occupation on socio-political and economic

stability. Rubin (2002) does acknowledge the destruction of Palestinian homes conducted by the Israeli military, but the mentioned home bombings and demolitions were linked to militants. Also, the New York Times Special (1990) article focuses on how the IDF has destroyed Palestinian society through home demolitions and human rights violations. However, other articles underscore the effects of Palestinian suicide bombing on Israeli infrastructure and society but rarely acknowledge Israel's illegal annexation and destruction of Palestinian infrastructure and homes and its effects on Palestinians as explored in the literature (Bennet 2002; Rubin 2002). Thus, there is a lack of contextualisation of the physical, socio-political, economic, emotional, and psychological destruction of the occupation on the stability of Palestinian society, land, infrastructure, and homes.

Many *NYT* articles detail the fears and effects of the Intifadas and Palestinian statehood on Israeli society and stability. Articles like "MIDEAST ACCORD: Settlers; Israelis in Territories Feel Cast Adrift in Angry Sea" focus on the fears and socio-political instabilities of Israeli settlers in the oPt (Kifner 1993). The article asserts that settlers fear for their safety from potential attacks and discrimination from the newly established PA and other Arab states' armies. They also assert that the Israeli government is unsupportive and has made them vulnerable. Additionally, article interviewees posit that with the signing of the Accords, co-existence and long-lasting peace are unlikely due to Palestinian leadership and society. Many settlers like Elana Rosinger express that PA control is a threat to Israeli political stability and the "historic" Jewish holy land (Kifner 1993). Moreover, this sentiment is echoed by Israelis in the New York Times (1993) article. Hence, there is an emphasis on the potential erosion of Israeli socio-political stability and sovereignty due to Palestinian control and acknowledging Palestinian statehood.

There is an assertion that Palestinian land is Israeli land, and there are no acknowledgements of the annexations of Palestinian land. For example, Jews like Yisrael Medad and Julie Bornstein assert that their claim to Palestinian land is historic Israeli land (Kifner 1993; Special to The New York Times 1993). Also, there is mention of the area system in Palestine. Regardless, there is no explanation of the differing levels of control that the PA and the Israeli government have in specific occupied areas (Kifner 1993). Moreover, they view Palestinian control over land as dangerous to their stability. Interviewee Julie Borenstein says:

> *"There is lots of land out here. There is room for both Arabs and Jews to expand. We could all live here if there is Jewish sovereignty. If it is Arab, it will be like this wild place, and any Israeli who goes in will risk his life. We came here because we believed*

in Greater Israel. We didn't come to live under Arab sovereignty" – Special to The New York Times 1993

When Palestinian destruction is acknowledged in articles, there tends to be a focus on internal Palestinian violence and economic instability. Haberman's (2001) article argues that Palestinians and Israelis are in the same position due to the conflict violence impacting their daily lives. Additionally, economic instability is why Palestinians want to emigrate to other states (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times 1989). In terms of economic instability, Erlanger (2007) asserts that the only job opportunities within Palestine are with militias' "disorganised security forces". Also, it is acknowledged how Israeli checkpoints physically inhibit Palestinian mobility within and outside the oPt, but there are not many comments on Israeli control and restrictions on Palestinian socio-political and economic insecurity (Special to The New York Times 1990; Haberman 2001; Erlanger 2007). This results in a lack of context regarding the oPt's internal instability. Occasionally, articles frame Palestine as not destroyed but inherently chaotic and unable to maintain democratic structures and procedures (Rosenthal 1993; Special to The New York Times 1993; Erlanger 2007). Therefore, more emphasis is placed on intra-Palestinian dynamics being destructive rather than the occupation.

As much as *NYT* articles do mention the peace process and its mixed implications, there is emphasis placed on discontent with Palestinian leadership from both Israelis and Palestinians (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times 1989; Kifner 1993; Special to The New York Times 1993; Erlanger 2007). *NYT* articles use Palestinian comments on discontentment to further delegitimise Palestinian statehood and the liberation movement and thus curate an image of Palestine that is unstable. There are instances where Palestinians and a couple of Israelis express contentment or approval with the Accords, but it is contrasted with more anxiety over Palestinian leadership's commitment to the peace process and recognising Palestinian power (Special to The New York Times 1993; Kifner 1993). Interviewee David Bar'Illhan is quoted saying, "What we are doing now is shaking hands with Saddam Hussein…they will be overlooking Isreal… and a sovereign state [Palestine] cannot be de militarised, any more than Hitler's Germany was demilitarised" (Special to The New York Times 1993). This quotation highlights that some Israelis perceive Palestinian sovereignty and control as equally dangerous and destructive to political stability and peace in Nazi Germany. Additionally, this evokes a sentiment that Palestinian sovereignty will result in anti-Semitic violence, social destruction, and the ethnic cleansing of Jews present in the oPt. This is not often contrasted with Israel's ethnic cleansing and violence towards Arabs and Palestinians in

events like the Nakba (Farsoun and Zacharia 1997; Zupan 2014; Flores 2016; Almassri 2023). This selective framing reinforces a narrative that undermines Palestinian legitimacy while downplaying Israeli actions, ultimately shaping public perception in favour of Israeli security concerns over Palestinian self-determination.

Religion and Power in NYT's Representations of the Intifadas

The codes of us versus them, and the conflation between ideology and religion, as well as antisemitism and islamophobia, were identified in the sampled articles from *NYT*. Sampled articles mention religion more directly and frequently than the sampled *Al Jazeera* articles. For example, references to religious dress such as hijab or veils and textual identification of interviewees or figures as Jewish or Muslim, occurred frequently (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times 1989; Special to The New York Times 1993; Rubin 2002). This included depictions of people in a disempowered environment or references to images of martyr posters in articles (Rubin 2002).

Notably, *NYT* articles conflate the ideologies of martyrdom and jihadism with broader Islamic beliefs, practices, and acts of violence. For example, Bruni (2003) defined jihad as "holy war" in his article, yet that is only one of many definitions of jihad. Jihad can also refer to an individual or internal struggle related to faith (Ragionieri 2016). This is confusing as some armed groups like Islamic Jihad use it in their name. However, *NYT* narratives imply that expressions of jihad are linked to violence and armed militants (Rubin 2002; Erlanger 2007). However, when interviewing a father of a martyred daughter, Amin Massoud infers that education is jihad, which directly contradicts Bruni's (2003) conception of jihad (Erlanger 2007). Also, the term 'martyr' is used to refer to Palestinian suicide bombers or militants, whereas the literature shows that innocent bystanders and peaceful protestors are also referred to as 'martyrs' (Johnson and Kuttab 2001). Therefore, there is a specific definition of jihad and martyrdom that the *NYT* uses to insinuate that these ideologies are violent and are directly connected to Islam.

When Jewishness was mentioned, it was used to refer to specific demographics for a statistical purpose (e.g. numbers of "Jews" vs "Arabs") rather than referring to the Judaic faith. For example, when a journalist provides a death toll, they use the term Jew to denote the distinctions of the death tolls between Israeli Arabs, Palestinians, and Israeli Jews (Haberman 2001). It was common for *NYT* articles to mention specific Jewish-Israeli death tolls while keeping the Palestinian death tolls vague. This use of the term further distinguishes Israelis

from Palestinians through us-versus-them dichotomies and hierarchical discourses of power. Also, this plays into the notion of power and inequality as it indicates that individual Israeli lives and deaths are more valued and accounted for than Palestinians' lives.

Additionally, Jewishness was mentioned by Palestinian interviewees when detailing their frustrations with the occupation. In the article *Children of the intifada: The lost generation of Palestine* by Steve Erlanger (2007), he quotes a Palestinian boy saying,

> *"Israel should leave this land," he said angrily, then repeats what he's taught, that all of Palestine belongs to Muslims. The Jews should go back to where they came from. They have no place here".*

This quotation reinforces the hegemonic assumption that Palestinians are antisemitic. It plays into the discursive power dynamics of religious dichotomies found in other *NYT* articles that frame the occupation and confrontations as religiously charged and historically recurrent (Kifner 1993). Furthermore, frustrations about the presence of Israeli settlers are not framed within the crucial context of forced removals and Israeli cruelty. The omission of this context positions Palestinians as objecting to the presence of Israelis and Jews *per se* on purported religious grounds. Moreover, these dichotomies denote these tensions as stemming from 'holy land' rhetoric and from the Arab world wanting to invalidate the existence of the only 'exclusively Jewish' state in the world (Kifner 1993; Rosenthal 1993; Special to The New York Times 1993). This occurs when journalists like Rubin (2002) highlight the presence of religious Palestinian militants like Sheikh Jamal Abu al-Haija. Also, she mentions the martyr posters of suicide bombers, militants like Qeis Adwan, and Arab leaders like Saddam Hussein and Osama Bin Laden are present in the Palestinian refugee camps. Therefore, the mention of Palestinians' discontent is attributed to religious rather than political enmities.

Conversely, the article "An Israeli Rights Group Fights for Palestinians" outlines the mission, activities, and challenges of B'Tzelem, an Israeli human rights organisation, including threats of violence from extremist Israeli Jews while monitoring human rights violations under occupation (Special to The New York Times 1990). The founder, Dedi Zucker, has been on the receiving end of "angry Jewish mobs" for providing an alternative record of the death tolls and human rights violations experienced by Palestinians (Special to The New York Times 1990). Zucker underlines that the Israeli army, refrain from accurately documenting the use of force against Palestinians and highlighting that the government uses statistics and reports to bend the truth around what is occurring on the ground (Special to The New York Times 1990). Moreover,

this article is unique as it highlights that there are Israelis who intend to challenge and transform the Israeli public's ignorance of the military violence used against Palestinians. This article creates a new trichotomy of Israelis who support Palestinian human rights, Israelis who are ignorant of the plight of Palestinians, and Israelis who do not support Palestinian liberation. This trichotomy reveals the nuances in Israeli public opinion on Palestinians, challenging the simplistic "us vs. them" narrative of Israeli Palestinian or Jewish-Muslim divisions.

When references to Islam are made, they are usually indicated through dress or personal association with Islamic militant groups like the Islamic Jihad. For example, journalists persistently refer to women as veiled, hinting at a Muslim identity (Rubin 2002; Bruni 2003; Erlanger 2007). Articles also mention militants (young men and women) becoming more deeply religious before committing suicide bombings or joining militant groups. For example, Amin Massoud notes that his daughter became more religious before her suicide bombing and implies that her motivation was religious: "But I don't know what drove her … too much faith inside her, I don't know" (Erlanger 2007).

Moreover, journalists interview family members of militants who emphasise that their loved ones became more religious and radicalised by harmful events against innocents. Many family members describe their children as 'kind' and struggle to identify when they changed. However, they note when they have turned to more active participation in the liberation movement (Bennet 2002; Rubin 2002; Erlanger 2007). This is particularly evident in the case of Qeis Adwan, in which his family details his kind acts towards his family, fellow students and militants (Rubin 2002). Rubin (2002) juxtaposes these actions with his reputation as a bomb builder and bombing planner and with his association with Hamas that 'warranted' his being assassinated by Israel. Hence, there are more overt mentions of religion by journalists when it is linked to militant and violent activity, which contributes to power and discourse dynamics that posit Islam and Palestinians as inherently militaristic, violent, and religious.

Statehood, nationalism, and liberation and Power in NYT's representations of the Intifadas

NYT articles heavily emphasise modes of violent resistance in the Palestinian liberation movement. A strong throughline in most of the sampled articles is that national liberation and Palestinian statehood are characterised as inherently violent. Articles from Rubin (2002) and Rosenthal (1993) highlight militant organisations' connections to planned terrorist attacks on Israelis. Articles published during or discussing the Second Intifada frequently mentioned militants or militant groups. Few articles mention non-violent resistance in the liberation

movement during the Second Intifada, such as boycotts (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times, 1989; Rubin, 2002). This narrow focus on violent resistance not only reinforces stereotypes about the Palestinian liberation movement but also marginalises the significance of non-violent resistance, thereby offering an incomplete and skewed portrayal of the broader struggle for Palestinian statehood.

As previously mentioned in the *NYT's* violence section, articles place a strong emphasis on the seemingly widespread Palestinian support for armed struggle, militant groups like Hamas, and acts of terrorism during the Second Intifada. Journalists like Bruni (2003) and Myre (2003) frame Palestinians as aggressive and supportive of attacks and militant leaders. This is contrasted with alleged Israeli 'restraint' and adherence to the peace process. Besides the occasional mention of information shared by Palestinian interviewees, facts and figures about the widespread support for armed struggle and resistance are not directly stipulated (Rubin 2002; Erlanger 2007). Habermann (2001) mentions that Palestinians treat terrorist attack sites against Israelis as shrines. Additionally, references to praise and admiration for suicide bombers like Massoud and terrorist coordinators like Adwan reinforce the idea that Palestinians are supportive of violent resistance (Rubin 2002; Erlanger 2007). Subsequently, there are mentions of militant leaders and Palestinians referring to the Koran and jihad as motivations for violent Palestinian nationalism (Rubin 2002; Bruni 2003; Erlanger 2007). These references frame Palestinians as irrational, violent, politically unstable, and fanatically religious, thereby undermining and discrediting the socio-political motivations for Palestinian statehood and frustrations with the occupation.

Along with mentions of widespread support for violent resistance, Palestinians are framed as supportive of tyrannical leaders like Arafat. Arafat, the PLO, and the PA are often portrayed as hindrances to the peace process (Kifner 1993; Rosenthal 1993; Special to The New York Times 1993; Haberman 2001; Rubin 2002; Bruni 2003; Myre 2003). Articles contain comments which imply that Palestinians are unable to maintain democratic statehood and will fall into militancy and religious fervour (Kifner 1993; Rosenthal 1993; Special to The New York Times 1993). This also spotlights how Israelis view Palestinian society as socially and politically backward, blaming Palestinians and their leadership for setbacks in the peace process. Additionally, Rubin (2002) infers that schools, universities, and prisons are hotspots for nationalism as youth are radicalised in these spaces by other militants and religious leaders. These references imply that Palestinian nationalism and statehood would be socially,

politically, and economically dangerous to the stability of Palestine, Israel, and the surrounding region.

As previously stated, *NYT* articles highlight stories of Palestinians who are dissatisfied with the socio-political and economic state and instability of the oPt. Interviewees who are frustrated with the PLO and PA are also underlined by Brinkley (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times 1989). Furthermore, some articles go on to posit that Palestinian nationalism and militancy are strident and off-putting to Palestinians and Israelis (Haberman 2001; Erlanger 2007). Some articles emphasise that Palestinians are frustrated by the growing trend of youth militancy and its effects on their prospects (Erlanger 2007). Connected to destruction, the article's interviewees comment on the decline of Palestinian quality of life under Arafat's control (Bruni 2003; Erlanger 2007). However, many of these frustrations are mainly placed within Palestine. There are mentions of the effects of Israeli checkpoints and Israeli harassment on the lives of Palestinians. However, journalists fail to adequately connect them to continued Israeli control, agreement failures and setbacks in the peace process on Palestinian stability (Special to The New York Times 1990; Haberman 2001; Malik 2001; Bruni 2003; Barak 2005; Mahle 2005; Erlanger 2007). It frames Palestinian dissatisfaction with the socio-political and economic situation of the oPt on the failures of the PLO, PA, and its leaders. However, it is a much more complex interplay between peace process disagreements and the continuing effects of Israeli control on Palestinians (Malik 2001; Barak 2005; Mahle 2005; Mall Dibiasi 2015). This results in insinuations that Palestinian nationalism is more connected to dissatisfaction with Palestinian leadership and infers that the armed struggle against the Israeli government is somehow inappropriate.

In conjunction with the emphasis on the dissatisfaction with the socio-political and economic state and Palestinian leadership, *NYT* articles highlight Palestinian disillusionment with the peace process and armed struggle (Haberman 2001; Erlanger 2007). Erlanger (2007) highlights the restrictions Israeli checkpoints impose on Palestinian lives and their lack of quality of life despite increased Palestinian control. Haberman (2001) argues that both Palestinians and Israelis are disillusioned with the peace process, as it has failed to bring lasting stability. Similarly, Haberman (2001), Bruni (2003), and Erlanger (2007) suggest that removing checkpoints and transferring control to the PA would not necessarily improve mobility or end IDF military actions or settler hostility. This disillusionment with the peace process implies that nationalism, statehood, and liberation conflict with its objectives.

NYT articles reference the image of young Palestinian men as symbols of the national liberation movement (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times 1989; Rubin 2002; Erlanger 2007). Rubin's (2002) focus on the political impact of suicide bombing and youth radicalisation highlights the trend of Palestinian young men taking up arms and leadership roles in the movement. Moreover, the deaths of boys and men in the crossfire are mentioned. Articles referencing the Second Intifada insinuate that youth is a synonym for young men participating in resistance movements (Erlanger 2007). Notably, when women are mentioned as being a part of the resistance, it is reduced to being or admiring female suicide bombers. This skews media narratives to favour depictions of young radicalised Palestinian men, often with guns, bombs, or stones (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times 1989; Bennet 2002; Erlanger 2007). This suggests that the concept of Palestinian nationalism, statehood, and liberation is often associated with masculinity.

The Concept of Power in *Al Jazeera* Articles

Gender and Power in Al Jazeera's Representations of the Intifadas

Al Jazeera articles foregrounded women more frequently. Articles and narratives that discussed Palestinian women and their experiences of VAWG were easy to find using the proposed methodology. Interestingly, titles included references to women, their experiences, and their leadership in the Intifadas. This foregrounding can be seen in titles such as "Women of the Intifadas", "Palestinian women: An untold story of leadership and resistance", and "How Palestinian women led successful non-violent resistance" (Khalel 2015; Gadzo 2018; El-Kurd 2018). Journalists interviewed various Palestinian women to discuss their experiences, or journalists described the actions of their female family and community members in great detail (Khalel 2015; Gadzo 2018; El-Kurd 2018; Abusalama 2020). Even when articles articulated the general experiences of the Intifadas, articles like "Stories from the First Intifada: 'They broke my bones' " featured interviews with men and women (Hammad 2017). Moreover, journalist Sheren Khalel (2015) spoke to different generations of Palestinian women, thereby consistently foregrounding women, their experiences, and their roles in the intifada in the sampled articles.

In addition to being included women in media narratives, women are represented in a myriad of ways. Articles often mention whether women are mothers or grandmothers, but the focus is placed on their agency and experiences. This is illustrated in articles by Khalel (2015) and Gadzo (2018), which detail women's VAWG and participation in the Intifadas as well as

their leadership and organisation (Khalel 2015; Gadzo 2018). Additionally, the names of interviewed women are included, and occasionally, an image of the interviewee accompanies the article's textual content, making them more individualised. Moreover, women are often presented as active participants and leaders, especially in protests and the organisation of mobilisations, such as the women's committees (Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018). These different representations of Palestinian women challenge hegemonic stereotypes about Palestinian women's passivity found in Western media, portraying them as active, resilient, and in positions of power. Therefore, Al Jazeera articles spotlight Palestinian women and their diverse experiences and roles.

Strikingly, *Al Jazeera* articles discuss the two-fold oppression Palestinian women face, especially in retrospective articles (Holt 2003; Rought-Brooks, Duaibis, and Hussein 2010; Aharoni 2014; Aghabekian 2017; Baldi 2018). Journalists do assert that women are oppressed by the Israeli occupation as well as Palestinian patriarchy in their everyday lives (Diab 2015; El-Kurd 2018). Many articles detail the effects and obstacles women face in this occupation, including injuries and immobility (Khalel, 2015; Hammad, 2017; El-Kurd, 2018; Abusalama, 2020). El-Kurd (2018) highlights that women rarely feature in mainstream liberation narratives. Thus, these omissions from history must be addressed through the education and mobilisation of younger generations and media corrections (Khalel 2015; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018). Overall, *Al Jazeera* articles acknowledge the gendered socio-political context of the occupation and Palestinian society to highlight the oppression they endured.

As previously mentioned, *Al Jazeera* articles do emphasise Palestinian women's experiences of VAWG during the Intifadas. Articles cite long-term injuries sustained by interviewees and the psychological effects of violence in the Intifadas on women (Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017). Diab (2015) mentions how occupation and violence affected women's self-perception and mental health. Articles do focus on violence used against protestors and women who fought off soldiers committing acts of violence, arrests, or raids (Khalel 2015). Hence, *Al Jazeera's* articles underscore women's experiences of violence (specifically the VAWG outlined in this thesis) and the occupation violence.

Violence and Power in Al Jazeera's Representations of the Intifadas

The sampled *Al Jazeera* articles focus on the violence perpetrated by Israeli forces and settlers in the oPt. Hammad's (2017) article highlights statistics and stories of regular Palestinians and the injuries they suffered at the hands of Israelis. Hammad (2017) states that according to Israeli

human rights organisation B'Tzelem, "1070 Palestinians were killed … including 237 children. Jewish settlers also killed 54 Palestinians." Hammad (2017) interviewed three Palestinians who discussed the extreme use of force by Israeli forces when they were unarmed or attending mass demonstrations. Wael Joudeh mentions that he and his cousin were followed home by Israeli soldiers who beat them with stones to break bones (Hammad 2017). This incident was filmed and showed that Israeli forces were instructed to break and injure the hands and feet to disable Palestinians. During the First Intifada, Khadija mentioned that an Israeli soldier intended to fatally wound her with a shot at point-blank range (Hammad 2017). Also, Khalid Amayreh (2005) mentions women activists being assaulted by Israeli settlers when touring Hebron. These experiences spotlight that Israeli forces use unnecessary force as well as assaults perpetrated by Israeli settlers against civilians, centring the violence against Palestinians and countering rhetoric which purports that Israel only attacks targets.

It is not to say that *Al Jazeera* glosses over violence perpetrated by Palestinians. Articles like "Palestinian Intifada: How Israel orchestrated a bloody takeover" do mention that when confronted with Israeli forces, Palestinians used stones and slingshots to fend off soldiers (Adam 2020). However, these descriptions are followed up with accounts of the disproportionate violence utilised by Israeli soldiers. Multiple journalists detail eyewitness accounts of experiences of Israeli control through curfews, mass arrests, injuries of protestors, house arrests and raids, settler assaults, and home confiscations, to name a few (Amayreh 2005; Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018; Abusalama 2020). Through the use of memories and experiences, violence conducted towards Palestinians, specifically non-militants, was placed within the occupation. This frames Palestinians confronting Israelis as an act of defiance against the brute force of the Israeli military.

Some *Al Jazeera* articles reference the effects of suicide bombings and civilian attacks on the attitudes towards the Palestinian liberation movement, specifically during the Second Intifada. In the article "Israeli peaceniks face uphill battle", Israeli activists explain that suicide bombings and civilian attacks have made it difficult to drum up Israeli and international support for the Palestinian liberation movement (Amayreh 2004). Furthermore, the suicide bombings have galvanised Israeli leaders to posture that Palestinian violence threatens Israel's existence, justifying its use of force. It also pushed many Israeli citizens further to the right, making it difficult for sympathetic Israelis to mobilise (Amayreh 2004). Notably, Diab (2015) mentions that many women have turned to suicide bombing as an expression of honour under occupation as well as personal dissatisfaction with the double oppression they face as women. Also,

women participate in suicide bombings, attacks, and (historically) hijackings to contribute to the armed struggle, where gender roles often inhibit women's participation (Diab 2015). Out of the sampled articles, there were no explicit explanations for why Palestinian men have committed suicide bombings outside membership in militant groups. Thus, *Al Jazeera's* coverage highlights how the complexities of occupation and gendered oppression intersect with the motivations for Palestinian violent resistance while also acknowledging how suicide bombings have strained both local and international support for the Palestinian liberation movement.

Al Jazeera articles emphasised the non-violent resistance of Palestinians and Israeli women in the First and Second Intifadas. Boycotts of Israeli goods, planting crops for harvest, aiding the families of the incarcerated or martyrs, providing medical care, and the leadership role of women's committees was highlighted in multiple articles (Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018; Abusalama 2020). Women's committees were influential in providing social work and various types of aid and helping non-violent resistance mobilisations throughout the First Intifada. Abusalama (2020) states, "During those curfews, we would not be allowed to go out… my grandmother and aunts would risk their lives to go outside and look for supplies to buy". Moreover, *Al Jazeera* articles mentioned Israeli peace and activists like Women in Black and B'Tzelem and Yossi Beilin, who were instrumental in supporting the Palestinian liberation movement and speaking out on the human rights violations perpetrated by the IDF and government (Amayreh 2004; 2005). Therefore, *Al Jazeera* articles mentioned non-violent resistance and peace efforts more than the sampled *NYT* articles.

Destruction and Power in Al Jazeera's Representations of the Intifadas

Sampled articles frequently mention the destruction of homes and land annexation. Adam (2020) presents statistics from the Palestinian Centre for Human Rights, which reveals that "the Israeli army demolished more than 5,000 Palestinians homes and damaged another 6,500 beyond repair" during the Second Intifada. Additionally, Adam (2020) suggests that the Israeli military pushed Palestinians into an armed struggle to distract from annexations of Palestinian land and made threats to occupy the Jordan Valley and take over Jerusalem. Thus, there is a more contextualised focus placed on the physical destruction and annexation of Palestinian homes, infrastructure, and land in conflict.

There is mention of the destruction and instability of socio-political and economic structures in occupied Palestine. For example, articles highlight that the Israeli justice system

destroys families because of the difficulty of visiting detainees and implies that the court system is undemocratic (Amayreh 2005). Articles also give death tolls and injury statistics of Palestinians and occasionally divide them into categories (Adam 2020). The presentation of this information underscores the effects of Israeli violence on Palestinian society and stability. Therefore, *Al Jazeera* articles emphasise the destructive effects of Israeli violence and occupation on Palestinians.

Al Jazeera articles also emphasise discontent with Palestinian politics, presenting nuanced views on the failures and successes of Palestinian leaders during and after the peace process. Journalists and interviewees express frustrations with the peace process and Israel's unwillingness to compromise and make peace. The text implies that Arafat and the PA have failed to support Palestinian society (Tamimi 2003; Diab 2015; Hammad 2017; Adam 2020). Also, there are brief mentions of the high population density and economic climate in Palestine and how it contributes to increased violence (Gadzo 2018; Adam 2020). However, *Al Jazeera* articles posit that the socio-political and economic conditions of Palestine are heavily influenced by the failed progress in the peace process to achieve statehood and the continued occupation (Tamimi 2003; Amayreh 2005; Diab 2015; Khalel 2015). Nevertheless, destruction is never framed as hopeless, and articles highlight the endurance of the Palestinian liberation movement, spotlighting stories of perseverance and resistance against oppressive Israeli actions like home invasions and curfews (Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018; Abusalama 2020). This emphasis on resilience reflects a narrative of endurance and determination amid destruction, underscoring the enduring hope within Palestinian society.

Religion and Power in Al Jazeera's Representations of the Intifadas

Al Jazeera's articles made less direct references to religion. There are not many textual references to religious dress or religious identity. If there are references, they are more minimal and are not used to identify someone's individuality. Hammad (2017) interviewed three Palestinians who shared their experiences of the Intifadas. The interviewee, Khadija Abu Shreifa, a Palestinian woman, mentioned a woman tearing off pieces of her hijab to help her wounds stop bleeding after being violently assaulted by Israeli soldiers at a demonstration (Hammad 2017). In the same article, a male interviewee mentions Palestinian young men veiling themselves with keffiyeh to make communication graffiti. Interestingly, *Al Jazeera* articles do not make many references to religious dress, but many of the sampled articles include images of women in hijab or religious dress but not all cover photos include veiled women (Diab 2015; Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018). The article "Women of the

Intifada" includes a photo of an older woman in hijab, an unveiled middle-aged woman, and a photo of a Palestinian teenage girl wearing a keffiyeh, a Palestinian liberation symbol (Khalel 2015). Nevertheless, the textual content of the sampled articles includes less overt references to religion than those in *NYT* articles.

Al Jazeera articles' references to religion are used to highlight the dynamics of the occupation and Intifadas rather than differentiations between Israelis and Palestinians. In "Palestinian Intifada: How Israel Orchestrated a Bloody Takeover", there is a quotation from Abu Yusuf, a senior executive member of the PLO, in which he describes Israel's intentional use of force during the Second Intifada by saying :

> *"The fact that Israel shot over a million bullets caused great losses to Palestinian lives and stepped over the Muslim holy places all shows that Israel wanted to militarise the Intifada. The excessive use of force that the Israeli army exercised was intended to drag the Palestinians into a military confrontation."* - Adam 2020

This quotation underscores that Israel's use of force and incidents like Ariel Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount were strategic and intended to play into hierarchical and religious power dynamics (Pressman 2003; Adam 2020). Adam (2020) mentions that Sharon's visit was particularly timed as Palestinians had commemorated the 1982 Sabra and Shatila massacre, in which Sharon was understood as responsible for allowing violence (Adam 2020). Also, Tamimi (2003) contextualises the rise of Islamist sentiment within the oPt as a response to the occupation and the failures of the PA. This emphasis on timing and symbolism in Israel's actions underscores the role of political strategy over religious motivations, suggesting that the conflict's escalation is more about power and control than purely religious division challenging dominant Western and Orientalist media narratives.

When religion is explicitly mentioned, potential links to suicide bombings and violent attacks, along with other factors, are considered. The article "When Palestinian Women Take up arms" details the history of Palestinian women's participation in armed resistance and potential explanations for why women have performed violent attacks and bombings linked to women wanting to be viewed as patriotic (Diab 2015). Diab (2015) argues that the shock surrounding these attacks and bombings stems from orientalist and sexist stereotypes of Arab women, which portray them as "passive, weak, and submissive," along with the belief that women, as "life-givers," are incapable of violence. However, mental health professionals highlight that women who have experienced abuse tend to commit suicide bombings to be more

honourable or to avoid religious and familial shame (Diab 2015). But motivations are not always clear. On the other hand, the literature highlights that suicide bombings conducted by women were often politically motivated and aimed to challenge the patriarchal structure of the Palestinian liberation movement in the Second Intifada (Berko and Erez 2007; Naaman 2007; Kirk 2022). Therefore, female suicide bombers were either personally or politically motivated and not necessarily connected to religious motivations, which contrasts with the *NYT* articles' understanding of the motivations of female suicide bombers.

Al Jazeera does make mention of Jewishness but not concerning faith; however, it does make distinctions between the demographics of Jewish people. The article "From Intifada to Intifada" highlights that Palestinians are discontent with the presence of the USSR and American Jewish settlers in the oPt (Tamimi 2003). This highlights that Palestinians oppose foreign settlers but accept the presence of Arab Jews, emphasising that their concern is not with Jewish identity but with settlers' foreign origins and their claim to "native" land. This counteracts the notion that posits that Israeli-Palestinian tensions stem from holy land rhetoric and challenges the religious framing of Palestinian-Israeli conflict and violence. It is not to say that it cannot play into antisemitic rhetoric. However, it seems that the term is used to collectively refer to Israeli settlers and foreign settlers by grouping them by religious identity. In sum, *Al Jazeera's* coverage suggests that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is more rooted in issues of occupation and foreign settlement than in religious differences, challenging prevailing narratives that frame the conflict primarily around religious tensions.

Statehood, nationalism, and liberation and Power in Al Jazeera's representations of the Intifadas

Al Jazeera offers different viewpoints and references to non-violent and violent resistance. However, many articles couch their comments on resistance in real stories from interviews or anecdotes from the writers themselves. Interviewees refer to experiences of organising communication within the resistance and their participation in protesting or fighting off IDF soldiers (Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; Gadzo 2018). Furthermore, Articles mention the presence of peace initiatives and groups like the Women in Black and B'Tzelem to foster peaceful Israeli-Palestinian relations and report on violations perpetrated by the IDF (Amayreh 2005; Hammad 2017; Adam 2020). Writers reference familial memories and experiences with Israeli control, soldiers, and settlers (Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018; Abusalama 2020). Armed struggle and violent resistance are mentioned, like female suicide bombings and attacks, as well as the rise in militancy during the Second Intifada (Tamimi 2003;

Amayreh 2004; Diab 2015; Khalel 2015; Adam 2020). Still, they are contextualised within the greater socio-political and economic landscape of the occupation, like the IDF's violence and increased Israeli control during the peace process. For example, Adam (2020) posits that the Israeli government used disproportionate force during the early days of the Second Intifada to encourage more armed resistance. Overall, *Al Jazeera* presents a more complex depiction of resistance to Israeli power that makes reference to the socio-political and economic context that gives rise to different types of resistance.

Consequently, most of the articles in the sampled *Al Jazeera* reference general sentiments and attitudes towards the occupation and the internal Palestinian context. Articles mention the frustrations with the peace process and PA leadership but also reference the Israeli government and military actions that have worsened conditions for peaceful resolution (Tamimi 2003; Khalel 2015; Adam 2020). Articles make mention of increased Israeli control and presence beyond checkpoints like home demolitions, violence against peaceful protestors, curfews, disrespect to Muslim holy sites (in the case of the Second Intifada), and mass casualties of Palestinians, often citing exact statistics (Gadzo 2018; Abusalama 2020; Adam 2020). Furthermore, journalists posit that non-violent mobilisations and resistance by civilians, protestors, and peace organisations are often overlooked by international media (Amayreh 2005; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018). In addition, the contextualisation of the effects of Israeli control, as well as the diverse state of Palestinian resistance and nationalism, frames Palestinians as resilient in the face of violence and reactive to the occupation rather than instigators of conflict. Therefore, this contextualisation frames Palestinian resistance, in its different forms, as legitimate forms of opposition and liberation against a violent occupational power.

Additionally, *Al Jazeera* articles often reference women and their experiences in resistance and nationalist discourses (Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018). As previously noted, women are portrayed as active, and their diverse contributions, leadership, and struggles are centred in articles. As a teenager, Iltizam Morrar encouraged her fellow peers to participate in protests against the Israeli separation wall, and Hammad (2017) briefly mentions Khitam Saafin, who was the then-current President of the Union of Palestinian Women's Committee, to discuss women's mobilisation during the First Intifada (Gadzo 2018). These articles spotlight the violence they experienced at the hands of Israeli military personnel and the ways they combatted violence during protests and arrests. For example, Iltizam Morrar reveals that she was almost run over by an Israeli bulldozer when protesting to protect her

village's land (Gadzo 2018). Along with mentioning interviewees' names and family status, articles centred on their individual experiences and contributions to the liberation movement and highlighted their opinions on Palestinian resistance and leadership (Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; Gadzo 2018). Therefore, women's agency, experiences, opinions, and participation in mobilisations and activities around Palestinian nationalism, statehood, and liberation are emphasised.

As mentioned, *Al Jazeera* articles have promoted various images of women in Palestinian liberation and resistance. The concept of Palestinian motherhood and the status of women as mothers is highlighted. References to bearing children in the context of occupation are framed as a form of defiance (Diab 2015). Additionally, women being caretakers of others is frequently mentioned. Abusalama (2020) mentions that his mother was a working nurse who assisted those brutalised by Israeli forces during the Intifadas, and other female family members were responsible for keeping children fed. These narratives place women in a traditionally maternal role. Still, this is one of the liberation narratives available to women.

Notably, women as protestors and fighters are often highlighted alongside the acknowledgement that less traditionally accepted female roles, as well as female leadership, have faced erosion in the media and mainstream Palestinian resistance discourses. El-Kurd (2018) acknowledges the "collective deafness" towards Palestinian women's experiences as well as the flattening of women's complex humanity and agency during the Intifadas. A number of the sampled articles mention women's participation in the liberation movement, often from a young age similar to the male counterparts referenced in the media, as well as the homogenisation of women's experiences and roles within and outside of Palestine (Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018). Articles like Khalel (2015), Hammad (2017), and Gadzo (2018) mention women's active participation in protests and their physical defence of Palestinian homes, land, and people, which some might say is a traditionally masculine trait. Moreover, many articles utilise images of women with Palestinian flags facing IDF soldiers, protest placards, or raising their hands in defiance (El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018; Abusalama 2020). These articles, paired with these images, challenge narratives of Palestinian women's passivity in the face of occupation and foreground the need to acknowledge the contributions and erasure of women in nationalism, statehood, and liberation narratives within the movement and the media.

Comparison between Power in *NYT* and *Al Jazeera* articles

Gender

Compared to the following themes and codes, there are limited similarities in *NYT* and *Al Jazeera's* gender representations, particularly that of Palestinian women. Both media companies link gender to violence and depict the societal impacts on both men and women to differing degrees. Both news agencies mention the connections between Palestinian women and violence. However, *NYT* articles focus on Palestinian women supporting or participating in violence. In contrast, *Al Jazeera* articles highlight women's roles and experiences of VAWG as well as the violence they have enacted. The most interesting aspect of gender representations in both publications is the lack of attention to violence suffered by incarcerated women (which will be elaborated further on in Access).

The most notable differences in gender representations from *NYT* and *Al Jazeera* are the visibility of women, stereotypes versus multifaceted representations, women's agency, acknowledgement of the socio-political context, and the emphasis placed on VAWG experienced by women. In *NYT* articles, women are rarely mentioned and occur as secondary characters to male figures. Usually, they are positioned as devastated mothers or suicide bombers/ supporters. Conversely, *Al Jazeera* articles often foreground women and publish dedicated articles wherein women can detail their experiences and leadership, highlighting women's agency and contributions in titles and textual content. The *NYT* articles portray Palestinian women through a limited lens that underscores passive or dangerous roles, and they are often unnamed.

As mentioned, *Al Jazeera* articles focus on the myriad of roles Palestinian women played in the Intifadas, spotlighting their participation, leadership, and organisation. Moreover, articles present women's individual stories and experiences, frequently naming them and occasionally including their images, which challenges Western, Orientalist, and sexist media stereotypes of women's passivity. *NYT* articles frequently downplay the agency of women, placing more emphasis on male militants and portraying female suicide bombers as exceptions rather than uplifting instances of women's involvement. As noted before, *Al Jazeera* consistently underlines women's agency in the Intifadas by emphasising their diverse actions, contributions, and roles in the liberation movement.

NYT articles often ignore the overall socio-political context of the Intifadas (this is a pattern identified with other themes) and the oppression faced by women under the occupation

and within their communities. *Al Jazeera* articles frequently address the double oppression women face under Israeli control and patriarchy. Overall, *NYT* articles fail to mention the physical and psychological toll of VAWG, with only one article mentioning VAWG explicitly (The New York Times 2005). On the other hand, *Al Jazeera* vividly details VAWG by mentioning women's injuries sustained in physical confrontations and the psychological impacts of the occupation. In essence, *NYT's* representation tends to be limited and stereotypical, portraying Palestinian women in passive or supporting roles, while *Al Jazeera* offers a more diverse and agency-focused depiction, spotlighting their resilience, leadership, and multifaceted experiences roles during the Intifadas.

Violence

Sampled articles from *NYT* and *Al Jazeera* mention violence perpetuated during the Intifadas by militant groups, suicide bombers and attacks and link them to the broader political impacts on Israeli and Palestinian society. The articles from both media companies occasionally acknowledge the impact of Palestinian violence on the success and support of the liberation movement during the Intifadas (Special to The New York Times, 1990; Amayreh, 2004). Furthermore, both media companies detail the significance of suicide bombings, acknowledging their effects on Palestinian and public opinion on peace and security. Lastly, both publications report on the toll of violence on civilians, though they often highlight these impacts with varied emphasis.

NYT is defensive of Israeli actions. Israel is positioned as on the defensive, and it frequently highlights Palestinian aggression whilst downplaying the effects of Israeli control and occupation on Palestinian society. On the other hand, *Al Jazeera* mentions the disproportionate use of force by the IDF against civilians and children in both Intifadas (Amayreh 2005; Hammad 2017; Adam 2020). Furthermore, *Al Jazeera* tends to place violence within the context of occupation and civilian suffering. The articles consistently emphasise the disproportionate impact of violence on Palestinian civilians, often detailing personal accounts and high civilian death tolls, which are less likely to be mentioned in *NYT* articles (Amayreh 2005; Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; Gadzo 2018; Adam 2020). In terms of societal dynamics, *NYT* emphasises Palestinian support for militant groups and implies that the support of violence is ingrained in Palestinian society. Whereas *Al Jazeera* focuses on structural pressures and systemic oppression, giving more context to the motivations behind Palestinian resistance and intifada violence. Also, *Al Jazeera* articles often emphasise non-violent resistance and peace movements within Palestinian and Israeli society by mentioning boycotts, social work,

grassroots mobilisation, and collaborative peace campaigns, whereas *NYT* articles focus heavily on militant activity. Hence, these differences underline *NYT's* defensive framing of Israeli actions and *Al Jazeera's* focus on the socio-political impacts of violence and occupation on Palestinians and modes of resistance.

Family

The NYT articles frequently mention familial relationships. When Palestinians are interviewed, their family role is mentioned. For example, when someone is interviewed, and personal characteristics are identified, roles such as mother of three or father are highlighted. Interestingly, *NYT* articles tend to interview more family members than *Al Jazeera* articles. In Rubin's (2002) article, she interviews Qeis Adwan's mother, father, brothers, and friends (Rubin 2002). Conversely, in *Al Jazeera* articles, interviews are individual-focused. For example, an interviewee would be mentioned as a mother, but more focus was placed on their experiences and worries (Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; Gadzo 2018). Noting someone's familial role indicates that journalists from both news agencies are aware of family, which may point to attempts to humanise interviewees to differing extents.

NYT posits family members as supportive of violence, ignorant of the violence of family members, or afraid of the effects of violence and the unviability of the socio-political context of Palestine. Mirvat Massoud is inspired by her cousin's suicide bombing and commits her own (Erlanger 2007). In Rubin's (2002) article, there is an emphasis placed on how Qeis Adwan's family cannot pinpoint when he fully turned to militancy and violent resistance. Similarly, Wafa Idris's family are sceptical of the militant motivations behind her suicide bombing (Bennet 2002). Erlanger's (2007) article mentions parents worrying about how their children are being recruited into militant groups as well as the impacts of witnessing violence has on children. Moreover, Brinkley's (1989) article emphasises how Palestinian families leave the oPt to escape socio-political, economic, and physical instability. Hence, *NYT* seems to use the theme of family to frame Palestinian intifada narratives.

Conversely, *Al Jazeera* articles rarely mention the effects of violence on families. For example, interviewees tell journalists that they have shared their or family members' violent memories during the Intifadas with family (Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017). Moreover, interviewees and journalists emphasise familial resistance and perseverance during the Intifadas, even when faced with threats of violence and harassment. However, both media companies rarely mention the complexities and effects of the occupation and nationalism on

familial structures as well as shared familial experiences of the occupation, which is present in the broader literature (Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2004; Boehmer 2005; Ranchod-Nilsson and Tétreault 2005; Baldi 2018; Kayali 2021).

Destruction

In terms of similarities, both *NYT* and *Al Jazeera* acknowledge the existence of political instability and destruction within Palestinian territories, but to different extents. Both address Palestinians' dissatisfaction with their leadership, mentioning frustrations over the peace process and with leaders like Arafat. Each media company discusses Palestinian society's political and economic struggles with varying emphasis. This shared acknowledgement of Palestinian struggles reflects the region's complex challenges, even as each outlet highlights different facets.

NYT rarely covers the impact of occupation, land annexation, or home demolitions on Palestinian life, often centring on the potentially destabilising effects of Palestinian control on Israeli society. *Al Jazeera*, however, consistently highlights the destruction of Palestinian infrastructure, including frequent references to specific demolitions and annexations (Gadzo 2018; Adam 2020). *NYT* tends to frame Palestinian society as inherently chaotic, sometimes attributing instability to Palestinian governance and social structures. On the other hand, *Al Jazeera* emphasises resilience, detailing Palestinian resistance's ongoing struggle to maintain societal stability despite occupation-related challenges. While *NYT* articles occasionally mention violence faced by Palestinians, they predominantly focus on the impact of Palestinian attacks on Israeli society. Alternatively, *Al Jazeera* provides specific statistics on Palestinian casualties and emphasises the socio-political impacts of violence, including on children and detainees, often portraying the occupation's toll on the community (Amayreh 2005; Hammad 2017; Adam 2020). *NYT* uses Palestinian critiques of their leadership to question the legitimacy of Palestinian statehood. In contrast, *Al Jazeera* presents a more complex view, attributing much of Palestine's political struggles to external forces like the occupation and unfulfilled promises of the peace process from Palestinian and Israeli powers. These contrasts in reporting underscore how each publication's portrayal of destruction and instability shapes readers' perceptions of the Intifadas, framing Palestinian resistance through distinct narrative lenses that reflect underlying political, ideological, and cultural biases.

Religion

The sampled *NYT* and *Al Jazeera* articles mention religious identity, but the level of directness differs, as *Al Jazeera* does so more subtly than *NYT*. *NYT* articles frequently use religion to describe individuals, referring to Jewish or Muslim identities, religious dress, and martyr posters, whereas *Al Jazeera*'s references are subtler and less frequent. *Al Jazeera* mentions Muslim Holy places and Jewish settlers, suggesting religious undertones without necessarily framing the conflict through a religious lens. Both media companies link religious references to broader power structures and dynamics. *NYT* utilises religion to create "us-versus-them" dichotomies, whereas *Al Jazeera* highlights the power dynamics of the occupation and the presence of settlers rather than focusing on religious differences alone. Both media companies make demographic distinctions, but *Al Jazeera* infers Palestinians' acceptance of Arab Jews, whereas *NYT* is less explicit on this distinction and seems to use religious distinctions to 'other' populations.

On the other hand, *NYT* implicitly frames ideologies like jihad and 'martyrdom' as militaristic Islamic practices. However, *Al Jazeera* emphasises the political motivations of militants and suicide bombers rather than suggesting religion as the leading cause of violent actions. In terms of framing Jewish settlers, *Al Jazeera* highlights Palestinians' concerns about the nationality of settlers (e.g., American, USSR) rather than religion. In contrast, *NYT* frames the tensions as part of a religiously charged conflict. *Al Jazeera* uses human rights as a perspective to challenge Western narratives about the Intifadas by focusing on the occupation and illegal settlements in Palestine. At the same time, *NYT*'s coverage often implies a deeply entrenched religious conflict devoid of socio-political context. While both media companies address religious elements, *NYT* presents a religiously framed conflict, whereas *Al Jazeera* emphasises political and demographic issues, challenging religious interpretations of the conflict.

Statehood, nationalism, and liberation

Both news agencies recognise the political instability and dissatisfaction within Palestinian society, particularly in connection with the peace process and Palestinian leadership. There is more emphasis placed on the failures of Palestinian leaders in the post-Oslo process compared to Israeli leadership. However, the continued presence of the Israeli military in the oPt is acknowledged. Additionally, both media outlets focus on the Palestinian resistance movements as key to national liberation but differ in emphasis and framing of these movements and groups.

Finally, both *NYT* and *Al Jazeera* address frustrations Palestinians have with the Palestinian leadership, including dissatisfaction with figures like Arafat and the general structure of the PA. However, there are more differences than shared similarities.

The most prominent difference is that the *NYT* almost exclusively frames Palestinian nationalism as militant, aggressive, and irrational, whereas *Al Jazeera* articles paint a more nuanced picture of the liberation movement. *NYT* articles primarily link Palestinian resistance and liberation groups to offensive aggression, stringent militarism, terrorism, and religious extremism, framing Palestinians as supportive of violence against Israelis. Overall, *NYT* articles suggest that Palestinian society is chaotic and incapable of sustaining democratic statehood without religious fervour and militancy. Also, non-violent efforts are rarely mentioned. This *NYT* framing leads to the presentation of Palestinian statehood, nationalism, and liberation as politically unstable and dangerous to the region. On the other hand, *Al Jazeera* highlights both violent and non-violent forms of Palestinian resistance, offering a complete portrayal of liberation discourses and actions within the occupation's socio-political landscape. Articles also frame Palestinian nationalism and resistance in all its forms as a legitimate response to the occupation and the broader socio-political and economic factors, focusing on Palestinian resilience. Hence, *Al Jazeera* does have a more pro-Palestine bias, whereas the *NYT* tends to have a pro-Israel bias, contributing to who is portrayed as more sympathetic.

Consequently, the framings of Palestinian resistance and liberation underscore the contextualisation of violence, especially in the Second Intifada. *NYT* articles often present Palestinian violence as unprovoked and irrational, undermining its connection to Palestinian frustrations with the occupation and continued systemic oppression after the signing of the Accords. However, *Al Jazeera* articles utilise personal testimonies to contextualise the violence of the IDF forces and settlers towards Palestinians and position Palestinian violence as an act of resistance. Thus, Palestinian violence is contextualised as a reaction to the occupation and emphasises Israeli military actions, home raids, demolitions, and the disproportionate use of force against regular civilians and peaceful protestors.

The representation of Palestinian women's leadership in *NYT* and *Al Jazeera* articles is stark. In *NYT* articles, Palestinian women are not referred to as active leaders in liberation discourses and activities, reducing resistance roles, especially non-violent resistance. Additionally, women's depictions are limited and often stereotyped, with most representations of women being supportive of militant violence or committing violent acts themselves. In the case of *Al Jazeera*, diverse narratives about women's roles and influence in the Palestinian

liberation movement are highlighted. Women are framed as active in providing medical assistance and other forms of social aid, non-violent mobilisation, and in defence of fellow Palestinians and Palestinian homes, which portrays women in both traditionally feminine and masculine roles of caretakers and protectors in liberation.

Discussions of leadership and the peace process differ substantially. *NYT* articles blame the PA and support for Arafat for failures in the peace process as well as the continued socio-political tensions between the Israeli and Palestinian governments and societies. Israeli government actions are often overlooked, as well as the complex interplay of factors contributing to the conflict, like the continued Israeli control and violence against Palestinians (Malik 2001; Mahle 2005). In comparison, *Al Jazeera's* articles are more nuanced, acknowledging both the failures of Palestinian and Israeli actions and leadership and providing more balanced takes on how the socio-political and economic context exacerbates conditions in the oPt.

Interestingly, the portrayal of youth in resistance differs between *NYT* and *Al Jazeera* articles. *NYT* articles focus on the radicalisation of young men, especially in terms of militancy and terrorism. The use of the term youth is implied to be masculine, which marginalises the presence of young women and younger children in resistance outside of stereotypical narratives of them being innocents. Additionally, young female suicide bombers are highlighted and portrayed as outliers to violent resistance. On the other hand, *Al Jazeera* spotlights the experiences of young women and men in resistance and liberation actions, mobilisations, and narratives, while showcasing their participation in diverse roles, ranging from protests to community support to suicide bombings.

Hence, *NYT* tends to portray Palestinian nationalism, statehood, and liberation as inherently violent and unstable, often framing Palestinians as aggressors or victims of their leadership, creating a binary of responsibility for the use of force utilised against them or victims of their circumstances. In contrast, *Al Jazeera* offers a more nuanced and humanised depiction, emphasising resilience, nonviolent resistance, and the socio-political implications of occupation, while highlighting the contributions of women and youth to the liberation movement.

Critical Literacy, Access, and Palestine

Access is of paramount importance in analysing how Palestinian women had access to the selected media agencies and media narratives during Intifadas, and how their agency is portrayed in the sampled articles from *NYT* and *Al Jazeera*.

The Concept of Access in NYT Articles

Palestinian women had limited access to media narratives in NYT articles as published articles that focused solely on Palestinian women during the Intifadas, as well as retrospective articles, were non-existent, let alone articles that discussed violence and VAWG. Overall, Palestinian women in the sampled NYT articles appeared in limited capacities. When mentioned in sampled articles, women are less likely to be interviewed than their male counterparts. Women are referenced when they were connected to men of interest (usually militants), used to describe the general state of Palestinian society and environment, as well as used to give testimonies about the impacts of internal Palestinian tensions on civilians (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times 1989; Special to The New York Times 1993; Haberman 2001; Rubin 2002; Erlanger 2007). This lack of women's foregrounded presence in articles indicates that Palestinian women's access to NYT media narratives is acutely limited, and there is a potential gender blindness towards the occupation and the contexts of the Intifadas.

When NYT journalists interview women, they are not guaranteed to be named and identified. Notably, women who are named tend to be mothers lamenting about the socio-political and economic state of Palestine and the wellbeing of their families, especially their children (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times 1989; Erlanger 2007). Women are given space to voice their concerns on the impacts of Palestinian militancy and political tensions on their children. However, women are not given much room to discuss the general impacts of the occupation on their wellbeing. This prevents Palestinian women from having access to voice their opinions and experiences of the occupation as well as the struggles they individually face outside of family narratives.

When female suicide bombers are mentioned in articles, there are quotations of women admiring the acts of female suicide bombers or admiring violence (Bennet 2002; Bruni 2003; Erlanger 2007). In the case of Wafa Idris, Bennet (2002) details her volunteer work and eyewitness accounts of her appearance before the bombing. There is an implicit notion that admiring Palestinian women for their acts of violence, rather than their traditional roles as mothers and caregivers, is somehow unsettling. Therefore, there are limited opportunities for

Palestinian women to state their opinions on the effects of the occupation on their lives, as well as limited discussions on the role of women outside of being mothers and suicide bombers. This plays into sexist assumptions and stereotypes that women are caregivers and Orientalist portrayals that position Palestinian women as passive but also bloodthirsty.

Strikingly, the sampled NYT articles scarcely mention the pivotal role Palestinian women played during the First and Second Intifadas. Despite extensive literature that details Palestinian women's roles in non-violent resistance like protests, boycotts, education, and community support, as well as a history of women being involved in armed resistance, NYT articles rarely mention their impact on nationalism, statehood, and liberation narratives and actions (Pope 1993; Kawar 1996; Johnson and Kuttab 2001; Kayali 2021). Moreover, Palestinian women are often portrayed as lacking agency and as victims of the circumstances. In reality, women's leadership was pivotal in mass mobilisations amongst Palestinians as well as in distributing information and building up foreign support for the liberation movement in the decades before and during the First Intifada (Pope 1993; Kawar 1996; Johnson and Kuttab 2001; Kayali 2021). This further underlines the gender blindness in NYT articles but also highlights the disparities in the representations of Palestinian women in reality and the media.

The Concept of Access in Al Jazeera Articles

Al Jazeera articles and journalists dedicate full-length articles to women to spotlight their stories and struggles during the Intifadas. In various articles, Palestinian women are interviewed to gain insight into the general effects of the occupation and the Intifadas on their lives and detail their experiences of VAWG (Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; Gadzo 2018). These women detail how they contributed to mobilisations, protests, and community protection, as well as the protection of fellow Palestinians daily, like physically attacking IDF soldiers performing arrests and house raids (Khalel 2015; Abusalama 2020). As much as women's leadership and experiences of VAWG were centred in articles, it should be mentioned that not all the articles were written by Palestinian women. However, male journalists tended to be Palestinian, underscoring that Palestinians generally have more access to directly author and shape media narratives in *Al Jazeera* articles. Thus, Palestinians, including women, are more likely to have access to media narratives and have a centred focus on *Al Jazeera* articles, although women are limited in their direct access to shaping narratives as journalists.

Al Jazeera articles are more likely to interview and humanise Palestinian women, naming them unless they request anonymity and providing brief details such as their age, family

status, and hometown (Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; Gadzo 2018). When women are interviewed, they are given the space to detail their experiences and thoughts on the liberation movement as well as the socio-political and economic context of Palestine, which allows women to contribute to how they are portrayed in print news media (Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; Gadzo 2018). This is not to say that *Al Jazeera* articles only interview and centre the experiences of Palestinian women, but there are more detailed and dedicated articles that centre Palestinian women's stories and experiences alongside more general articles that discuss Palestinian experiences, like Hammad's (2017) article. Articles spotlight VAWG and record their active mobilisation against the occupation whilst highlighting the mass participation of Palestinian women in the liberation cause (Khalel 2015; Gadzo 2018). It also allows women to discuss the VAWG they faced from Israeli military and civil personnel as well as settlers, which gives more socio-political context to the use of force by Israelis against Palestinians.

By the same token, journalists note that mainstream media narratives about Palestinian liberation and the Intifadas often exclude the impact of Palestinian women's leadership and mobilisation on the Palestinian socio-political and economic landscape and the Israeli occupation (Khalel 2015; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018). This awareness indicates that *Al Jazeera,* as a news agency and its journalists, intend to correct previous exclusions and misrepresentations of Palestinian women found in the mainstream (and perhaps their own) media narratives, which may play into sexist and Orientalist stereotypes. Thus, the content of the sampled Al Jazeera articles reveals more complex portrayals of Palestinian women and acknowledges the erasure of women from media narratives.

Commentary and Comparison in Access in NYT and Al Jazeera Articles

It is transparent that there are limited similarities and many differences in access between *NYT* and *Al Jazeera* articles. Both *NYT* and *Al Jazeera* focus on Palestinian women's roles and involvement in socio-political contexts during the Intifadas, although with differing intensity. Additionally, both media outlets comment on the effects of violence on Palestinian women, but their framings vary. *NYT* focuses on women as victims of violence or circumstance and occasionally as perpetrators of violent attacks, whereas *Al Jazeera* mentions women's participation and leadership in resistance.

The extent of coverage differs significantly between *NYT* and *Al Jazeera*. *NYT* marginalises and rarely mentions Palestinian women's experiences and roles, even in Intifada-focused articles. Women often appear as victims orientated to frame internal Palestinian

instability and turmoil as responsible for their strife or only as secondary roles as mothers and supporters of militant men. Thus, *NYT* articles maintain mainstream narratives that marginalise women's stories. On the contrary, *Al Jazeera* provides dedicated articles that provide a platform for women's contributions, experiences, and struggles during the Intifadas. Journalists intentionally address the historical exclusion of women, aiming to provide a more nuanced portrayal of their experiences and contributions. Therefore, the portrayal and inclusion of Palestinian women in articles directly correlate with each outlet's editorial focus. *NYT* prioritises conventional narratives of victimhood, limiting women's voices and agency. In contrast, *Al Jazeera* actively works to correct mainstream omissions, giving women a platform to share their diverse roles and struggles.

Notably, *NYT* articles rarely interview women, and when they do, the women are often unnamed, not individualised, or simply framed within family roles and gendered narratives. Discussions of their agency or roles beyond stereotypical portrayals of caregiving, motherhood, and victimhood are minimal. Additionally, discussion of targeted violence from Israeli forces, civil personnel, and settlers against Palestinians is rare. Conversely, women are more frequently interviewed, named, and humanised in *Al Jazeera* articles. Articles enable women to share their personal experiences and thoughts on liberation movements and socio-political impacts, resulting in discussions about VAWG experiences. Therefore, there are disparities in coverage between *NYT* and *Al Jazeera. NYT* articles rarely place focus on Palestinian women and their diverse roles and experiences in the Intifadas, nor are the media narratives accessible to Palestinian women. In contrast, *Al Jazeera* articles provide a platform for Palestinian women to describe various experiences and roles and can influence their portrayals in media narratives. This stark contrast underscores how media outlets' editorial choices significantly influence access by shaping the visibility, agency, and representation of marginalised groups, with *NYT* largely perpetuating reductive and exclusionary portrayals or omitting women from narratives. Meanwhile, *Al Jazeera* articles are inclusive and acknowledge women's multifaceted roles and experiences.

Consequently, the portrayal of Palestinian women's agency differs in the news outlets. As highlighted, *NYT* articles often overlook women's active resistance mobilisation during the Intifadas in favour of portrayals of women as victims of circumstances or supporters of violence. Contrariwise, *Al Jazeera* articles emphasise women's leadership, mobilisation and participation in protests, curfew-breaking for resistance communication, and physical resistance against Israeli forces despite mainstream exclusion and ignorance of their efforts and

experiences (Khalel 2015; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018; Abusalama 2020). It can be concluded that sampled *NYT* articles deny Palestinian women agency, whereas *Al Jazeera* articles foreground women's agency on an individual, communal, and national level.

There are discrepancies between the acknowledgement and framing of gender in the Intifadas and VAWG. As mentioned, *NYT* articles lack an emphasis on women's narratives, indicating a gender-blindness that inadvertently marginalises Palestinian women and their voices in media narratives. On the contrary, *the content of Al Jazeera's* articles indicates that journalists consciously uplift women's contributions, experiences, and voices in liberation and Intifada media narratives. While men write a number of the articles, they explicitly seek to amplify women's voices, acknowledging their historical marginalisation in the media and structures like patriarchy and occupation. While both platforms are shaped by male-dominated journalism, *Al Jazeera's* editorial choices demonstrate an awareness of and effort to counteract gendered marginalisation, unlike *NYT's* largely gender-blind approach.

Furthermore, *NYT* and *Al Jazeera* articles differ in their historical context and activism provision. *NYT* articles tend to ignore the historical and socio-political significance of Palestinian women's contributions to liberation efforts like grassroots organising. Additionally, there is less emphasis on the effects of Israeli actions and policies created by the Israeli government and military on Palestinian civilians, like strict curfews and military patrols. However, *Al Jazeera* articles often contextualise women's roles historically and politically, documenting their multigenerational, national, and international participation in liberation efforts and their experiences of VAWG (Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; Gadzo 2018). Also, journalists try to describe the socio-political and economic context of the occupation within Palestine, providing a more nuanced picture of the Intifadas.

However, it should be dog-eared that both sampled *NYT* and *Al Jazeera* articles do not discuss violence faced by incarcerated Palestinian women or mention increases in the mass incarceration of women during the Intifadas (especially protestors). There are brief mentions of incarcerated Palestinians in articles from *NYT* and *Al Jazeera*, but these allude to the incarceration of Palestinian men and its effects on family members (Special to The New York Times 1993; Rubin 2002; Amayreh 2005). Therefore, current and former incarcerated

Palestinian women have less access to media narratives compared to the other forms of VAWG outlined in this thesis[12].

Nevertheless, the omission of VAWG against the incarceration of Palestinian women points to several possibilities. It is likely that despite academics and human rights organisations having access to data on incarcerated Palestinian women as well as their experiences, there are likely obstacles to data access for members of the press (Abu Dayyeh Shamas 2001; Allen 2008; Baldi 2018; Al Issa and Beck 2021). Obtaining imprisoned individuals' names and identification documents may be challenging or restricted, especially for non-academic or non-human rights purposes (Thornbill 1993; Abu Dayyeh Shamas 2001). Furthermore, there are likely physical limitations for the press, making it difficult for journalists to interview female Palestinian inmates at military prisons or gain access to military courts. Additionally, during the Intifada and confrontations, the press is less likely to gain access to the oPt as it is considered too dangerous for journalists. Therefore, it is likely that there are physical and legal restrictions placed on the press to interview Palestinian inmates about the VAWG they have experienced.

NYT may omit mentions of incarcerated Palestinian women as well as VAWG they face as NGOs like B'Tzelem and international liberation movements may call into question the motivations behind the mass incarceration of women and their legal representation in court. Additionally, IDF positions itself in governmental and international media as a moral army and the Israeli government positions itself as the only democracy in the Middle East (IDF 2023). Spotlighting the VAWG incarcerated women face may damage both the Israeli military and government's image and introduce media narratives that position these powerful institutions as violent against women. This may bolster international support to end the occupation and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

On the other hand, *Al Jazeera* has made efforts to position Palestinian women as active participants in the Intifadas, giving them agency as well as a platform to discuss the violence they have faced. However, it is still a social taboo to discuss sex, and by extension sexual violence, in many Middle Eastern cultures (Kawar 1996; Abu Dayyeh Shamas 2001; Holt 2003; Chesler 2010; Rought-Brooks, Duaibis and Hussein 2010; Madar 2023). Journal articles and research that discuss the VAWG Palestinian women face when incarcerated describe the

[12] It should be noted that the print media omission of VAWG against incarcerated Palestinian women requires its own detailed exploration. However, for the sake of brevity, this thesis notes this absence and briefly theorises on why *NYT* and *Al Jazeera* may choose not to discuss it in print media.

sexual harassment and violence perpetuated by Israeli soldiers and civil personnel (Thornbill 1993; Madar 2023). Due to socio-cultural beliefs like honour, women are less likely to come forward about VAWG, especially sexual harassment and assault, in fear of damaging family reputation (Thornbill 1993; Abu Dayyeh Shamas 2001; Holt 2003; Madar 2023). Furthermore, there is an element that VAWG inflicted by Israelis or those perceived as an enemy to the Palestinian cause would further erode social identity and the socio-political stability within Palestine (Boehemer 2005; Bernau 2007). This complex interplay of cultural taboos, socio-political dynamics, and the impact of violence underscores the challenges Palestinian women face in voicing their experiences, highlighting the urgent need for more nuanced and culturally sensitive media narratives that address these issues without perpetuating stigma.

Critical Literacy, Diversity, and Palestine

Using the component of diversity, this section will analyse if and how themes and patterns have resulted in the homogenisation and objectification of Palestinian women in media coverage in the print news sources of the selected news companies. It will also be used to determine if there are patterns of stereotyping and if they are gendered Orientalist, or both.

The Concept of Diversity in NYT Articles

The most pertinent trend within the sampled *NYT* articles is the creation of us-versus-them binaries. Often, journalists will use terms like homogenous terms to characterise "sides" to the Intifada conflicts, such as the Jew versus Arab/Muslim (which are used as synonyms) binary. For example, titles like MIDEAST ACCORD: Arabs and Jews; Reflections on Accord: New Hopes, Old Fears" and "THE MIDEAST TURMOIL: THE PALESTINIANS; At Gaza Funeral, Arab Anger Boils and Israel Tightens Checkpoints" imply that the intifada conflicts are connected religious and ethnic identities (Special to The New York Times 1993; Bruni 2003). This binary constructs a narrative which excludes Arab Jews, non-Jewish Israeli citizens, and non-Muslim Palestinians, resulting in the homogenisation of people into simple religious identities and signifiers. Meanwhile, ignoring other aspects of identity that are pertinent to tensions between the Palestinian liberation movement and the Israeli government and military.

These dichotomies serve as a simplification of the Intifadas and decontextualise issues over land and religion. For example, the Zionist project has used the narrative that "Palestine is a land with no people, for a people with no land" to discredit the presence of existence of Palestinians due to their Muslim identities (Taylor 1972; Alroey 2011; Husan 2014). Furthermore, the use of this slogan and the echoes of it seek to discredit Palestinian nationalism,

statehood, and liberation by downplaying the fact that Palestinians and Arabs have lived in the area for centuries. Moreover, narratives over Jewish versus Muslim holy land disputes reduce the Intifadas to simple holy war narratives, neglecting the history of mass displacement, settler colonialism, and use of force against native Palestinians and Arabs (Kifner 1993; Special to The New York Times 1993; Farsoun and Zacharia 1997). Therefore, the use of this binary oversimplifies the tensions between Israeli and Palestinian statehood, Palestinian liberation, and the history of conflict, mass displacement, and occupation.

Another binary that has been utilised in *NYT* articles is the Israeli versus Palestinian dichotomy. This dichotomy frames the Intifadas as a conflict over state legitimacy regionally and internationally. It also plays into the Israeli state narrative that Arab states seek to delegitimise Israeli statehood to create another Arab/Muslim state and are motivated to do this for anti-Semitic reasons (Kifner 1993; Special to The New York Times 1993; Alroey 2011; Husan 2014). Historically, other Middle Eastern states like Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Egypt have questioned Israel's sovereignty after Israel's independence, the war it caused between Israel and other Arab states, and the mass displacement and ethnic cleansing of Palestinians in the Al-Nakba in 1948 and 1949 (Farsoun and Zacharia 1997; Zupan 2014). This is not to say that these criticisms are devoid of anti-Semitic rhetoric or that state leaders have never been antisemitic. Meanwhile, there are non-religious reasons for other states' questioning of Israeli sovereignty. However, with Egypt's recognition of Israeli statehood in 1978, following the Camp David Accords, other Arab states began to recognise it as well (The Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt, The Government of Israel, and Carter, 1979). Nevertheless, Israeli state narratives purport that its statehood is constantly under threat from Palestinians and other neighbouring Arab states and is used to justify Israeli use of force against Palestinians and groups that support them regionally and internationally (Sharoni 1994; Farsoun and Zacharia 1997; Mall Dibiasi 2015).

Noteworthily, the Zionist movement, its sympathisers, and state leaders (especially Western and European powers) have used the Holocaust during WWII by the Nazis and other European leaders as a legitimation of Israeli statehood as a form of compensation for the war crimes, crimes against humanity, and ethnic cleansing of Jews. Furthermore, governments like the US and the UK have supported Israeli statehood for security reasons and to have an ally in the Middle East (Rodriguez 2011; Husan 2014). The framing of the Intifada conflicts through this Israeli-Palestinian lens not only distorts complex historical and geopolitical dynamics but

also reinforces narratives that justify Israeli state actions while minimising or delegitimising Palestinian statehood claims and experiences.

When articles do mention Palestinians and Israelis by name, they are often stereotyped. "MIDEAST ACCORD: Arabs and Jews; Reflections on Accord: New Hopes, Old Fears" mentions the interviewees by name, and the subtitles characterise them by generalised identities such as an Israeli writer or a Palestinian intellectual (Special to The New York Times 1993). Often, Palestinians and Israelis are reduced to their gender, their religion, and their family role. In the same article, an interviewee is reduced to the signifier as a religious West Bank settler (Special to The New York Times 1993). As previously mentioned, Palestinians are often reduced to the identity of Arab/Palestinian, Muslim and family roles, especially in the case of women (Bennet 2002; Rubin 2002; Bruni 2003; Erlanger 2007). Moreover, there is always a focus on mentioning the ethnicity of interviewees, like mentioning if they are Palestinian or Israeli. However, there are also allusions to settlers' ethnicity, such as if they are Soviets or Americans (Special to The New York Times 1993). This objectifies and reduces people to their ethnic and national identity, creating binary thinking. There are hardly any mentions of Israeli Palestinians, Arab Jews, or other people with more complicated identities, homogenising the identities of Palestinian versus Israeli and Jew versus Arab.

Moreover, there is often a conflation between Palestinians who are a part of the liberation movement with Palestinian militants in Hamas and Islamic Jihad. Almost every article that discusses the Second Intifada mentions the presence of Palestinian militants, implying that they are more common among the Palestinian population. However, the mention of Israeli target missions against suspected militants indicates that the IDF forces only intend to punish or attack those part of militant groups (Rubin 2002; Bruni 2003; Myre 2003). Besides the B'Tzelem article, there are not many mentions of the targeting of Palestinian civilians in protests, in house raids and demolitions, or in public spaces (Special to The New York Times 1990). When Palestinians do mobilise, there are mentions of Palestinians singing the praises of militant groups like Hamas and calling for jihad—implying that mobilisations are inciting violent sentiments (Bruni 2003; Erlanger 2007). If a Palestinian civilian is caught in the crossfire or is killed by soldiers in public spaces or the home, articles mention that these events occurred in shootouts or confrontations with Palestinian militants, or the places suspected to house or associated with militias (Rubin 2002; Myre 2003; The New York Times 2005). The article "Palestinian Girl Killed" uses passive voice to describe her being shot outside her school. It implies that Hamas attacked Jewish settlements in retaliation but states that Israeli

troops did not fire despite a nearby Israeli military post (The New York Times, 2005). This reflects a broader pattern of conflating civilians with militants, blurring distinctions between violent and non-violent resistance, and subtly portraying Palestinians as more likely to be militants or supporters of violence who must be controlled.

As discussed, the sampled *NYT* articles offer a narrow portrayal of Palestinian women, which often reduces them to gender roles and victims. The articles portray Palestinian womanhood as passive, victimised, and lacking agency, despite numerous historical accounts and actions documented by Palestinians, academics, and journalists, both local and foreign, that contradict this view (Pope 1993; Kawar 1996; Johnson and Kuttab 2001; Holt 2003; Berko and Erez 2007; Kayali 2021). Often, Palestinian women appear depersonalised to depict a homogenised image of the socio-political and economic turmoil of the oPt during the Intifadas (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times 1989; Haberman 2001; Rubin 2002; Erlanger 2007). Using familial relation descriptors alongside Palestinian women interviewees lamenting intifada violence and its socio-political effects indirectly erects ideas of sociopolitical chaos, destruction, and instability (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times 1989; Erlanger 2007). These affirmations imply that Palestinians do not have a viable future due to the intifada violence and the militias. Additionally, references to religious dress imply that Palestinian women are majority Muslim, and this implication can indirectly evoke Orientalist assumptions about Palestinian women (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times 1989; Rubin 2002; Erlanger 2007). Overall, *NYT* articles and their journalists use gender stereotypes in media narratives and portray Palestinian women as passive and anxious about socio-political cohesion and stability, rarely commenting on the occupation's effects on Palestinian women.

Consequently, *NYT* article narratives use Palestinian women's identities to explain and objectify the effects of the Intifadas. Usually, references to Muslim dress or quotations from devastated mothers who are concerned about the effects of violence on their children are highlighted (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times 1989; Erlanger 2007). These references construct an idea that intifada violence is intimately linked to religious fervour and Palestinian militancy instead of the ongoing occupation and widespread failures of the peace process on both the Israeli and Palestinian sides. Using the Orientalist images of "passive", "submissive", and "religious" Palestinian women results in homogenising their concerns with the Intifadas and promotes the idea that Palestinian women need saving from (mainly Palestinian) violence promoting white savour narratives (MacDonald 2006; Rought-Brooks, Duaibis, and Hussein 2010; Khan and Zahra 2016). Therefore, the themes of religion, violence

(particularly militant violence and militant infighting), and gender are used to frame media narratives, casting the Intifadas as uprisings and attacks on Israel, advancing a lack of Palestinian social cohesion, and omitting mentions of Israeli violence and oppression.

Notably, there is a lack of diversity of journalistic voices in *NYT* articles. In the *NYT* search engine, recurring journalists write headlining stories about the Intifadas. Names like Bennet, Erlanger, Haberman, Myre, Rosenthal, and Rubin often appear in searches, and occasionally, some of these writers work on articles together (Rosenthal 1993; Haberman 2001; Rubin 2002; Bennet 2002; Myre 2003; Erlanger 2007). In addition, it should be underlined that the majority of these named journalists are American men and one woman, indicating that there is also a limited pool of journalistic voices that comment on the Intifadas. Additionally, the lack of gender diversity may be the reason behind the gender blindness in media reporting about the Intifadas. This is not to say that none of these writers are experts in commenting on the Middle East and Israeli-Palestinian relations, but there are a limited number of voices and viewpoints about the Intifadas. This may indicate that there are occurrences of parachute journalism[13], which may be responsible for the lack of textual context in the Intifadas and the occupation (Obijiofor 2009). This can result in less nuanced viewpoints and more homogenised opinions on the conflict if journalists rely on limited interviews and information from official sources like the Israeli military instead of on-the-ground realities. Hence, the lack of diversity in journalists' identities and the fact that they are mainly foreigners to the Israeli-Palestinian context and conflict may homogenise, stereotype, and objectify Palestinians, their sentiments, and the liberation movement, flattening the complexities in the Intifada violence.

The Concept of Diversity in Al Jazeera Articles

In comparison, *Al Jazeera* articles rely less on us-versus-them binaries in its print media. Articles mention the interviewees' ethnicity and nationality, but most articles focus on Palestinians themselves. When Israelis are mentioned, they usually refer to Israeli military personnel or settlers (usually non-native Israelis and Jews) within the oPt (Amayreh 2004; 2005; Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018). This specificity indicates that when Palestinians refer to confrontations and violence faced by Israelis, they usually refer to soldiers and settlers, allowing for differentiation between Israelis who perpetuate the violence of the occupation versus those who do not. This specificity also enables journalists to avoid

[13] Parachute journalism refers to the process of outsiders visiting and commenting on the news stories and contexts of a state within a specific frame of time, often without significant prior knowledge of the socio-political context and history of conflict or a state. This can lead to omissions of important information and news stories without nuance and complexity.

homogenising Israelis as a whole. Additionally, there are mentions of Palestinian Israelis and Palestinians who work in Israel (Tamimi 2003; Amayreh 2004; Shabi 2006). This results in the more nuanced images and narratives of Israelis and Palestinians as well as Jews and Arabs/Muslims and spotlights complicated identities. The article "No bliss for Palestinian-Israeli union" mentions the struggles faced by Israelis and Palestinians in marriages (Shabi 2006). Moreover, the article describes the presence of inter-Israeli and Palestinian marriage. However, it underlines the socio-political obstacles like discrimination, and cohabitation issues these couples and families face from the Israeli government. As previously mentioned, journalists highlight instances of socio-political solidarity by highlighting resistance from Israeli-Palestinian coalitions like Women in Black (Amayreh 2005). These articles can erode us-versus-them binaries, emphasising the social acceptance and normalisation of peaceful Israeli-Palestinian relations and socio-political cohesion.

Al Jazeera articles refer to the context of the occupation and the motivations behind Israeli-Palestinian clashes in Intifada-related narratives. Besides referring to specific inciting incidents for the Intifadas, there is a range of narrative subjects in sampled articles. Article subjects include women's Intifada leadership roles, interviews with Palestinian Intifada participants (including women), the rise in female suicide bombing and attacks, violence experienced by Palestinians at the hands of soldiers and Israelis, disillusionment with the occupation and peace process, inciting motivations of both the first and Second Intifadas (like the failure of the Oslo peace process stages), explanations for the rise in violent resistance, as well as familial and personal resistance to Israeli control, laws, military, and the occupation overall (Tamimi 2003; Shabi 2006; Diab 2015; Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018; Adam 2020). This is not to say that journalists do not have a pro-Palestinian bias. However, they have more nuanced media narratives when compared to Western media agencies like *NYT,* which promote narratives of Palestinian militarism and instability. This variety in narrative discussion points indicates a broader range of media narratives about the Intifadas available for media audiences. This results in a diverse pool of opinions and understandings of Palestine, Palestinians, the Israeli occupation, and the Intifadas as a whole.

Al Jazeera spends time individualising Palestinian experiences as well as trying to avoid objectifying and homogenising interviewees and the people/activities they report on. As previously stated, familial relations are mentioned in articles; however, individual experiences take centre stage as they detail their personal experiences of the Intifadas and the occupation. For example, the difficulties of the Israeli-Palestinian marriage relationship or the descriptions

of daily struggles under occupation like Raja Mustafa are explored (Shabi 2006; Khalel 2015). These descriptions ground Palestinian stories, allowing media audiences to relate to and sympathise with Palestinians who have historically been framed as antisemitic, oppressive, warmongering fanatics and sexists. This assists in challenging Orientalist and sexist distortions and framings of Palestinians.

By articles spotlighting women's resistance, it encourages media audiences to view Palestinian women in a more nuanced way. As described in the literature, Western media narratives usually position Middle Eastern women as oppressed by Islam and Middle Eastern culture, implying that these women need the West and its institutions to save them from their oppression (Badran 1985; Duley 1986; Mohanty, Russo, and Torres 1991; Jamal 2004; MacDonald 2006; Amin-Khan 2012). By highlighting instances of women's mobilisation and resistance to the Israeli occupation, media audiences are challenged by their preconceived Orientalist and sexist notions of Palestinian women (Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018). Furthermore, this uplifting of women and underscoring of their impact on the development and maintenance of the liberation movement and the initial peace process allows for corrections to previous media and liberation narratives that have downplayed women's roles and experiences. By reframing Palestinian women as active agents of resistance and leadership, *Al Jazeera* articles challenge Orientalist and sexist stereotypes, offering an opportunity to reshape media narratives and acknowledge women's critical roles in the liberation movement and the broader socio-political context.

Also, articles describe the ways Palestinian women suffer under Israeli occupation, especially in terms of VAWG at the hands of Israeli control, soldiers, civil personnel, and settlers. Numerous articles include examples of women participating in non-violent resistance being targeted in mobilisations (sometimes with fatal intent), house raids, and the occasional settler attack, often resulting in physical and psychological injuries (Diab 2015; Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; Gadzo 2018). Additionally, writers tend to highlight the general impacts of Israeli restrictions placed on Palestinians, like curfews, as well as emphasise the limited physical, socio-political, and economic mobility women experience (El-Kurd 2018; Abusalama 2020). For example, Palestinian women are less likely to travel to other oPt in fear of harassment at checkpoints and have limited job opportunities and access to work permits in Israel (Abu Dayyeh Shamas 2001; Al Issa and Beck 2021; Kayali 2021; Madar 2023). Consequently, women are less likely to have equal access to basic human rights and freedoms like freedom of movement, freedom from violence, and freedom to work when compared to

their male counterparts. Amayreh (2004; 2005) describes the work and advocacy by international women's rights groups like Women in Black and B'Tzelem, who document Israeli human rights violations against Palestinian women. Emphasising these experiences, as well as the effects of the occupation on women's safety, resistance, and freedoms, brings into question the supposed ethics of the Israeli government structures and power and highlights instances of women's rights infringement. This allows for the international community to condemn the Israeli occupation and its power structures on human rights and the perpetuation of VAWG and challenge media narratives that downplay or omit the effects of the occupation on Palestinian women.

Notably, most female Palestinian interviewees are diverse in themselves. Articles like "Women in the Intifadas" detail the experiences of three generations of Palestinian women (Khalel 2015). Also, women who live in different areas, have different occupations and have different religious beliefs are interviewed (Khalel 2015; Gadzo 2018). Furthermore, women who participated differently in the Intifadas are highlighted, such as those who participated in or organised mobilisations, managed women's committee activities, and attacked Israeli soldiers in confrontations (in self-defence or defence of others), and female suicide bombers are highlighted (Diab 2015; Khalel 2015; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018; Abusalama 2020). This implies a general diversity in women's roles and identities, indirectly preventing homogenising and objectifying Palestinian women under one banner. Furthermore, women displayed different attitudes towards the then-current liberation and occupation, like increased settler colonialism and decreased women's participation. Hence, women have different attitudes towards the occupation and the liberation movement, and they also differentiate between different types of repression they face on the ground.

Finally, several *Al Jazeera* articles are written by men. Moreover, male writers are more likely to have a profile image visible on the *Al Jazeera* website (Diab 2015; Abusalama 2020). Many of these writers themselves are Palestinians, often living in other states due to displacement or immigration before or due to the Intifadas. A few Palestinian women writers' articles have been sampled (Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; Gadzo 2018). Interestingly, Hammad (2017) and Khalel (2015) are female journalists who interviewed other Palestinian women, and journalists like El-Kurd (2020) and Abusalama (2020) are Palestinian men who comment on the experiences of women. Although highlighting women's experiences is valuable, there is a need to promote opportunities for Palestinian women to speak on their experiences, the Intifadas, and the occupation, as well as contribute to media narratives about Palestinian

women instead of being reported on by male writers or by others. Palestinian women should be able to author their stories directly. This will result in less unintentional objectification of Palestinian women's experiences and voices in *Al Jazeera* media narratives.

Resulting Narratives about Palestinian women in *NYT* Articles

As previously mentioned, the sampled *NYT* articles have a gender blindness to Palestinian women and the issues they face concerning the Intifadas as well as the occupation. Women are often overlooked or underrepresented in articles. They are mentioned in passing or are objectified through writers commenting on their appearance or emotions to set the scene for discussions on Palestinian men, mainly militants. If women appear in articles, they are used to flag trends in intifada violence with a specific focus on the socio-political context of the oPt (Connell 1994; Bernau 2007).

In *NYT* coverage, there are two archetypes of Palestinian women that are identifiable: the devastated mother and the female suicide bomber/supporter. Devastated mothers are interviewed to comment on the effects of violence on children and internal Palestinian stability to reinforce the idea that Palestinian politics and militias are worsening conditions within the oPt (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times 1989; Rubin 2002; Erlanger 2007). There are not many comments on how the occupation has directly inhibited Palestinian women's lives, the VAWG they face, and the Intifadas despite the plethora of academic literature (Abu Dayyeh Shamas 2001; Holt 2003; Meade 2011; Mall Dibiasi 2015; Aghabekian 2017; Al Issa and Beck 2021). Additionally, mothers and other female family members are interviewed when they are connected to militant family members (typically male family members) or suicide bombers. When Qeis Adwan's mother was interviewed, she was unnamed and characterised as a mother to a terrorist who saw her child as kind despite his actions against Israelis. Additionally, Qeis Adwan's family struggles to pinpoint why he turned to building bombs and planning attacks (Rubin 2002). Through this spotlighting, *NYT* narratives use the image of the devastated Palestinian mother as a shorthand for internal Palestinian instability and social identity. Furthermore, this portrayal reinforces stereotypes of women as the mothers of the nation yet positions them in the "inferior" role of supporting men and male leadership (Jean-Klein 2000; Boehmer 2005; Ranchod-Nilsson and Tétreault 2005; Parpart and Zalewski 2008). This limited and stereotypical representation reduces Palestinian women to symbolic roles, neglecting their diverse identities and contributions to society and resistance while perpetuating a narrow and gendered narrative that aligns with broader Orientalist frameworks.

Some *NYT* articles mention female suicide bombers and attacks or Palestinian women who supported militants and bombers. Female suicide bombers Wafa Idris and Mirvat Massoud are mentioned, but the article narratives focus on why these women turned to suicide bombing. Erlanger (2007) and Bennet (2002) make mention of interpretive that could signal their desire to commit violent attacks like tapes, martyr posters, or an increase in religiousness. This focus on the motivations behind these female suicide bombers indicates an implicit interest in women who commit acts of violence and how these women up-end gender stereotypes passivity. However, this focus also hints at Orientalist stereotypes, viewing Palestinians as bloodthirsty regardless of gender. In addition to mentioning these acts of violence, juxtaposing it with admiration from young Palestinian women like Suhaila Badawi furthers the bloodthirsty stereotype (Erlanger 2007). This compounds with other depictions of Palestinians being generally characterised as supporting violence (especially during the Second Intifada) and calling for revenge attacks on Israelis (Rubin 2002; Bruni 2003; Erlanger 2007). Furthermore, the Palestinian leadership is framed as undemocratic by positioning the PA and its leaders as tyrannical and inferring that militant groups can influence Palestinian politics and society (Rosenthal 1993; Bruni 2003; Myre 2003). These examples indicate that media narratives around Palestinian women are created to portray the socio-political views of Palestinian statehood as unviable, chaotic, undemocratic and violent (especially during the Second Intifada).

NYT journalists tend to comment on the appearance of Palestinian women. Mentioning if a woman is veiled indicates a woman's supposed Muslim identity, but there are not many mentions of women being unveiled (Brinkley and Special to the New York Times 1989; Rubin 2002; Bruni 2003; Erlanger 2007). References to veiling and highlighting instances of increased religiousness frame media narratives to position Palestinians as a majority religious Muslim society. Moreover, there are also comments on the increased religiosity of young Palestinians, especially young women, and how this religiousness plays into Palestinian resistance in the forms of martyrdom like suicide bombing and jihad (Rubin 2002; Erlanger 2007). As proposed by Said (1977; 1997; 1998), this conflation between ethnic and national identity with Islam results in the Middle East and Palestine being equated with Islam. In turn, Islam is positioned as the antithetical religion and value system to the Judeo-Christian West. Islamic terms like jihad are not explained or are defined as connected to violence despite other definitions that are not linked to violent struggle (Rubin 2002; Erlanger 2007; Ragionieri 2016). The equation of Islam being emblematic of the Middle East, along with mentioning

connections between violence and religiosity, results in Islam being linked to violence like suicide bombers. This portrayal perpetuates reductive and Orientalist stereotypes, framing Palestinian identity through a lens that conflates religion with violence, undermining the complexity and diversity of Palestinian society and the aims of the liberation movement.

Moreover, these framings, depictions, and use of Palestinian women as a socio-political landscape to describe Palestinian instability and violence play into Orientalist stereotypes. It frames the Palestinians as other and an "enemy" to Western values, rights, and institutions (Said 1977; 1997; 1998). This othering results in Palestinian identities, culture, and liberation being viewed as inferior or backward, flattening the diverse complexities of Palestinian life, identity, and struggles (Said 1977; 1997; 1998; Mohanty 1991b). Moreover, the Palestinian liberation movement's violent resistance is overemphasised over non-violent modes of resistance to paint a picture of Palestinian liberation antithetical to Western values, peace, and human rights.

There is not much focus on Palestinian women's issues and struggles due to the occupation. Nonetheless, there is some general commentary on how Israeli checkpoints inhibit mobility throughout the oPt. There is mention that Arafat requires permission from the Israeli government to move between different territories, as well as general references to Palestinian socio-political and economic instability (Special to The New York Times 1990; Haberman 2001; Erlanger 2007). Issues like lack of economic opportunities and job insecurity are highlighted, as well as the incarceration of men (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times 1989; Kifner 1993; Haberman 2001; Erlanger 2007). However, violence perpetrated by the Israeli military, as well as the continued Israeli control like curfews, issues like house raids and demolitions of civilian homes, as well as settler attacks, are not commented on in greater detail (Rubin 2002; Myre 2003). The general omission of the more destructive and violent aspects of the occupation results in a lack of context behind the Palestinian liberation movement. There are hardly any references to Israeli military and settler violence and continued Israeli control, as well as frustrations with delays in the peace process details like the status of Jerusalem and mainly Palestinian statehood (Abu Dayyeh Shamas 2001; Malik 2001; Barak 2005; Mall Dibiasi 2015; Kayali 2021). Furthermore, this omission of socio-political context portrays Palestinian resistance and violence as somehow irrational and a threat to Israeli and regional security. Thus, the majority of *NYT* articles end up homogenising Palestinians and the greater liberation movement without using the socio-political context of Israeli-Palestinian tensions beyond confrontations between militants and the IDF.

Accordingly, *NYT* article narratives tend to focus on men, militancy, and terrorism. Journalists' gender blindness to the dynamic amongst Palestinian women, the occupation, and the resistance movement, *NYT* articles tend to focus their energy on commenting on liberation narratives around Palestinian men. Articles mention young Palestinian men fighting Israeli soldiers through the use of stones or weaponry, especially in militias (Kifner 1993; Rubin 2002; Bruni 2003; Erlanger 2007). They pay acute attention to infamous Palestinian militants like Qeis Adwan to characterise the mainstream Palestinian liberation movement (Bruni 2002; Rubin 2002). When mentioned, martyrs are implied to young boys or young men. This is not to say that the death of young boys and young men is not tragic; however, I state this to point out that the deaths of young girls and women seem to be absent from many *NYT* media narratives. This absence of women and girl's death tolls further highlights the gender blindness of the *NYT* sampled articles.

Additionally, commentary on leaders like Arafat and male-dominated militant groups like Fatah, Hamas, and Al Aksa Martyrs Brigades implies that Palestinian men are considered resistance leaders, state builders, and the shapers of institutions (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times 1989; Kifner 1993; Haberman 2001; Bennet 2002; Rubin 2002; Bruni 2003). This hearkens back to nationalist narratives from liberation movements as well as the conception of statehood as inherently masculine (Morgenthau 1955; Boehmer 2005; Ranchod-Nilsson and Tétreault 2005; Parpart and Zalewski 2008; Loza 2022). Moreover, the lack of acknowledgement of Palestinian women's leadership in the form of women's committees, activism, and intifada participation furthers the notion that Palestinian liberation and resistance are driven by men, discrediting women's impact and agency (Kawar 1996; Holt 2003; Boehmer 2005; Ranchod-Nilsson and Tétreault 2005; Kayali 2021; Loza 2022). This framing diminishes the visibility of women's contributions to the Palestinian liberation movement and perpetuates a reductive sexist narrative that sidelines their leadership and agency.

Along with *NYT* article narratives dismissing women's leadership and contributions, there are no mentions of women being instrumental in organising boycotts, demonstrations, mobilisation efforts, and peace relations or providing human resources like social work, healthcare, and education to overall Palestinian society (Pope 1993; Kawar 1996; Jacoby 1997; Johnson and Kuttab 2001; Holt 2003; Kayali 2021). Moreover, the sampled *NYT* articles barely mention the non-violent resistance efforts during both Intifadas (Pope 1993; Kawar 1996; Johnson and Kuttab 2001; Kayali 2021). This is inherently an antifeminist stance as it discredits Palestinian women and Palestinian history to serve institutional Western bias towards the

Middle East as well as Orientalist bias of news reporting. This discretisation not only diminishes women's agency and impact, but articles go on to insinuate and position Palestinian women as susceptible to the influence of militias like Hamas and "tyrannical" leaders (Special to The New York Times 1993; Bruni 2003; Erlanger 2007). Articles do not mention leadership positions held by Palestinian women in the PA or other influential groups, as well as suggest that women are supportive of violent groups and individuals like raising the future generation and promoting violence and radicalisation (Rubin 2002; Bruni 2003; Erlanger 2007). This combination of focus and omission results in women being perceived as not only passive and brainwashed but also as supportive of violence and actively encouraging violent attacks. Hence, *NYT* narratives end up depicting Palestinian women as passive, oppressed, brainwashed, bloodthirsty, and supportive of violence.

Furthermore, there is a trend in *NYT* articles to position Palestinian liberation and statehood as unviable and antithetical to internationally accepted norms of state stability. This framing is created by interviewing Israelis who characterise Palestinian statehood as an inherent threat to their personal and national security, juxtaposed with Palestinians who voice dissatisfaction with Palestinian leadership and mainstream resistance, especially through attacks on civilians and bombings (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times 1989; Kifner 1993; Rosenthal 1993; Special to The New York Times 1993; Erlanger 2007). This antithetical positioning mirrors Orientalist proponents who posit that the Middle East requires civilising, discrediting the motivations behind Palestinian frustrations with the occupation and peace process (Said 1977; 1997; 1998; Abu Dayyeh Shamas 2001; Holt 2003; Meade 2011; Mall Dibiasi 2015; Aghabekian 2017; Madar 2023). This framing undermines the legitimacy of Palestinian statehood and resistance by aligning it with instability, violence, and authoritarianism, ultimately reinforcing Orientalist stereotypes and diminishing the complexity of Palestinian struggles.

Implicitly, NYT journalists shape narratives that portray the Palestinian liberation movement and Palestinians as having a backward, bloodthirsty, and non-democratic culture. This is achieved by emphasising the apparent support of women and society for violent resistance during the Second Intifada. Media narratives implicitly position Palestinians as more likely to support and commit acts of violence and terrorism as a form of advocating for statehood and liberation (Bennet 2002; Rubin 2002; Bruni 2003; Erlanger 2007). This implies that the Palestinian liberation movement and its leadership (Arafat, the PA, and popular militias) are infringing on commonly respected international norms like denouncing terrorism,

respecting state sovereignty (specifically Israel), and committing human rights violations against Israelis and seemingly other Palestinians (like other Palestinian casualties in attacks) (Kifner 1993; Special to The New York Times 1993; Haberman 2001; Bennet 2002; Rubin 2002. This results in media narratives portraying Palestinian society as chaotic and violent. They frame resistance as violent and male-led and with women positioned as supporters, reinforcing Orientalist stereotypes. By focusing on Palestinian violence while omitting critical aspects of the occupation and its physical, psychological, and emotional effects, these media narratives delegitimise Palestinian resistance and oversimplify their struggle for statehood and liberation (Abu Dayyeh Shamas 2001; Allen 2008; Meade 2011; Mall Dibiasi 2015; Al Issa and Beck 2021). Additionally, issues such as VAWG, which acutely affects Palestinian women, are rarely explored. For instance, the media often neglects the experiences of incarcerated Palestinian women or violence perpetrated by Israeli soldiers and settlers towards Palestinian women. This selective framing not only reinforces harmful stereotypes but also obscures the broader context of oppression, ultimately shaping a narrative that delegitimises Palestinian resistance while downplaying the systemic violence they endure, especially VAWG.

On a more minor note, it should be mentioned that there is a general absence of commentary on the psychological, emotional, and physical effects of the occupation on Palestinians besides mentioning checkpoints and Palestinian mobility. When home raids and demolitions are mentioned, they are connected to militants (Rubin 2002; Myre 2003). However, there is a disinterest in acknowledging other problematic actions of the Israeli military, like attacks against protestors, as well as house raids and demolitions of regular Palestinians. Academics like Meade (2011) and Mall Dibalisi (2015) mention the historically disproportionate use of force against Palestinians in demonstrations by the IDF, which Khadija Abu Shreifa experienced (Hammad 2017). Additionally, journal articles like Meade's (2011) detail the psychological effects of house raids and home demolitions on Palestinians and the greater socio-political community. Meade (2011) mentions that IDF soldiers conduct home demolitions often without much prior notice, but occasionally, families will live under the threat of demolition for years. Through bouts of house raids and threats of home demolitions, Palestinians do not have shelter stability, resulting in psychological and emotional trauma for families (Abu Dayyeh Shamas 2001; Meade 2011). The omission of other harmful aspects of the occupation of Palestinians may point to *NYT's* general narrative dismissal of the Palestinian experience, and perhaps an intentional downplaying of the IDF's actions to uphold Orientalist narratives about Palestinian nationalism, statehood, liberation, and resistance are irrational and

invalid. This omission underscores *NYT* coverage's tendency to marginalise the lived experiences of Palestinians under occupation, reinforcing a narrative that delegitimises their resistance and the human cost of the Israeli occupation.

It can be concluded that *NYT* articles play into Orientalist and sexist stereotypes about Middle Eastern women and provide a gender-blind understanding of the Intifadas. Male figures are equated with resistance and liberation movements, resulting in young men participating in mobilisations, violent resistance, and militias being positioned as symbols of Palestinian statehood (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times 1989; Bruni 2002; Rubin 2002; Erlanger 2007). Additionally, the role of women in activism, leadership, and resistance is diminished in favour of using their image of Palestinian women as a socio-political landscape onto which internal Palestinian instability and media narratives about liberation and the Intifadas can be projected (Pope 1993; Connell 1994; Kawar 1996; Jacoby 1997; Johnson and Kuttab 2001; Holt 2003; Bernau 2007; Kayali 2021). Women's agency, issues, leadership, and struggles are often ignored in favour of foregrounding men and violent resistance, which positions Palestinians as supportive of violence.

Resulting Narratives about Palestinian women in *Al Jazeera* Articles

Al Jazeera articles focus on gender in their media narratives. As noted, journalists like Khalel (2015) and Gadzo (2018) have written articles that interview and discuss women's Intifada experiences, their participation and leadership, and the VAWG they have faced. Although not all experiences of VAWG (like female incarceration) are described, a sympathetic stance is apparent in coverage. Moreover, El-Kurd (2018) and others note that media reporting on the Intifadas and the Palestinian liberation movement have inadvertently erased Palestinian women's experiences and impacts during the Intifadas (Khalel 2015; Gadzo 2018). In sampled articles, journalists try to bridge the gendered gap in international coverage of the Intifadas and Palestinian liberation movement. This indicates that general *Al Jazeera* media narratives want to emphasise Palestinian women's experiences to highlight their agency when they have previously lacked access to mainstream media narratives. This orientation seems to be a conscious effort to upend Orientalist and sexist stereotypes about Palestine. Journalists promote women's agency and leadership, resulting in a more humanised and sympathetic understanding of Palestinian women that appears in media messaging (Diab 2015; Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018). Thus, *Al Jazeera's* approach challenges reductive

stereotypes and fosters a nuanced representation of Palestinian women's roles and struggles within the broader context of the Intifadas and the liberation movement.

By illuminating women's agency, experiences, leadership, and participation, *Al Jazeera* narratives have a more complex and diverse portrayal of Palestinian women than *NYT* narratives. As noted previously, familial status is mentioned but does not remain a central focus in *Al Jazeera* narratives. Interviews with Palestinian women in Khalel (2015), Hammad (2017), and Gadzo's (2018) articles are personalised by spotlighting individual experiences of the Intifadas. Moreover, there is not a specific type of Palestinian woman being interviewed. What connects these women is that they have participated in a form of resistance during the Intifadas or against the occupation. Khalel (2015) interviews three women from three generations of Palestinian liberation movements about their participation and experiences of VAWG who diverge in opinion, experience, and levels of participation. Gadzo (2018) interviews two Palestinian women who were central to informing fellow Palestinians about the Intifada and organised non-violent protests against IDF soldiers, home raids, and annexations. This diverse range of interviews and experiences showcases women's agency, leadership, and resistance, framing them as key figures in Palestinian statehood and as protectors of society, culture, identity, and land.

On the other hand, there is an exploration into the potential motivations behind women committing targeted attacks and suicide bombings during the Second Intifada. Factors like the occupation, honour, and oppression by the Palestinian patriarchy are considered as potential motivations (Diab 2015). This, along with the participation of women in non-violent resistance, results in a more inclusive representation of Palestinian women, which frames them as complex and strong-willed, and positions their motivations for resistance as rational and sympathetic. Moreover, the sampled articles tend to humanise Palestinian women. Hence, *Al Jazeera's* narratives foster a multidimensional and empowering portrayal of Palestinian women, emphasising their agency and resilience while challenging Orientalist and sexist stereotypes that often dominate international media coverage.

Overall, *Al Jazeera* article narratives aim to document and describe the lives and experiences of Palestinians relating to the occupation and the Intifadas. This is done through interviews with regular Palestinians or eyewitness accounts rather than focused interviews with PA leaders like Arafat or militant leaders (Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018; Abusalama 2020). This results in Palestinians' experiences being humanised through their individual stories, placing these experiences within the Palestinian socio-political

context, the occupation, and the Intifadas. Various articles detail the use of force against protestors and civilians by soldiers and settlers. Hammad (2017) mentions that the IDF killed around 1070 Palestinians during the First Intifada, and Israeli settlers killed 54 Palestinians. In addition, there are quotes of anti-Palestinian and Islamophobic statements and sentiments said to interviewees quoted by Israeli soldiers and settlers, such as “I was born to kill Palestinians” and female activists (Palestinian and European) being assaulted by settlers (Amayreh 2005; Hammad 2017). These examples flips the Orientalist narrative that Middle Easterners are irrational and hostile and underlines prejudices and violence exercised by Israelis against Palestinians.

Moreover, the focus on Palestinian individual experiences with violence and hostilities from Israelis brings into question the motivations behind the use of force against Palestinians, implying that the Israeli military and settlers are also committing human rights violations (Amayreh 2004; 2005; Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017). Additionally, some articles focus on occupation issues and human rights violations that directly affect Palestinians, like home raids and violence against protestors (Amayreh 2004; Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; Adam 2020). These narratives subvert the Israeli government and IDF’s framing of themselves as an ethical and moral army and validate Palestinian motivations for resistance. This focus by *Al Jazeera* on individual Palestinian experiences and systemic issues humanises Palestinians and challenges dominant Western media narratives, presenting a more balanced and critical perspective on the Intifadas' occupation, resistance, and socio-political dynamics.

Al Jazeera articles also seem to focus on motivations that stem from previous experiences of occupation and violence against individuals or communities rather than religious motivations like holy land rhetoric. This focus implies that religion is not as central to the motivation for Palestinian resistance (Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; Gadzo 2018; Adam 2020). Moreover, it is implied that religion is not a hindrance or obstacle to liberation. There are often no mentions of religion or religious identity, and the appearances of religious dress are not directly mentioned, but are instead depicted in accompanying article images (Tamimi 2003; Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018; Abusalama 2020; Adam 2020). This challenges the framing of Palestinians as antisemitic and the positioning of the Palestinian liberation movement being embedded in holy land narratives posited by news agencies like *NYT*. Therefore, religious motivations are backgrounded, and more personal experiences of violent occupation are emphasised as motivations for Palestinian nationalism, statehood, and liberation.

As per the above section on *NYT* narratives, *NYT* articles not only conflate Islam with violence but echo Orientalist assumptions about Islam as oppressive, violent, and antithetical to Western civilisation and values like human rights and Islam's supposed oppressive nature permeates through Palestinian governmental institutions and power (Kifner 1993; Special to The New York Times 1993; Rubin 2002; Bruni 2003; Myre 2003). However, *Al Jazeera* flips this position on its head. Journalists focus on the Palestinian human rights being violated, the general disproportionate violence being used against civilians, VAWG, lack of access to freedoms being inhibited from fortifying Israel's security (Amayreh 2004; 2005; Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018; Abusalama 2020). Thus, there is more focus placed on the human rights violations of the occupation and intifada violence on Palestinian women rather than a focus on the oppression women face from Islam.

Interestingly, when *Al Jazeera* articles are paired with images of women, the pictured women appear to be both veiled and unveiled. In terms of veiled women, they often appear to be participating in acts of resistance by waving Palestinian flags or defending themselves and others from Israeli soldiers (Khalel 2015; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018). Additionally, veiled and unveiled women are positioned as equally integral in Palestinian liberation mobilisations. Veiling, and by extension Islam, is not purported as a hindrance to women's lives and human rights as implied in *NYT* articles. Non-religious and religious Palestinian women are positioned as active leaders and participants in the liberation movement, which portray them as passive, oppressed, and brainwashed by militants and religious leaders (Amayreh 2005; Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018). Consequently, Islam is not framed as inherently oppressive and violent as it is positioned in the sampled *NYT* articles. *Al Jazeera* articles shift away from religious framing, highlighting Palestinians' socio-political and personal experiences under occupation. It portrays religious and non-religious women as active, resilient participants in the liberation movement, challenging gender and Orientalist stereotypes. Thus, this contrast underscores *Al Jazeera's* commitment to more nuanced portrayals of Palestinian women, framing them as empowered agents of change whose roles transcend Orientalist and sexist stereotypes and emphasise their critical contributions to the resistance movement.

Al Jazeera's articles contain general commentary on the occupation's psychological, emotional, and physical effects. For example, there are mentions of the physical injuries that Palestinian women and men sustained or saw others sustain in protest (Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; Gadzo 2018). In terms of psychological effects, Diad (2015) details the psychological effects of patriarchy and occupation, highlighting that it could be responsible for the increase

in Palestinian women participating in violent resistance. *Al Jazeera* articles detail the experiences of VAWG during the Intifadas; however, it seems there is an orientation towards personal strength and hope (Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018; Abusalama 2020). It is implied that Palestinians, especially women, who participated and led the resistance are strong and capable and bigger than the violence they have experienced. This narrative underscores the resilience of Palestinian women, portraying them not only as victims of violence but also as active agents in resistance, shaping their roles within the broader liberation struggle.

In addition, interviewees are positioned as strong and supportive of then-current resistance. However, it is implied that these interviewees are more supportive of non-violent resistance (Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; Gadzo 2018). Still, articles are also sympathetic to the violent resistance against the use of force from the Israeli military or couch violent resistance within the socio-political context of the occupation (Tamimi 2003; Diab 2015; Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; Gadzo 2018; Adam 2020). This narrative underscores a dual emphasis in *Al Jazeera articles*: portraying Palestinian women as resilient and hopeful despite the occupation's hardships while framing their support for resistance—whether non-violent or contextualised violent acts—as rooted in a broader struggle for justice and liberation.

It can be concluded that the sampled *Al Jazeera* articles attempt to counterbalance historical media narratives which have perpetuated Orientalist and sexist stereotypes (which have been adopted by news agencies like *NYT*) by diminishing Palestinian women's leadership, agency, contributions, experiences, participation, and resistance as well as VAWG. This counterbalance is achieved through articles and interviews with a gendered narrative focus that document and include Palestinian women's experiences in the Intifadas (Amayreh 2005; Diab 2015; Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018). The sampled articles have stories from women of diverse backgrounds, identities, and ages. There is an emphasis on personal stories and motivations for intifada participation. Articles centre around socio-political factors and the roles and experiences behind their mobilisation rather than assuming religious motivations, as found in the sampled *NYT* articles. This emphasis results in a more diverse representation of women that does not fall into gendered and Orientalist stereotypes about Palestinian women.

Additionally, articles are oriented towards humanising Palestinian women by emphasising their agency in the liberation movement momentum during both Intifadas, presenting them as integral to the statehood and cultural preservation of Palestine (Amayreh

2005; Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018; Abusalama 2020). Notably, *Al Jazeera* articles stray from focusing on the religiosity of their interviewees and present veiled and unveiled women as equally active in the resistance, countering Western media and Western feminists' narratives about Islam as responsible for the oppression of Middle Eastern women (Mohanty 1991a; 1991b; Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018; Abusalama 2020). Instead, articles focus on the occupation, the presence and violence of the Israeli military, and the actions of settlers as key sources of women's oppression and the primary driver of human rights violations in the oPt (Amayreh 2004; 2005; Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; Adam 2020). Interestingly, some articles do discuss the psychological and physical effects of the occupation by highlighting the violence and psychological toll of physical injuries of resistance but present an outlook that is resilient and hopeful (Diab 2015; Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017). In addition, women are often portrayed as proud of their resistance and supportive of resistance efforts, especially non-violent ones. However, violence is contextualised as a response to occupation, resulting in a sympathetic view of its use of violence when faced within the occupation's socio-political framework (Tamimi 2003; Adam 2020). Therefore, the sampled articles tend to be more nuanced, inclusive, sympathetic, and promotional of Palestinian women's experiences and voices in intifada media narratives, documenting their agency, leadership, mobilisation, and participation in the intifadas and the liberation movement.

Trends in Themes

Prominent Themes in Sampled Articles

In terms of trends in *NYT* articles, the themes of violence, nationalism, statehood, and liberation as well as religion are the main focal points of media narratives. The theme of violence, specifically real or imagined violence, as well as subtle and overt mentions of Palestinian nationalism, statehood, and liberation (both violent and non-violent resistance) are mentioned in nearly every single article (Brinkley and Special to the New York Times 1989; Kifner 1993; Rosenthal 1993; Special to The New York Times 1993; Haberman 2001; Bennet 2002; Rubin 2002; Bruni 2003; Myre 2003; New York Times 2005; Erlanger 2007). References to religious identity through direct labels of Jew/Muslim or religious dress are also standard (Brinkley and Special to The New York Times 1989; Kifner 1993; Rosenthal 1993; Special to The New York Times 1993; Haberman 2001; Bruni 2002; Rubin 2002; Erlanger 2007). The frequency of these themes indicates that *NYT* media narratives revolve around focusing on Palestinian violence

(in the form of actual and potential suicide bombings and violent attacks on Israeli civilians), Palestinian nationalism, statehood, and liberation (in the pejorative sense) and prejudiced descriptions of Islam. As previously discussed, these themes and codes are used to paint Palestinians in an Orientalist manner and, by extension, Palestinian women in a sexist and Orientalist manner. Not only are these themes linked in articles, but they are conflated with each other, such as violence being attributed to Islamic doctrine or all claims of Palestinian statehood being deemed as religiously motivated.

On the other hand, *Al Jazeera's* articles tend to focus on gender, nationalism, statehood, and liberation, and violence, but in the opposite manner. Compared to *NYT's* general gender blindness, there is a focus on Palestinian women's agency, contributions, leadership and stories instead of using them as socio-political landscapes and props to frame the Palestinian resistance and frustrations as irrational and hostile (Amayreh 2005; Diab 2015; Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018; Abusalama 2020). Stances of women's participation, mobilization, and leadership are explored in numerous articles (Amayreh 2005; Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018; Abusalama 2020). Additionally, Palestinian nationalism, statehood, and liberation are couched in the socio-political and economic context of the occupation and the effects it has on civilians (Tamimi 2003; Amayreh 2004; Adam 2020). Also, the violence that is directly related to the occupation, like VAWG and house raids conducted by Israeli soldiers, as well as hostilities perpetuated by Israeli settlers, is described in detail (Amayreh 2005; Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018; Abusalama 2020; Adam 2020). Therefore, despite an overlap in theme focus, *NYT* and *Al Jazeera* media narratives tend to differ in bias and orientation in coverage.

Trends in Coverage

With regards to women, there are disparities in how Palestinian women are depicted in the First and Second Intifadas by *NYT* and *Al Jazeera*. As previously noted, *NYT* media narratives tend to utilise the archetypes of devastated mother or female suicide bomber/supporter to frame Palestinian women. There is a narrative shift in positioning Palestinian women as devastated mothers and victims in coverage to devastated mothers of militants and female suicide bombers with the emergence of female suicide bombing in the Second Intifada. From the few sampled articles that mention women in the First Intifada, Brinkley (1989) interviews Palestinian women who fear for their and their family's safety, and Dedi Zucker emphasises Palestinians as victims of violence (Special to the New York Times 1990). However, articles published in the Second Intifada and onwards frame Palestinian women as supportive of violence or

perpetuating violence through bombings and attacks themselves (Bennet 2002; Rubin 2002; Bruni 2003; Erlanger 2007). Therefore, there is a shift in *NYT* media narratives from framing Palestinian women as devastated mothers and victims during the First Intifada to female suicide bombers and supporters of violence and militants in the Second Intifada.

In contrast, *Al Jazeera* articles depict women in the First and Second Intifadas similarly. As previously stated, articles foreground Palestinian women's agency, contributions, experiences, and leadership (Amayreh 2005; Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018; Abusalama 2020). Articles that discuss one or both Intifadas or contain interviews with women are oriented to explore women's agency, experiences, leadership, and VAWG. For example, articles from Khalel (2015), Hammad (2017), El-Kurd (2018), Gadzo (2018), and Abusalama (2020) highlight women's actions, leadership, mobilisation, participation, and experiences VAWG during the First Intifada. The same articles like Khalel (2015) and Gadzo's (2018) also highlight women's mobilisation, participation and VAWG faced by women in the Second Intifada. However, it should be acknowledged that there are more media narratives surrounding women's actions and experiences in the First Intifada than in the Second Intifada, as well as more of a consistent focus on non-violent resistance participation. Nevertheless, this similar orientation in depiction, regardless of the Intifada period, underscores that *Al Jazeera* media narratives have stayed consistent, depicting Palestinian women as active participants, leaders, organisers, and survivors of VAWG.

Regarding overall media coverage of the Intifadas, *NYT* and *Al Jazeera* differ majorly. The narrative orientation of the *NYT* articles is male-focused. This male focused orientation is seen in consistently using men's perspectives and opinions in interviews, for expertise, and in narrative storylines. Both Palestinian and Israeli men are interviewed or are featured in many articles, platforming their actions and voices on socio-political discussions of the Intifadas and violence (Kifner 1993; Special to The New York Times 1993; Bennet 2002; Bruni 2002; Erlanger 2007). Also, this is evident in the focus on the actions, opinions, and leadership of men in different articles (Brinkley and Special to the New York Times 1989; Kifner 1993; Rosenthal 1993; Special to The New York Times 1993; Haberman 2001; Bruni 2002; Myre 2003; Erlanger 2007). This centring of men is often directly linked to militancy and implicitly religion. For example, Rubin's (2002) article centres on the life and actions of Qeis Adwan and his militant peers and uses the voices of male relatives, friends, militants, and a Shin Bet officer to fill in the details about Qeis and the Intifadas. Despite Rubin (2002) interviewing Qeis's mother and mentioning the actions and comments of other Palestinian women throughout the

article, the narrative throughlines the lives of the young men interviewed, sidelining women's agency, identity and opinions.

Notably, *NYT* media narratives tend to centre Palestinian men in leadership like Arafat or militants, with other men represented falling into less focus. Articles like "Israelis and Palestinians Prepare for a Long Struggle" by Haberman (2001) mention Arafat's leadership, while other journalists, such as Rubin (2002) and Bruni (2003), highlight the actions, lives, and opinions of militants. If women are centred or interviewed, it is few and far between, often without being individualised. Only one article centres on a Palestinian girl, yet she is neither named nor individualised within the narrative (New York Times 2005). Thus, *NYT* coverage of the Intifadas is male-focused, with an explicit emphasis on the actions and opinions of men in leadership or militancy.

Conversely, the sampled *Al Jazeera* article narratives are orientated towards women by relaying their stories and contributions. Previously, it has been posited that there is a diverse representation of Palestinian women's voices in articles (Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; and Gadzo 2018). Moreover, this diversity interrupts homogenising media narratives about Palestinian women and Palestinians in general. Palestinian men, women, mobilisation leaders, experts in different fields, and Palestinians abroad are interviewed or included in media narratives. In Hammad's (2017) article, multiple Palestinian men and two women are interviewed. In terms of experts, Diab (2015) interviews Palestinian psychologist Nadia Dabbagh to discuss the effects of conflict on the mental health of Palestinians. In some cases, Palestinians are the ones creating and writing articles narratives like Abusalama (2020), Amayreh (2004; 2005), Hammad (2017), Khalel (2018), and Tamimi (2003). Therefore, the sampled *Al Jazeera* article narratives focus on women and include a variety of experiences, expertise, and opinions from Palestinian men, leaders, experts, and those in the diaspora, resulting in a more diverse representation of Palestinians, including women.

Clearly, there are discernible differences in how Palestinian women are covered in *NYT* and *Al Jazeera* media narratives. It can be deduced from this thesis's data presentation and analysis that *NYT* media coverage of Palestinian women and the Intifadas is stereotyped, Orientalist, and gendered. Not only are women stereotyped as either devastated mothers or female suicide bombers (and supporters of violence), Palestinian women appear as a monolith. For example, Brinkley (1989) sets the scene in his article by referring to a group of veiled women queuing outside of the American consulate. Similarly, Bruni (2002) refers to a group of different Palestinian women simply as mourning women. Even interviewed, Palestinian

women are not consistently named and individualised in articles, and their actions, experiences and voices are not elevated in media narratives. Furthermore, no sampled *NYT* articles discuss the impact of women's leadership in Palestinian resistance and mobilisation, even when there are brief mentions of boycotts and protests. Through the mention of women's religious identity by religious dress and ideologies like jihadism, it is inferred that Islam is oppressive to women and limits Palestinian women's social status. However, there are no references to how both religious and non-religious Palestinian women have been vital in resistance efforts. This results in journalists using a narrow depiction of Palestinian women as socio-political and narrative devices to describe the internal Palestinian context and the Intifadas, often without being humanised and without having agency in shaping narratives about them.

Additionally, articles from Bennet (2002), Bruni (2003), Rubin (2002) and Erlanger (2007) position Palestinians, including women and children, as supportive of violence and militancy. This, along with the conflation between Islam and violence perpetuated in the name of "jihad" or "martyrdom", frames Palestinians as aggressors and fervently religious. This is more emphasised through the *NYT's* media narratives, which focus on violent resistance and militancy over non-violent resistance during both Intifadas. This plays into Said's (1977; 1997; 1998) concept of Orientalism and the West versus East dichotomies, which frame the Middle Easterns as other, backward, oppressed by Islam, and dangerous to Western civilisation and institutions like democracy and sovereignty. This framing not only reinforces Orientalist tropes but also marginalises alternative narratives of Palestinian resistance, ultimately shaping a one-dimensional portrayal that aligns with Western geopolitical interests.

Contrariwise, most *Al Jazeera* articles are women-focused and utilise diverse representations to frame their media narratives. Additionally, Jank's framework highlights that *Al Jazeera* and its journalists orientate their narratives to avoid gender blindness and gender stereotyping. This is seen in articles like El Kurd's (2018), which identifies both international and Palestinian media's deafness towards women's agency, experiences, and leadership in media narratives. As per the Access and Diversity section, Palestinian women have more agency and voices in published *Al Jazeera* articles and some Palestinian women like Shatha Hammad (2017) have a hand in directly creating Palestinian women-focused media narratives. In addition, there is diversity among the Palestinian women depicted in Al Jazeera articles, with women of different ages, levels of participation, opinions, and religiosity being interviewed or represented in the articles. Therefore, *Al Jazeera* media narratives seem to be purposefully

orientated towards highlighting women and their complexity whilst making conscious efforts not to marginalise and stereotype women.

Furthermore, the majority of *Al Jazeera* articles do not make overt references to Islam or religious identity when discussing the Intifadas. This deliberate choice to focus on the Intifada violence rather than religion may serve to counter Orientalist narratives that portray Islam as an inherently oppressive and violent force Within Palestine. This is not to say that no connections are made between religion and the rise of militancy, but rather that greater emphasis is placed on the violence and realities of the occupation rather than on religious rhetoric to explain Israeli-Palestinian tensions (Tamimi 2003; Adam 2020). Amayreh (2005), Khalel (2015), Hammad (2017), and Gadzo (2018) highlight interviews and discussions with Palestinians who describe their experiences of violence and occupation as well as the socio-political and economic instability in Palestine. These factors are presented as primary motivations for participation in resistance rather than religious affiliation. This contrasts with mainstream *NYT* media narratives, which frequently cite religious tensions as key motivations for Palestinian resistance.

Moreover, *Al Jazeera* provides a more complex portrayal of the resistance movement by acknowledging the extensive forms of non-violent resistance alongside explorations of violent resistance and the rise of Islamic militancy (Tamimi 2003; Amayreh 2004; 2005; Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018; Abusalama 2020; Adam 2020). By avoiding the conflation of violence with religion, *Al Jazeera* emphasises the widespread support, mobilisation, and organisation of Palestinians in non-violent resistance. This approach challenges reductionist Orientalist narratives that frame Palestinians as bloodthirsty and fanatically religious, instead presenting a more nuanced depiction of Palestinian nationalism, statehood, and liberation. In doing so, *Al Jazeera* disrupts dominant Western media portrayals, highlighting the broader political, social, and economic factors that drive Palestinian resistance while challenging Orientalist stereotypes.

The resulting implications in the differences between *NYT* and *Al Jazeera* media narratives are staggering. With *NYT's* media narrative orientation to centring Palestinian men, usually male leadership and militants, and emphasising themes of violence (from Palestinians), religion (in the form of Jew/Muslim dichotomies, religious dress, and ideologies like jihad, and Palestinian nationalism, statehood, and liberation pejoratively results in intifada media coverage being stereotyped, Orientalist, and gendered. The overemphasis on religious tensions and under-explanation of the socio-political and economic effects of the occupation on

Palestinians frames Palestinians, their experiences, frustrations, and resistance as somewhat irrational, positioning religion as the motivator for Intifada engagement. Furthermore, the omission of the occupation, IDF and settler violence and the absence of focus on non-violent Palestinian resistance positions Palestinians as unnecessarily resentful and aggressors to the Israeli government and citizens. This combination of factors and focuses results in *NYT* media narratives depicting Palestinians and Palestinian women in an Orientalist, homogenised, and stereotypical manner, which dehumanises and positions them as a threat to Israeli security and, by extension, the West. Therefore, these media narratives can implicitly infer that Palestinians are backwards, bloodthirsty, inferior, and other, depriving them of complexity and humanity in their agency, experiences, and leadership to favour Western geopolitical interests and Orientalist understandings of Palestinians, including women.

Contrariwise, *Al Jazeera* media narratives seem purposefully oriented to avoid the marginalisation of and homogenisation of Palestinian women as well as the complexities of the Intifadas and the socio-political context of Palestine. The emphasis on the themes of gender, occupational violence from both IDF soldiers and settlers, as well as VAWG, and the nuances in Palestinian nationalism, statehood, and liberation discourses and actions results in a more complex representation of the Intifadas. Furthermore, sampled *Al Jazeera* articles utilise the stories of Palestinians of different genders, ages, opinions, levels of religiosity, and resistance participation to paint a broader picture of life during the Intifadas. There is a spotlight on Palestinian women's contributions, experiences, and leadership, which seems to be a correction to previous omissions of Palestinian women from mainstream media narratives. Also, there are interviewed Palestinians who are critical of the occupation, Palestinian leadership and the socio-political and economic context of Palestine.

Nevertheless, there is less emphasis placed on religion and religious tensions in favour of an acute focus on the impacts of Israeli occupation, control, and restrictions on daily life. For example, multiple articles explore violence faced by Palestinians in protests, the home, and in public spaces, the Israeli government's laws and control of the oPt and its people, and checkpoints on Palestinian mobility (Tamimi 2003; Shabi 2006; Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El-Kurd; Gadzo; Abusalama 2020; Adam 2020). Furthermore, this emphasis highlights the complexities and impacts of the occupation and Israeli control on the life and prospects of everyday Palestinians, giving credence to the Palestinian resistance and liberation movement. Also, there seems to be an intense focus on non-violent organisation and participation in the form of peaceful protests, boycotts, and social aid countering Western media narratives which

overemphasise Palestinian violent resistance and support for violence without the socio-political context of the Intifadas. This combination of a diverse representation of Palestinians, their agency, experiences, leadership, organisation, and participation, highlighting the impacts of the occupation on Palestinian life, mentioning the complexities in resistance and liberation actions and discourses, prevents Orientalist, sexist, and stereotypical portrayals of Palestinian women. Therefore, these *Al Jazeera* media narratives offer a more sympathetic view of Palestinians and their experiences of violence during the Intifadas whilst avoiding othering them as a security threat and in need of civilisation from the West in favour of a complex and humanised portrayal.

Absences and Absent Themes

As mentioned in the Access section analysis, the violence against incarcerated women was not highlighted in any of the sampled articles. There were mentions of incarcerations and detentions of Palestinians in different articles, but none pointed to incarcerated Palestinian women. This absence is prominent as scholars like Thornbill (1993), Abu Dayyeh Shamas (2001), Shalhoub-Kevorkian (2004), and Madar (2023), amongst others, highlight the extensive VAWG committed against incarcerated women by police officers, soldiers, and other Israeli personnel. There was only one mention of harassment faced by visiting family members of prisoners, despite existing literature on the sextortion and sexual harassment of female relatives in Israeli prisons, which causes psychological harm and restricts their mobility (Thornbill 1993; Abu Dayyeh Shamas 2001; Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2004; Amayreh 2005; Madar 2023). Hence, the omission of incarcerated Palestinian women in both *NYT* and *Al Jazeera* print news coverage can point to a variety of factors.

Generally, news agencies may lack institutional access to important documents and human rights reports of incarcerated Palestinians needed, or there are physical and legal obstacles to interviewing incarcerated women in military prisons and courts. In the case of the *NYT* and its pro-Israel and Western leanings, omitting incarcerated Palestinian women, their VAWG, and injustices they face in prison, courts, and legal system may bring into question the legitimacy of the IDF and Israeli government actions like incarcerating women without a fair trial and use of torture (Thornbill 1993; Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2004; Rought-Brooks, Duaibis, and Hussein 2010; Madar 2023). This omission may maintain specific media narratives that frame Israel as the victim of a bloodthirsty aggressor. Also, it allows media audiences to criticise Israeli human rights violations and view Palestinian resistance as justified. As a result, the absence of coverage of incarcerated Palestinian women and the violence they endure not

only reinforces Orientalist media narratives but also obscures the broader human rights violations within the Israeli legal and military system.

Conversely, the omission of VAWG against incarcerated women in *Al Jazeera* articles may be attributed to the cultural implications of sexual violence and familial honour being a taboo topic in media discussions (Thornbill 1993; Sharoni 1994; Abu Dayyeh Shamas 2001; Holt 2003; Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2004; Rought-Brooks, Duaibis, and Hussein 2010; Baldi 2018; Madar 2023). Additionally, it prevents open discussion about the sexual abuse Palestinian women face to uphold societal and familial reputations over seeking justice (Baldi 2018). Hence, the deliberate or inadvertent omission of these issues in media coverage sustains a cycle of silence, shielding both Israeli authorities from accountability and Palestinian society from confronting the deeply rooted challenges of gender-based violence and Palestinian patriarchy.

As presented in the Power analysis, the family theme was not prominent in both sampled *NYT* and *Al Jazeera* articles. In the literature, scholars like Shalhoub-Kevorkian (2004) and Meade (2011) detail the familial impacts of the occupation. For example, in house raids and demolitions, Palestinian women and children endure psychological and physical trauma from IDF soldiers (Abu Dayyeh Shamas 2001; Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2004; Meade 2011). Work from Kawar (1996), Johnson and Kuttab (2001), and Holt (2003) highlight how a woman's honour affects familial reputation and communities, emphasising the expected behaviours within their family and broader Palestinian society. Additionally, explicit mentions of violence towards family units and familial honour were not detailed in the sampled articles. Only two sample articles are more directly linked to family violence and honour, and both come from *Al Jazeera* (Diab 2015; Khalel 2015). In her interview with Khalel (2015), Raja Mustafa details how she attacked IDF soldiers conducting a house raid on her home to protect her family and their belongings. Diab's (2015) article briefly mentions female suicide bombing as an "honourable" path.

Nevertheless, *NYT* articles mention the title of mother, father, widow, and children by those interviewed or spoken about in articles (Brinkley and Special to the New York Times 1989; Kifner 1993; Special to The New York Times 1993; Haberman 2001; Bennet 2002; Rubin 2002; Erlanger 2007). Similarly, *Al Jazeera* articles would mention the interviewee's familial status but would not explore their family dynamics. Often, in *NYT* media narratives, there are references to family members by Palestinian and Israeli interviewees. There is an emphasis on anxiety about familial safety, with a special emphasis on parents' anxiety over their children's

wellbeing (Brinkley and Special to the New York Times 1989; Kifner 1993; Special to The New York Times 1993; Haberman 2001; Rubin 2002; Amayreh 2005; Shabi 2006; Erlanger 2007; Khalel 2015; Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018; Abusalama 2020).

Interestingly, a theme that was not initially identified was marriage and Israeli-Palestinian relationships. Shabi's (2006) article describes the obstacles to the marriage between Jasmin Avissar, an Israeli woman, and Osama Zatar, a Palestinian man. Within Shabi's (2006) article, it is revealed that discriminatory Israeli laws like the Nationality and Entry into Israel law forbid "residency or citizenship to any Palestinian from the oPt married to an Israeli". Notably, neither Jasmin nor Osama can live together without a permit (Shabi 2006). This article underscores the legal discrimination against marriage between Israelis and Palestinians. It highlights how Israeli law restricts Palestinians' daily lives, not just through military actions like checkpoints and house raids (Meade 2011; Mall Dibiasi 2015). The article also focuses on familial acceptance of spouses, rather than violence and disapproval (Shabi 2006). Therefore, this interesting article highlights the bureaucratic and legal discrimination against marital Israeli-Palestinian relationships and the obstacles to social mixing. Also, it highlights the possibility of peaceful and loving relationships between Israelis and Palestinians despite decade-long tensions. This examination of Israeli-Palestinian marriages not only exposes the bureaucratic and legal barriers that hinder such unions but also challenges dominant conflict-driven narratives by referencing the potential for coexistence, love, and understanding between individuals from both communities.

There is a sense of hope in many articles. Many sampled articles highlight scepticism and fear for the future of Israeli-Palestinian relations and peace. However, the same articles also hint at the broader theme of hope. In articles from Kifner (1993), the New York Times (1993), Amayreh (2005), Shabi (2006), Khalel (2015), El-Kurd (2018), and Gadzo (2018), some interviewees comment on their hope for the future especially for peace, coexistence, and Palestinian sovereignty. Interestingly, the theme of hopelessness and fear is present in more sampled *NYT* articles (Brinkley and Special to the New York Times 1989; Kifner 1993; Special to The New York Times 1993; Rubin 2002; Rubin 2002; Bruni 2003; Myre 2003; Erlanger 2007). For example, Kifner (1993) uses Israeli settlers' comments on fearing imagined violence from PA and terrorists. Similarly, Erlanger (2007) uses comments from both young Palestinians and parents to paint a picture of the youth as a hopeless generation. On the other hand, the theme of hope, particularly in relation to peace and Palestinian liberation, is both directly and subtly conveyed in multiple *Al Jazeera* articles (Amayreh 2005; Shabi 2006; Khalel 2015;

Hammad 2017; El-Kurd 2018; Gadzo 2018). For example, Osama Zatar is quoted saying, "I [he] hope that no one tries to bother us and lets us live together" (Shabi 2006). This contrast in narratives underscores how different media outlets frame the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, with *NYT* articles often emphasising fear and hopelessness. In contrast, *Al Jazeera* articles highlight resilience and the enduring hope for peace and Palestinian sovereignty.

Two of the sampled articles directly discuss Israeli activists and the discrimination they experience from fellow citizens, the government, and settlers (Special to the New York Times 1990; Amayreh 2004). Dedi Zucker details his experiences with Israeli harassment against his organisation's work and himself. Critics of B'Tzelem's work infer that the documentation of human rights violations committed against Palestinians is biased as they do not monitor crimes and violations committed against Israelis and, at worst, "playing into the hands of the enemy" (Special to the New York Times 1990). Furthermore, Zucker highlights a trichotomy of Israelis who support Palestinian human rights, Israelis who are ignorant of the plight of Palestinians, and Israelis who do not support the Palestinian cause. This trichotomy uniquely analyses the perspectives of interviewed Israelis across sampled articles. It includes figures like Yisrael Medad, Julie Borenstein, and Elana Rosinger, who support Israel's right to the holy land, as well as Israelis who are supportive of Palestinian liberation, such as activists Yossi Beilin and Mary Schweitzer, and ordinary citizens like Yoav Zimran (Kifner 1993; Special to The New York Times 1993; Amayreh 2004). In Amayreh's (2004) article, Yossi Beilin is barred from speaking to school students as the principal and government officers view his activism as counteractive to Zionism and Israel. Similarly, Israeli activists who support Palestinian rights are seen as ignored and viewed as working with an enemy (Amayreh 2004). This diversity of Israeli opinions highlights how Palestinian rights are supported within this trichotomy. Therefore, these two articles demonstrate how Israeli activists advocating for Palestinian rights face systemic opposition, with their efforts often dismissed as a betrayal of national interests rather than a legitimate pursuit of justice.

Finally, a theme that appeared was resistance communication. Hammad's (2017) interview with Abdullah Abu Shalbak and Gadzo's (2018) interview with Naila Ayyash highlight different forms of resistance communication during the Intifadas. Abu Shalbak details how he and a friend used graffiti as resistance communication by painting the walls of their community to help organise and mobilise fellow neighbours in the First Intifada (Hammad 2017). Notably, he highlights that some communities did not support communication being written on their walls. Also, Israeli collaborators would use these walls to communicate with

the IDF. Nevertheless, Ayyash mentions that she and her husband would distribute pamphlets from resistance committees to fellow Palestinians to inform them about the intifada as well as its goals of statehood (Gadzo 2018). Notably, this communication was not conducted in isolation. Abu Shalbak emphasises that he and his friend had to mask their faces when creating graffiti and had escape plans to avoid soldiers during curfew hours. Also, multiple factions would use the walls to communicate (Hammad 2017). On the other hand, Ayyash highlights using pamphlets to communicate liberation demands to civilians, which streamlined and unified political factions and women's committees in organisation and mobilisation (Gadzo 2018). These examples highlight the crucial role of resistance communication in mobilisation and unification during the Intifadas, demonstrating how grassroots efforts and collective organisation shaped the liberation movement despite challenges and risks.

Conclusion

This thesis paper sought to investigate how different print news media companies portray Palestinian women in media narratives of the First and Second Intifadas. Using thematic analysis and a mildly adjusted Critical Literacy framework, I analysed *NYT* and *Al Jazeera* samples to determine disparities, themes, and trends in their depictions of Palestinian women during the Intifadas. Additionally, I explored these selected themes and codes to determine whether a discernible gendered and/or Orientalist narrative of Palestinian women's experiences and agency was evident in the sampled articles from *NYT* and *Al Jazeera*. Moreover, us-versus-them dichotomies, stereotypes and potential biases were explored.

In the sampled *NYT* articles, women tended to be left out of mainstream media narratives, which focused instead on men, militancy, and terrorism. *NYT* narratives centre on male leadership and violent resistance, sidelining women's contributions to protests, mobilisations, and leadership, undermining the broader context of occupation and the diversity of Palestinian resistance. When women were mentioned, they were often used as "set dressing" and as objectified bodies onto which the socio-political context of the Intifadas could be projected. However, it is noted that Palestinian women are often stereotyped as devastated mothers or as female suicide bombers/supporters (in the case of the Second Intifada). In addition, Palestinian women were often depicted as passive, brainwashed, and oppressed by internal Palestinian issues rather than the occupation. To reinforce this depiction, Palestinian women's agency, experiences, leadership and VAWG were diminished in favour of presenting an Orientalist and sexist viewpoint of women being oppressed by Islam and supportive of violence.

Overall, articles often frame Palestinian society and resistance as backward, bloodthirsty, violent, chaotic, and incompatible with Western democratic norms. This framing results in Palestinians and their experiences being othered and dehumanised, playing into Orientalist understandings of the Palestinian liberation movement, society, culture, and people. Thus, the sampled *NYT* articles reflect a deeply ingrained Orientalist and sexist bias, which marginalises Palestinian women's roles and agency, reduces their experiences to simplistic stereotypes and perpetuates a dehumanised narrative of Palestinian society as inherently violent and incompatible with international norms and Western ideals. Furthermore, they infer that Palestinian liberation is a security threat and is illegitimate. Hence, *NYT* narratives marginalise

Palestinian women, perpetuating reductive, sexist, and Orientalist stereotypes that overshadow their agency and contributions.

On the other hand, *Al Jazeera* articles are gender-focused, and their narrative orientations support women's voices to describe their agency, experiences, leadership, and participation, which have been omitted from mainstream media narratives. Interviews and eyewitness accounts humanise Palestinians and emphasise women's resilience, contributions to non-violent protests, and struggles under occupation. This emphasis on women's agency, experiences, opinions, and roles aims to dispel stereotypes and challenge Orientalist and sexist depictions, presenting Palestinian women as active and complex agents of change.

Orientalist and Islamophobic narratives and stereotypes were countered by some journalists who portrayed both religious and non-religious women as integral to the liberation movement. Violence is contextualised within the broader socio-political framework of occupation, and forms of resistance are sympathetically analysed to frame resistance as rational. Also, the human rights violations of the IDF and settlers are spotlighted so that media audiences question the legitimacy of Israeli state narratives which justify its security. Therefore, *Al Jazeera* provides a more inclusive and sympathetic portrayal, highlighting women's contributions, experiences, leadership, resilience, and centrality to the Palestinian liberation movement while challenging dominant Western biases.

Regarding prominent themes and trends in depictions, *NYT* articles often focus on Palestinian violence, nationalism, statehood, liberation, and religion, but these topics are frequently presented in a pejorative manner. This pejorative positioning contributes to the overall media narrative that Palestinian society is inherently backward, violent and oppressive and frames Palestinian nationalism, statehood, and liberation as irrational and driven by religious fanaticism. Conversely, *Al Jazeera* articles emphasise themes of gender, nationalism, statehood, liberation, and violence (particularly occupation-related violence), focusing on socio-political contexts and human rights. This orientation lends itself to more diverse depictions of women and to placing all tensions within the context of occupation and Intifadas. Thus, articles underscore women's diverse roles and the impacts of Israeli occupation on Palestinian lives. Ultimately, the contrasting media narratives highlight how trends and themes in media framing can shape perceptions, with the *NYT* reinforcing reductive stereotypes that dehumanise Palestinians, but with *Al Jazeera* offering a more nuanced and humanised portrayal that underlines the socio-political context of occupation and the diverse roles of women within the resistance.

Notably, the sampled *NYT* and *Al Jazeera* articles have distinct disparities in how they frame Palestinian women and their agency and experiences, especially of VAWG, during the Intifadas. The *NYT* often omits and dismisses women's agency, contributions, experiences, and leadership, reinforcing Orientalist and sexist stereotypes about Palestinian women. Conversely, Al Jazeera's articles highlight women, detailing their contributions, experiences of violence, leadership roles, and opinions to counter Orientalist and sexist narratives. However, this thesis discovered that violence perpetrated against incarcerated women was not found in any media narratives, nor was the VAWG these women have faced. However, only one article mentioned harassment of visiting family members, despite the literature on sextortion and sexual harassment of female relatives. As previously posited, this omission can point to several possibilities, ranging from avoiding stories or experiences that may call into question the Israeli military and governments' motivations behind the mass incarceration of women to sexual violence is taboo and seen as damaging to cultural honour. The *NYT's* media silence can reinforce Orientalist narratives and obscure human rights violations, shielding Israeli authorities from accountability. In contrast, *Al Jazeera's* silence prevents discussion on sexual abuse and gender-based violence and addresses internal issues within Palestinian society. Therefore, there could be research done to determine why there is a narrative silence on the experiences of incarcerated women.

There is limited discussion on family in the media. The literature highlights familial roles and occupation's impacts, but sampled articles rarely discuss them. Few articles mention family-related violence, with only two Al Jazeera articles directly addressing family and honour. Some *NYT* and *Al Jazeera* articles reference family status but lack depth. Additionally, marriage and Israeli-Palestinian relationships were featured in one article. Shabi's article highlights that marriage between Israelis and Palestinians is legally restricted (e.g., Nationality and Entry into Israel law), and couples experience legal discrimination. These relationships challenge dominant conflict-driven narratives and show potential for coexistence. Hence, limited discussions on family and the theme of marriage emphasise that there is a gap in media coverage on the effects of the occupation, its violence, and Israeli laws on familial structures and Israeli-Palestinian relationships.

On a smaller scale, the *NYT* articles emphasise fear, hopelessness, and perceived threats from Palestinians. Meanwhile, *Al Jazeera* articles highlight hope, resilience, and Palestinian sovereignty in article narratives and interviews. This contrast in hope and hopelessness reflects

how different media agencies frame the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the Palestinian liberation movement.

Israeli activists face discrimination from fellow citizens, the government, and settlers. Also, Critics of B'Tzelem argue that documenting Palestinian rights violations is biased. Some Israeli activists face opposition and are accused of working against national interests. Additionally, there is a trichotomy of Israelis: pro-Palestinian rights, indifferent, and pro-Zionist, which highlights a diversity in Israeli opinions on the occupation and Palestinian resistance.

Finally, interviewees referenced forms of resistance communication in two of *Al Jazeera's* articles. Communication in graffiti and pamphlets was used to mobilise and inform communities. With graffiti communication, community responses varied, with some rejecting resistance communication or utilising it to the community or the IDF's advantage. These forms of communication prove that resistance efforts were not isolated but involved coordinated factional and grassroots efforts. They also prove that hegemonic print media is not the only contributors to Palestinian and liberation portrayals of the Intifadas.

This research proves that there are disparities in media coverage from Western and non-Western print news media on Palestinian women and the VAWG they faced during the Intifadas. Additionally, this research revealed that gender, violence, religion, family, destruction, as well as nationalism, statehood, and liberation are popular themes present and framed in media narratives depending on the news agency. Furthermore, gaps in narratives around incarcerated women, the Intifadas' impacts and Israeli laws on familial structures and Israeli-Palestinian relations, the themes of hope versus hopelessness, harassment and discrimination against Israeli activists, as well as resistance communication were revealed. From these findings, it can be concluded that *NYT* media narratives depict Palestinian women in a peripheral way that o pigeonholes them into Orientalist and sexist stereotypes, flattening their agency, experiences, leadership, and participation in favour of narratives that highlight violence, militancy and male leadership to frame Intifada conflict. Conversely, *Al Jazeera* media narratives are orientated towards correcting previous Orientalist and sexist narratives that exclude women and their impact on the Intifadas. Thus, the contrasting portrayals in Western and non-Western media reflect broader geopolitical biases and shape public perceptions of Palestinian women, influencing how their roles, struggles, and contributions to resistance and society are understood globally.

Nonetheless, there is more work to be done. There is potential to research the media narratives on Palestinian women after the Second Intifada and into the 2010s to determine if there are disparities in how media agencies depict women in more recent Israeli-Palestinian confrontations. This thesis can serve as its foundation as it describes common media narratives about Palestinians during the 20th century, with a detailed exploration of media narratives about Palestinian women before and during the Intifadas. A reception-oriented exploration of how media audiences have internalised different media narratives about Palestinian women and of how these tendentious representations have shaped their conception of the Israeli-Palestinian tensions could be interesting. Furthermore, using Jank's original (re)design component of the Critical Literacy framework could lead to research into how readers (and school curricula) might decode power inequalities in print news media in the interests of inclusivity and accuracy. This thesis may serve as a springboard for further research questions requiring deeper analysis. It has the potential to expand the literary canon on our understanding of Palestinian women's agency and experiences of VAWG, Orientalism and Sexism in mainstream media narratives and to expose the continued use or misuse of stereotypical narratives about Global South women and their oppression.

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Appendix of *NYT* Articles[14]

NYT Articles that mention Palestinian Women

1. Palestinian Uprising Prompts Both Arabs and Jews to Leave

By Joel Brinkley, Special To the New York Times, Aug. 29, 1989 - https://www.nytimes.com/1989/08/29/world/palestinian-uprising-prompts-both-arabs-and-jews-to-leave.html

2. An Israeli Rights Group Fights for Palestinians

Special to The New York Times, Jan. 19, 1990 - https://www.nytimes.com/2001/08/18/world/israelis-and-palestinians-prepare-for-a-long-struggle.html

3. Israelis and Palestinians Prepare for a Long Struggle

By Clyde Habermann, August 18, 2001, - https://www.nytimes.com/2001/08/18/world/israelis-and-palestinians-prepare-for-a-long-struggle.html

4. Israelis Declare Arab Woman Was in Fact a Suicide Bomber

By James Bennet, Feb. 9, 2002 - https://www.nytimes.com/2002/02/09/world/israelis-declare-arab-woman-was-in-fact-a-suicide-bomber.html

5. The Most Wanted Palestinian

By Elizabeth Rubin, June 30, 2002 - https://www.nytimes.com/2002/06/30/magazine/the-most-wanted-palestinian.html

6. Israeli Soldiers Kill 5 Palestinians, Including a Journalist

By Greg Myre, April 20, 2003 - https://www.nytimes.com/2003/04/20/world/israeli-soldiers-kill-5-palestinians-including-a-journalist.html

[14] Some of these articles can only be accessed via a paid *New York Times* subscription.

7. THE MIDEAST TURMOIL: THE PALESTINIANS; At Gaza Funeral, Arab Anger Boils and Israel Tightens Checkpoints

By Frank Bruni, Aug. 23, 2003 - https://www.nytimes.com/2003/08/23/world/mideast-turmoil-palestinians-gaza-funeral-arab-anger-boils-israel-tightens.html

8. Palestinian Girl Killed

New York Times, Feb. 1, 2005 - https://www.nytimes.com/2005/02/01/world/middleeast/palestinian-girl-killed.html

9. Children of the intifada: The lost generation of Palestine

By Steven Erlanger, March 11, 2007 - https://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/11/world/africa/11iht-intifada.4871286.html?searchResultPosition=10

NYT articles that discuss Palestinians in general

10. On My Mind; The Road to Palestine

By A. M. Rosenthal, Sept. 3, 1993 - https://www.nytimes.com/1993/09/03/opinion/on-my-mind-the-road-to-palestine.html

11. MIDEAST ACCORD: Settlers; Israelis in Territories Feel Cast Adrift in Angry Sea

By John Kifner, Sept. 11, 1993 - https://www.nytimes.com/1993/09/11/world/mideast-accord-settlers-israelis-in-territories-feel-cast-adrift-in-angry-sea.html

12. MIDEAST ACCORD: Arabs and Jews; Reflections on Accord: New Hopes, Old Fears

Special to the New York Times, Sept. 14, 1993 - https://www.nytimes.com/1993/09/14/world/mideast-accord-arabs-and-jews-reflections-on-accord-new-hopes-old-fears.html

Appendix for *Al Jazeera* articles

Al Jazeera articles that discuss Palestinian women

1. Activists hear Palestinians' woes

By Khalid Amayreh, Aug. 22, 2005 - https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2005/8/22/activists-hear-palestinians-woes

2. No bliss for Palestinian-Israeli union

By Rachel Shabi, May 15, 2006 - https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2006/5/15/no-bliss-for-palestinian-israeli-union

3. Women of the Intifadas

By Sheren Khalel, Oct. 23, 2015 - https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2015/10/23/women-of-the-intifadas

4. When Palestinian women take up arms

By Khaled Diab (Khaled Diab is an award-winning Egyptian-Belgian journalist, writer and blogger. He is the author of Intimate Enemies: Living with Israelis and Palestinians in the Holy Land. He blogs at www.chronikler.com.), Dec. 9, 2015 - https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2015/12/9/when-palestinian-women-take-up-arms

5. Stories from the first Intifada: 'They broke my bones'

By Shatha Hammad, Dec. 10, 2017 - https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/12/10/stories-from-the-first-intifada-they-broke-my-bones

6. How Palestinian women led successful non-violent resistance

By Mersiha Gadzo, Mar. 8, 2018 - https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2018/3/8/how-palestinian-women-led-successful-non-violent-resistance

7. Palestinian women: An untold history of leadership and resistance

By Mohammed El Kurd (Mohammed El-Kurd is a writer and nationally-touring poet from Jerusalem, Palestine. Mohammed's work explores, in testimonial and language-manipulating poems, themes of trauma, displacement, ethnic cleansing, state violence, and colonisation as well as patriarchy and gender norms. His writing, especially his poetry, has sparked media

attention and praise - including numerous features in international outlets such as The Huffington Post, The Guardian, and Al Jazeera. He is currently living and studying in the United States.), Oct. 25, 2018 - https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2018/10/25/palestinian-women-an-untold-history-of-leadership-and-resistance

8. My first lockdown was during the first Intifada

By Majed Abusalama (Co-founder of Palestine Speaks in Germany), May 9, 2020 - https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2020/5/9/my-first-lockdown-was-during-the-first-intifada

Al Jazeera articles that discuss Palestinians in general

9. From Intifada to Intifada

By Azzam Tamimi (Director of the Institute of Islamic Political Thought in London and Senior Lecturer at the Markfield Institute of Higher Education in Leicestershire, UK), Sep. 28, 2003 - https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2003/9/28/from-intifada-to-intifada

10. Palestinian Intifada: How Israel orchestrated a bloody takeover

By Ali Adam, Sep. 28, 2020 - https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/9/28/palestinian-intifada-20-years-later-israeli-occupation-continues