



Media Research and Policy Series
Media Development Center

Gender Mainstreaming and Blackout

An Analytical Essay on Models of the Palestinian
Media Coverage of Women's Issues

Saleh Masha'ra

2016

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Gender Mainstreaming and Blackout
An Analytical Essay on Models
of the Media Coverage
of Women's Issues in Palestinian Press

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Introduction

Foreign concepts, those coming from the West, may become buzzwords integrated in the stock of local knowledge and practiced as if they were born as a result of a need in this society just like the practice of “mainstreaming gender.” It can soon become an industry in a style known well as “a propaganda model.” The first analysis of the political economy of mass media that critically scrutinized media treatment of the news and the notion of *manufacturing consent* was in 1988 in which it explored the structural factors behind controlling the media and producing a hegemonic worldview that serves the few transnational conglomerates. In their introduction of their book In 1988, Herman and Chomsky studied mainstreaming the media usage of the term “genocide” for Kosovo, East Timor, Turkey, and Iraq. It was apparent that neoliberal ideology provided the intellectual rationale for this global media system.

Today, after three decades, in a time when neoliberalism buttresses exploitative relationships between nations, western media is still manufacturing consent but more vigilantly, because it is in the interest of yet fewer elites and conglomerates with the advent of social media that the scrutiny of information presented electronically is narrowed even further. However, what is new is that the consumer of western manufactured terminology are not the audience in the west alone this time, they are the non-western journalists and Palestinian media outlets as well as the readers. Here is where this essay by Masharqa gains its significance: It attempts to expose and provide evidence of such a major trend and its effect on consolidating and maintaining the hierarchical gender structure.

Saleh Masharqa, researched the mainstreaming of gender in Palestinian media meticulously using the discourse analysis. Indeed, a very convenient methodology for understanding the role of the Palestinian news media in passing on the “gender messages” as it relates to the institutions in its power relation to the audience. This was the most appropriate methodology to examine how the media manipulates its readers’ imagination like in the case of Hajj Abu Talal who is presented

as someone who marries more women to produce more Palestinian kids in the imagined demographical war. The research investigates the discourses that controlled the mind and enacts a discursive power. It exposes and critiques the ways in which the journalists themselves do not fulfill their mission as “gate guardians”.

The study provides a socio-economic, cultural, legalistic and political context for the issue and it attentively situates Palestine in the national (like Oslo Accords), the international declarations (from Beijing to UNSCR 2013) and especially the colonization context. It is even critical of the feminist discourse and exposes how it deviated away from its core ideology. The study provides a thorough conceptual engagement by critiquing the language use of “mainstreaming gender” from different stances: liberal, radical and specifically Arab and Palestinian stance.

This conceptual engagement in the origins of the use of “gender mainstreaming” language, I believe, creates assumptions that are difficult to overturn at times. The copying of the meaning attached to this term does not consider the North-South divide or link gender inequality to imperialism, Zionism and the highest form of finance capitalism. Therefore, it is an outcome of the market logic that aims at politicizing and framing the discourse on gender and a good example is UNSCR 2013 that theorizes from the colonizer bunker with its particular configuration. It is the colonial imperialist practice of defining a terminology, restructuring gender dynamics to fit the western paradigms and the Eurocentric hegemonic framework. The outcome is alienating the discourse that distances indigenous experience (Khoury & Dana 2012).

The study critiques post-structuralism notions and their grand narratives and resolves that Foucault’s ideology was not a post-structuralism or post-modernist stance to finally adopt his notion of the “order of discourse.” Masharqa identified the discourse grouping (international actors along with local funded institutions) who are responsible for reproducing the international discourse and protect it, and explored the type of power and the muteness of the text and how the passive recipients (readers) are kicked out using many examples from the language

used in the local Palestinian media -even the images attached to news pieces provide a stellar proof. The power of the discourse on patriarchal dominance has been legitimized and enacted contributing to emphasizing stereotypical ideas about women especially when it becomes persuasive and tied to the patriarchal character of nationalism.

The reader is left with few unanswered questions or wonders that future studies should investigate. One of these wonders that keeps surfacing is: What about the struggle over the meaning of the text and the possible existence of an active audience who could have an active use of the media messages and not necessarily the more passive manipulated audience, or journalists? Foucault's proposal does not allow for collective resistance, but one can borrow from Althusser for instance (see el-Khoury 2013, Jadallah & el-Khoury 2013). In fact, and as a concluding thought, Masharqa himself is an example of the active journalists where in his writings he takes a special effort to critique and never copies and pastes, let alone his research here where he exposes the passive journalists himself. This essay is worth the attention of many people in different positions in the media profession, including even laywomen and laymen, students and especially all workers in Non-Governmental Organizations.

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Refer

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Introduction:

This paper will examine the gender mainstreaming language employed in the written Palestinian media which may assume informational stereotypes that could generate discrepancies between men and women in the modern mass media. We will attempt at disclosing the risks of gender mainstreaming discourse within a consumptive trend and a daily institutional public relations. We will analyze the media patterns employed in this coverage using discourse analysis methodology as an analytical tool for the purpose of conveying the message from a feminist point of view (societal ideology) via media tools as a domain that avoids any favoritism to women's issues and that tries to stay neutral under the justification of professionalism or the dominant news-reporting journalism's slogans instead of the opinion journalism that "contemporary" media evades dealing with.

Literatures Preview

The United Nations World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995 defined the concept of gender mainstreaming in a document presented to the UN as follows:

"Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in any area and at all levels. It is a strategy for making the concerns and experiences of women as well as of men an integral part of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres, so that women and men benefit equally, and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal of mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality." ¹

¹ United Nations. «Report of the Economic and Social Council for 1997». A/52/3.18 September 1997

A set of international conventions and UN reports established a major discourse about Gender Mainstreaming; this discourse based mainly on Beijing conference action plan, Beijing 5+ and Beijing 10+ reports and resolutions, CEDAW Convention, the Human Rights Watch, speeches delivered at conferences and workshops, publications, studies and international, regional and local forums.

In the United Nations, and all its organizations and affiliations, gender was represented on different levels of the executed projects, programs and reliefs. Consequently, it has become an ideological preamble that all UN staff; from the junior employee to the Secretary General, came to discuss and talk about. Ban Ki-moon in his speech on the occasion of the 8th of March 2010 said:

“Gender Equality and women empowerment are vital elements in attaining the UN international mission of ascertaining equal rights and dignity for all. This issue is associated with the basic human rights as stated and reinforced in our charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and it is an integrated part of the UN identity.”

Nonetheless, equality for women and girls is an economic and social inevitability, until women and girls are liberated from poverty and injustice- **He did not mention occupation for example**, all our goals – peace, security, sustainable development – stand in jeopardy. This year is the 15th anniversary of the adoption of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action- the outcome of the Fourth World Conference on Women –, which is the most comprehensive global policy framework, world governments since then have committed to achieve the goals of gender equality, development and peace for all women.

Since the landmark gathering, signs of progress appeared, new policies and legislations supporting gender equality came in place.

It also conveyed a message to most girls and women throughout the world that the full participation by women in all spheres of society and equality are among their undisputed rights.²

Ban Ki-Moon was not the only one who reiterated this discourse; he has allies throughout the world, among which political opponents who echo the same notions and slogans. Nonetheless, they would not dare to say a word or discuss specific aspects that may affect the discourse, its power, dominance or notions especially those that tackle women's freedom or liberating women from occupations.

Most probably, Israel and the Arab Countries is a typical example of being involved in the same discourse -in spite of the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict. For example, Israel, which is the occupier, posted huge banners at all its military checkpoints - mushrooming in the West Bank- that repeated UN Secretary General words. This happened in the beginning of 2009, the banners carried messages targeting the Palestinians stating, "Development, Stability and Prosperity". On the other side, the official Palestinian entities amidst all forms of suffering because of the occupation, the consequences of the *Intifada* and the coup in Gaza; they resonated the same vocabularies and notions with adding demands of liberation.

Since Beijing Declaration in 1995, the UN and its affiliations have integrated new trends within their work agendas; these trends were developed during the conference and included diverse titles for gender mainstreaming such as: "Woman training, Human Rights for Women, the Institutional mechanisms for Women empowerment, violence against women, women and armed conflicts, women and environment, women and health, women and poverty, women and economy, women and media, women and rural development, women and the third millennium goals....."³

² <http://www.escwa.un.org/arabic/divisions/ecw.asp?division=ecw>

³ See the United Nations Website in Arabic (www.un.org)

UN organizations such as: FAO, UNESCO, ISESCO, ESCWA employed attentively the international and local mass media to promote their projects within the wave of the international discourse on gender, its issues and manifestations. The mass media, in turn, conveyed and mainstreamed the UN agenda via advanced speedy communication tools that worked vigorously to reach the readers and the audience but within a prominent global journalism where the news reporting aspect is dominating while the opinion attribute is missing. This journalism was also characterized by a narrow and insufficient influential culture as journalists working in this “contemporary” media and due to the globalization the new world (or the “village” as it is preferably called nowadays) we are witnessing. This culture reflects how modern communication technologies embody and transforms the global, its nations, cultures, geographies, countries and its borders.

The concept and the multi-purpose journey within the international organizations

Evolving from the previous definition of gender adopted in the United Nations and women conferences, there are various interpretations and definitions that emerged in the international organizations’ documents and the agendas of the international, regional and local developmental work and activities.

The concept took different dimensions that are integrated in the procedural and institutional mechanisms -depending on the organization executing them.

Razavi & Miller⁴ in their study, titled “Gender Mainstreaming: A Study of Efforts by the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme and the International Labour Organization,” pointed out that the concept mainstreaming has always been attached to Women in Development (WID) which is known of its liberal western

⁴ Razavi.sh & Miller. S, (1995). Gender mainstreaming: A study of efforts by the UNDP, the World Bank and the ILO to Institutionalize Gender Issues.

feminist notions. The two authors say that gender mainstreaming developed new illustrations in the experiences of the three international organizations and have not maintained its original definition. The World Bank has adopted more economic approaches in its programs, aids and scholarships but profitable at the same time in institutionalizing WID, meanwhile, the UNDP employs the concept for the sake of human development in general not merely women's development. In the work of the ILO, the concept is connected with improving work conditions throughout the world, not exclusively targeting women's issues; it integrated them within a general policy or strategy to execute diverse agendas and objectives.

The authors disclose that the concept and its implementations, in the three international organizations, have immensely affected the relation between men and women and impacted the distribution of benefits, nonetheless; it did not achieve gender equality and equity directly; its manifestations were confined mainly in feminist's consultations that constitutes only an advisory role while the managerial, financial and executive decisions are all made outside the feminist circle -that is supposed to be specialized and working in this arena. In fact, the authors say, the motives behind appointing legal or feminist consultancy in the projects were mainly functional or professional not out of a conviction in the feminist discourse. Moreover, gender mainstreaming assessment was always executed according to women's access to programs and projects and their ability to influence and attain senior positions or decision-making roles but never according to its outreach and prevalence within the communities.

The concept of mainstreaming from the international to the domestic

In the context of theorizing and promoting the concept, Zahira Kamal⁵ states a series of feminist goals as she provides an interpreta-

⁵ Kamal, Zahira (2007) Guidelines for gender mainstreaming and Reinforcement of Women Empowerment mechanisms, the Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA), UN. New York

tion of the concept such as: equal opportunities, equity, and decision making partnership. She links the realization of these goals with adopting the national mechanisms by the countries- **pursuant to Beijing Declaration 1995**- to ensure the attainment of the pursued change of women status within their communities.

“Gender mainstreaming is one of the vital and ideal tools to adopt in any organization in order to back the change process; it means formalize and institutionalize a principle, recommendation or a policy. Hence, in order to pull off the goals set by the fourth international conference on women’s issues (Beijing 1995), world governments are advised to form entities and frameworks to empower women. Few countries succeeded in establishing divisions, units and bureaus within the women affairs ministries and bodies that are specialized in women issues, gender or realization of equal opportunities; other countries founded national committees or units for dealing with women issues and affairs inside various ministries. I suggest taking further positive measurements such as approving “Quota” to enable women of effectively participate in the political arenas and decision-making process via allocating a defined number of seats in the local councils, municipalities, the parliament and all-level occupations. On parallel with attempts to review the existing legislations, we should enact new rules and legislations that guarantee women’s participation and eliminate all types of discrimination against her; these aforementioned actions and procedures are integral part of what so-called gender mainstreaming in the institutions.”⁶

The author believes that the success of gender mainstreaming processes necessarily requires official and private national committees from which subsidiary steering committees would emerge in addition to functional units and departments that execute the circular guidelines and instructions, supervise and monitor the abidance of the general policies along with policymaking, plan-

6 The same source

ning, executive, supervisory, advocacy and lobbying tasks.”⁷

Kamal sees the relationship and tasks of the national committee for gender mainstreaming in media as the following:

- Issue introductory brochures if the committee or the mechanism
- Prepare periodic reports on the committee work agenda and achievements
- Establish a website
- Hold press meetings to announce the work outputs and achievements
- Hold press conferences attended by journalists of both sexes
- Organize periodic media campaigns (annual or bi-annual) on specific issues ⁸

The Concept Criticism:

The concept was hugely criticized by many feminist schools; some of them worked on re-shaping and re-trending the concept to take it to new phases of work and action; while others consider it a sonorous speech that took political and economic dimensions and did not bring any progress or benefits for women except dedicating new representations of their status: subordination, oppression and injustice

We will furnish some of the literatures that dealt with this concept.

The liberal criticism:

Caroline Moser, the most prominent theorist in the liberal feminism school, along with Annalise Moser studied gender main-

⁷ The same source

⁸ The same source

streaming in their “Gender Mainstreaming since Beijing: A Review of Success and Limitation in International Institutions”⁹. The authors presented an assessment of the concept over the period 1995-2005 and pointed out that gender mainstreaming within the work of the international organizations was mainly a complementary policy, not a target to be achieved itself. The international organizations relied on executing gender mainstreaming on consultations of legal experts specialized in gender, or on establishing gender bureaucratic administrative departments and both cases have their success and failure factors.

When consulting a legal expert this consultation will be confined to his/her expertise and work and will not have a deeper feminist dimension that is associated with the persistent needs and issues of women. While in the case of forming gender administrative units, these units will fall in the bureaucracy circle/trap with time, and their work scope will be (up-to-bottom). The ideas and thoughts of these departments and units may be ignored and marginalized by other departments within the international organizations under political, cultural or administrative excuses; in drastic cases, gender departments may encounter a dominant masculine culture that defies the implementation of its visions and opinions in the projects, aids and programs.

Even in the organizations that embrace women integration and participation in all its activities; the authors believe that women’s participation was continuously fraught with risks related to the nature, effectiveness and efficiency of the participating woman, and if she is capable of bringing about the sought change through being involved in these programs or not?

The radical criticism:

In contrast to the liberal feminist school, the radical feminist

⁹ www.eldis.org/go/topics/resource-guides/gender/gender-mainstresming/in-organizations&id17835=&type=document

school, in several occasions, harshly criticized the solutions presented by the feminist schools and the international organizations. This school provides extreme radical solutions for women's issues such as: boycotting/ditching men, combating the soft feminine style...etc. In the Post-feminist school, which is close to the radical school, we find new ideas that follow post-modernist ideologies that rely on disintegrating the discourse, interpreting its implications, exposing its faults and transformations till it eventually becomes a power. In this context, we have a radical feminist ideology that is against –or let's say criticizes vigorously- the historical developments of the feminist ideology which has become one of the global discourse tools, that has its institutions and elites -who consider themselves owner of the feminist knowledge drive- and a language that didn't achieve an actual change but produced shallow representations that have done nothing to women's lives throughout the world.

In this context, Cornwall & Brock¹⁰ believe that the international development discourse regarding women's issues is full of buzzwords and glamorous slogans detached from the women's miserable realities in many countries over the world. These buzzwords such as: empowerment, poverty reduction, partnership, transparency, good governance and other, are all products of a super global discourse created by huge international organizations like the UN and its affiliates or the World Bank, and were reiterated continuously by leaders and presidents to the degree that it formed an inclusive fantasized world that is cheerful, arranged, tolerant, seeks ending poverty and works day and night for liberating women. Without these buzzwords, we may not find representations/manifestations of this world founded over decades of global development. In fact, this discourse played a significant role and achieved goals for certain groups on the expense of others and became an international power. Also, seniors and direc-

¹⁰ Cornwall, Andrea & Karen Brock. (2005) What do Buzzwords do for Development Policy. *Third World Quarterly*, vol 26, No. 7, pp1043-1060.

tors of major international development organizations kept reciting merrily and at all occasions when discussing fundraising, supporting women, political, environmental issues and others.

The authors reveal how this discourse designated its peculiar vocabularies and terms through which it delivered different ideologies and fought other terms that belong to other ideologies. This is an attempt by the two authors who employed discourse analysis approach based on post-modernism school that is associated with the Marxist modernist ideology.

The authors note that the prominent global development discourse derived from a western liberal ideology aims at ensuring the success of individualism, restricting the role of the state, and nourishing the private sector on the expense of the public via exploiting language and terms like: **transparency, accountability, good governance, democracy** and avoiding, at the same time, other terms like **social justice, freedom, re-allocation, liberation, sovereignty**. Such terms can be manipulated by parties and countries out of the formed international assemblies and clusters around and inside the dominant development discourse via conducting projects, aids and programs by the rich bloc to the poor bloc of the world.

The two authors point out that gender and development discourse have created an alternative political reality to the poor countries' sovereignty via integrating the civil society organizations in monitoring the governments' performance in executing the social and economic policies. This intervention intrigued by the donors who provide the civil society with legal consultations and fascinate development literatures with all the buzzwords, slogans and trends so to be used to question the countries and governments about development programs.

The two authors analyze how “buzzwords” were the pillars of promoting an international development status that tackled **peace,**

security, and providing the basic human needs -all reflected in the speeches of international leaders. These types of speeches created a state of relief and feeling safe and secure although it aimed at passing political and economic goals of the development agencies and some of the wealthy western countries without providing real concrete solutions for global problems such as poverty, dearth, catastrophes, and economic crashes that were taking place in the “third world” who were the main recipients and imitators of the discourse via governmental and non-governmental organizations that implemented the international discourse and ignored the local one.

The Arab and Palestinian criticism

Much literature criticized this concept; some were totally against it claiming it was a western culture creation that fragmented the family and the society (See Gender: origins, significance and Impacts, by Camelia Hilmi and Muthana Kurdistani, by Dar Al-Afaf Society, Jordan -2004 or the article Gender: A New Western Mattock to Wreck the Moslem Family. The Islamic Awareness Magazine issued by the Kuwaiti Ministry of Waqf)¹¹.

On the Arab countries and governments level, some countries who signed the international agreements and accords on women’s affairs, have established ministries for women’s affairs, national committees for gender issues, ministerial units and departments for women. The government’s annual budgets began allocating **subtle balances** for gender issues, as a result, these changes developed new patterns and levels of dealing with Arab women that have their successes and failures but new trends and paths are now more prevalent in the Arab World than the last few decades¹².

11 http://alwaei.com/topics/view/article_new.php?sdd=834&issue=474

12 Kamal, Zahira (2007) Guidelines for gender mainstreaming and Reinforcement of Women Empowerment mechanisms, the Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA), UN. New York

The UN annual reports on the Arab Woman realities have become a monitoring mechanism of the Arab governments' adherence and commitment to take and adopt the required policies and arrangements to change the status of Arab women.

Some non-religious literature criticized the international discourse on gender mainstreaming from ideological perspectives; such as the feminist ideological perspective each according to its school: liberal, socialist to radical.

Also, we find in literature some criticism on the origins of gender mainstreaming as a concept and its international foundations; specifically the link between the concept and media. Although the concept is based on international agreements and charters in order to gain global legitimacy such as Beijing conference work plan 1995 and (Beijing 5+) and (Beijing 10+) in addition to CEDAW Convention and the International Charter on Civil and Political Rights; these agreements do not sufficiently state or underline women's rights or gender mainstreaming issues in mass media¹³.

In the Palestinian context, there are many perspectives on gender mainstreaming; there is the opposition that have ideologies and principles of religious parties published in their immersed books, publications and leaflets; on the official level, the Palestinian Authority, since Oslo Agreement 1994, has attempted to execute all the international guidelines regarding gender. Moreover, the majority of the executed projects and programs in the Occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT) interpret and abide by the policies and trends of the UN and several international organizations more than any Arab country. This is probably because of the non-state status that enticed several international agendas translated into projects, donations to the PA, civil society and non-governmental organizations that mushroomed immensely in the OPT over the past two decades.

13 See the workshop agenda of the Gender Role in Media: <http://www.nesasy.org/content/view/4338/96/1/2/>

We find two paths of gender mainstreaming issues in the Palestinian arena, following the division of June 2007 and the coup in Gaza: the Palestinian interim government headed by Salam Fayyad in Ramallah included gender mainstreaming programs and work plans variably, and this was obvious in the government program at the moment of the appointment whose one of its terms state:

“Guarantee equality of men and women in all fields of life; maintain its political, social, economic and legal gains. The prominent and extinguished role the Palestinian women have played amidst the Palestinian national struggle necessitated providing them with all kinds of support and encouragement to empower and reinforce their participation in the political, social, economic and cultural life. In this context, the government is fully aware of the important and growing role of the Palestinian woman and the importance of promoting her and providing all provisions of healthy environment to protect, raise offspring and reinforcing the family educational role and empower her to attain effectively more responsibilities in upbringing sound, healthy society that is free of cultural and social diseases.”¹⁴

Of course, we can see how attached this program with the slogans of the international discourse, specifically “Guarantee equality of men and women in all fields of life;” noting that the facts of the Palestinian women status show the total opposite, in addition to the prejudice implication; if women are equal with men the way implied in the aforementioned slogan; they will be attaining new roles above their conventional responsibilities according to the equity slogan, and thus women will lose the advantages of being different as a gender.

In Fayyad’s government plan declared in August 2009 “Palestine: Ending the Occupation, Establishing the State¹⁵”, we find an inclu-

14 Interim Government Program headed by Salam Fayyad in Ramallah, 13/7/2007

15 The Thirteenth Government Program: (Palestine: Ending the Occupation, Establishing the State), Ramallah, August 2009

sive comprehensive translation of the international references, trends and literatures, whether of the UN or of the international organizations or the donors or the regional networks for gender. Under the missions and goals of the ministry of women's affairs in the Palestinian authority, we find:

The Ministry of Women's Affairs (MOWA) has the following objectives:

Enable women's participation in policy and decision-making through:

- Enacting and enforcing legislation to ensure women's participation.
- Ensuring that various governmental policies and programs heed gender issues and women's participation.
- Providing support to women to access decision-making centers.
- Launching a dialogue with various Palestinian political parties to ensure women's representation.
- Promoting partnership with the civil society and private sector in gender issues.
- Developing and implementing public awareness programs.
- **Assessing the Government's commitment to gender issues through:**
- Monitoring and evaluating commitment and progress made by ministries in relation to gender issues.
- Developing the capacity of gender units to monitor and evaluate the gender sensitivity of ministries' operations.
- Participating in monitoring and evaluation of implementation of Millennium Development Goals.

Alleviate the impact of poverty on women in cooperation with governmental and non-governmental institutions through:

- Developing a national strategy to promote women's participation in the labour market.
- Reviewing and developing national policies to elevate women's participation in the labour market.
- Encouraging women to enroll at vocational and technical educational centers.
- Developing programs that provide finance for women to establish SMEs.
- Work with MoSA to provide aid to needy female-headed households.
- **Fight violence against women through:**
- Enacting and enforcing legislation.
- Developing a national strategy to combat violence against women.
- Developing and implementing public awareness programs.
- Contributing to developing plans for establishment of centers to protect abused women.¹⁶

On a higher level, the Palestinian authority positively responds to all the international references on gender issues, the Palestinian president signed CEDAW Convention on the 8th of March 2009; nonetheless, it has not been implemented yet and none of the Palestinian regulations or laws have accordingly been modified.

In Gaza, meanwhile, after five years of the formation of Gaza government, we can detect few variables in its trends. During the elections campaign, it promoted a discourse of anti-international legitimacy considering it unjust, prejudiced and undermining the Palestinians' rights; Hamas spokesmen repeatedly rejected the international cultural and political contexts. As for women's is-

¹⁶ The same source

sues, their stand was clear and interrelated with Islam. The slogan “Islam is the key/solution” constituted their basic law whenever discussing woman’s issues.

Recently, many updates and changes have taken place on the website for the Ministry of Women’s Affairs (MOWA)¹⁷, confiscated by Hamas’s government and left to the Ministry in Ramallah without a website, we can find literature, concepts and vocabularies that are from the international discourse trends on gender mainstreaming, via reviewing the laws and legislations from a gender perspective. For example, the legal department action plan (MOWA) includes the following:

- Propose **amendments** on the operating laws and legislations
- Hold meeting and **workshops** to discuss women legal status
- **Network and coordinate** with the legal institutions to formulate laws and legislation drafts that speed up **women integration in the development process**
- Raise the societal **awareness** of women’s social and economic rights
- **Popularize the international and Arab legal charters and agreements.** ¹⁸

For the first time, we see Hamas using Gender terms such as “**gender and the international agreements**”, in other contexts, they talk about “**empowerment, partnership, training...etc**”, which are new terms in the Islamic movement literatures that have relentlessly rejected to employ or include in its political and factious discourse before winning the elections and seizing control over the Gaza Strip.

Gender Mainstreaming in the Palestinian Media

The Palestinian mass media was not alienated from the impacts of the new international trends of women’s issues; it was large-

17 www.mowa.gov.ps

18 The same source

ly influenced by this discourse mainly because of the nature of its media and the fact that it was evolving after Oslo Agreement and was so attached and linked to the PA political agenda. The identity of the Palestinian media, both the private and official, resembles the political project of Oslo; it was completely open to gender mainstreaming; we rarely find a newspaper, magazine, radio station or television that has reservations, of any kind, against gender mainstreaming issues. It is logical to articulate that it was an ally of gender issues; but without any depth i.e. no analytical, critical, auditing of the cases or issues regarding gender were generated; instead, it conveyed the discourse mechanically with no thorough inclusive investigative connotations; without digging into the details. The media simply hosts and passes terms to their audience considering it a pure professional subject.

The mass media's behavior was similar of the official institutions' that dealt with gender issues; since both were involved in an international discourse on gender without a trying to familiarize the details and features. For instance, when the Palestinian President ratified CEDAW agreement, March 2009, the media celebrated this event along with all the official and feminist organizations without significant knowledge of its dues; only because the official institutions and civil society organizations were contempt of signing the agreement.

The local newspapers published the news with great attention and devotion irrelevant to the importance of the topic itself, the focus was mainly and only on the news of the Palestinian President that surpassed the first pages of the newspapers; photos and big headlines.

At this juncture, it is viable to examine and analyze the transformation of the international discourse to the domestic Palestinian discourse, investigating the tools, players, institutions and goals of this transformation that mainstream the international into the

domestic without being familiar with the necessities of this mainstreaming as well as its implications, harbingers, its compliance and discrepancy with the domestic peculiarities; what to edit to be locally acceptable, applicable for building on and developing in the future and how to prevent automatically follow or implement the patterns, as long as it is associated with a social building process not a quick consumption process.

The Mufti agreed, The Undersecretary reserved, and the journalist volunteered

Most probably what happened in the workshop¹⁹ organized by the Ministry of Information on 24th of December 2009 on “Ratification of CEDAW Convention“, gives an accurate picture of how the international discourse emerged into the domestic discourse shallowly without knowing any relevant details or dues.

The speakers in the workshop, representing the Palestinian spectrum: officials, NGOs, and journalist articulated the following comments and opinions:

- **The Undersecretary of** Ministry of Information said: CEDAW Convention attempts at creating more reasonable space for women... Islam preceded all these conventions and agreements in defending woman rights..... The occupation, backed-up by the strong western countries, will seek to impose values, culture and rules that empty us from our national, social and cultural peculiar contents via United States Agency for International Development USAID that is enforcing its rules and regulations that we should abide by.
- **Mufti** said the Convention meets with the Islamic Sharia; and he supported woman’s rights as long as they correspond and comply with Islam, he rejected the reservations on the overall convention terms; he added that points of doubts or objections should be highlighted and determined. He demanded

19 The Workshop activities at the Ministry of Information, Ramallah 24th December 2009

the officials to formulate personal status law that regulates life in the West Bank, Jerusalem and Gaza.

- **The Undersecretary of Women's Affairs Ministry:** the convention seeks to alleviate all forms of discrimination against women, and recover her full rights equally to men. His Excellency President Abbas signed the Convention on the 8th of March this year in defiance with Basic Law..... The Convention consists of 30 articles, which constitutes international code for woman's rights. The convention calls for men and women equality and equity and enjoying all types of freedoms: economic, social, cultural, civil and political. The convention parts are: Full women's development and progress to Guarantee of Basic Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the sexual and political rights, right of work and education, legal competence, administrative hierarchy, access, signature and reservation.
- **The presidential advisor for legal affairs:** His Excellency President Abbas is concerned in reinforcing woman's rights which were gained after a productive continuous struggle; he supports these rights by signing this convention.... there are points that link the convention and the Basic Law; and reservations that should be taken into considerations.
- **Development expert:** I disagree with the undersecretary of the Ministry of Information who welcomed the reservations.... If we started with peculiarities; we will never end or reach to equality.
- **Representative of the feminist organizations:** The Palestinian Basic Law, Article 10 commits to adopt the international and regional conventions that comply with human rights and women.
- **Representative of the legal organizations:** The majority of the applicable laws and regulations in Palestine do not cor-

respond with the international conventions and agreements due to the nature of philosophy these legislations were built on that are based on masculine culture mainly..... there are many articles in the Palestinian laws that contradict with CEDAW agreement especially penalties, beating and capability of pressing charges against a perpetrator (Article 62 of Penalties Law), adopting underage marriages (15 years) as well as the legitimate excuses or justifications of honour killing cases, denial of woman's legal status that limit her ability to enter into marriage contracts. There are many articles and terms in the local laws that refute and dispute CEDAW Convention.

- **Journalist and researcher:** She presented a media work plan to promote this convention taking into consideration the most prominent mass media with assertion on the tight connection between the decision-makers (the president, the cabinet and Legislative Council). She specified the main parties of mainstreaming:
 - The influential: the feminist groups, lecturers, ministries...etc
 - The audience: the media messages that are circulated in short easy moulds via televised or radio sketches, quick news reports, interviews in the most listened programs.

We perceive, from the above comments, that gender-mainstreaming issues have been initially legitimized through the international discourse, the Palestinian President and from the elite Palestinian official, non-governmental institutions support –all these who already enjoy massive **authorities**. As for women themselves, who are the core of the issue, they were out of the mainstreaming game; they have no power to accept, analyze, agree or oppose.

We also notice that the Mufti, women's affairs undersecretary

and the development expert were in rush to accept and embrace the Convention; maybe they are right in doing so but what would be their reaction and how frustrated they would be if, in later stages, a social movement of modernist peers appeared to reject this convention on the basis of non-conformity with the Palestinian woman's realities.

As for the legal experts, the first opinion was attached closely to the Palestinian President's instructions and desires, while the second opinion is alluding that the main concern was the enforcement of the Convention provided that they apply amendments on the local legislations; he was the only speaker in the workshop who talked about the executive side of the process and the possibility of smooth legal implementation and potential obstacles.

The journalist, took the audience automatically to the promotion plan without presenting any opinion or feedback regarding the convention itself. she gave all the keys easily and freely to the audience, officials, readers and journalists; and without realizing the importance of the journalists' knowledge, conviction and understanding of the convention and its articles or the possibility that local mass media can develop its independent cultural personality opposing or supporting gender issues and without pointing out the audience's opinion and their feedback of the whole issue.

Following our discussion with journalist, she mentioned that her introductory notes included different contexts in addition to the media plan, and that she demanded to present the plan to all the societal sectors, elites, institutions and individuals first before officially release in the mass media.

All the participants talks demonstrates how the Palestinian spectrum deals with media: it automatically considers mass media as a utilizing stage for conveying projects and ideologies not as a part or player in concept-generating processes, adopting laws or initiating change operations. The exploitative or utilizing perspec-

tive is manifested in the applied language; we hear many speakers in workshops, meetings and conferences saying: “**A Media mechanism should be set**” or “**Media Machine**” or “**Mass media should ...**” All the semantics here indicate a utilizing logic of media without giving any credit or attention to those who are working in this field.

International Discourse Introspection

Massad,²⁰ in an article written some time ago, in his article “Conceiving the Masculine: Gender and Palestinian Nationalism” talked about the influences of European nationalism on Palestinian nationalism that emerged from modernism and enlightenment philosophy discourse. He explored the Palestinian nationalism process over decades of revolution where it took the form of secularism in dealing with woman’s issues, but the analytical reading of this aspect, according to Massad, proved that the Palestinian nationalist ideology persisted dealing with woman’s issues in the same historical complexes of patriarchy, masculinity prevalence and women subordination. This idea appeared in his analysis of the PLO discourse, statements, Abu Ammar’s speech at the UN, the Independence Declaration, the National Charter and all the leaflets and statements during the first *Intifada*. The imaginary addressee was always the Palestinian male fighter who is defending his mother; i.e. Palestine, from the Israeli masculine occupant, and when the discourse addressed women, it described her as the guardian of fire, factory of men or heroes....etc.

It is apparent, in Massad’s analysis, that the Palestinian nationalism took entirely different approach from the European nationalism; which didn’t carry or produce any new notions to the masculine culture that dominated the PLO discourse. It reproduced images, visions and positions of Palestinian women subordination by using linguistic rituals, vocabularies, connotations and im-

20 Massad, Joseph, “Conceiving the masculine: Gender and Palestinian nationalism”, Middle East Journal. Vol.49 (3).Summer 1995.

ages. If we look attentively into this discourse, we will find that it came from a useful slogan logic/arena in the midst of language, discourse and music chorus that accompanied the Palestinian revolution.

We cited Massad as a reference in our analysis to show how the Palestinian media discourse was influenced by the international discourse. The Palestinian journalism introspects the international discourse in relation to woman's issues; it considers all that is stated in the international discourse is ideal, legitimate and can be built on domestically. The observer of the Palestinian media process since Oslo to up-to-date can see that Palestinian journalism has not changed in social terms; it has always been a main station to receive messages and resend them to Palestinian audience without considering the critical analytical dimensions, or the importance of discrepancy and variance, or even the peculiarity of gender issues.

Moreover, the complexities that Massad alluded to about in his article are still valid in Palestinian media language, with the addition of few newly developed terms based on new circumstances such as: **the martyr's mother ululated at the arrival of her son's body in the refugee camp.... Or Supported /donated by this or that international organization: workshop was conducted targeting women of Salfit on how to make cheese, or sew or how to upraise a child....** As if Salfit women only lack training on matters which in fact they lived its details on daily basis and spend their whole lives doing them. We are not talking here about conveying news or reporting as one of journalistic tasks, but about the submission of the Palestinian mass media to such news without publishing even once an analytical report or criticism or published a journalistic story that addresses women's priorities and needs amidst the day-to-day overwhelming flow of news from some non-governmental feminist organizations that are published without intervention, opinion or comment from the journalist or

his/her institution. Later, we will discuss cases of the Palestinian media coverage of gender issues in phases.

Proposing Media Analysis and Woman on the “Order of Discourse”

The feminist critique schools have different leaps in terms of results and origins; this criticism was associated with ideological developments once, with geo-political in other times, with ideological doctrines and scientific curriculum; and origins of existing conventional, nationalist, liberal and radical feminist schools and then transformed to post-feminist schools. The theorists of this criticism have had many various references/declinations; analysis of practice, analysis of scripts and texts, analysis of feminist academia; others focus on woman and economy, or woman and cinema, or woman and rights, or woman and language...etc²¹.

Along with all these critical inclinations, the researches that relied on the **analysis of the discourse** were the most successful, which is an analysis founded by Michel Foucault (1926-1984); who wrote a series of books among which is the “**Order of Discourse**” that was massively published and used in most of the social sciences and anthropological studies. This became an analytical tool in critical feminist schools and specifically radical feminism, post-feminism and feminist media, which is our main interest.

Foucault’s approach influenced post-modernist and post-feminist schools, although he was not post-modernist or structuralist, but his doctrines dominated the ideological schools by the end of the last century and the beginning of the current. Post-modernist Feminist schools consider that analyzing women’s roles in mass media is not sufficient since it failed to present philosophical positions of women. In fact, it reconciled the objective scientific trends that reproduced masculine doctrines while under the

21 Ba’ali, Hafnawi (2009), Introduction to Feminist Criticism Theory and Post-Feminism, Al-Ikhtilaf publications, Beirut.

pressure of advanced communication technologies associated with consumption and speed but did not stop to reveal the marginalized details in women's issues²².

In critical media studies there are several schools that Foucault inspired and conferred new horizons to the analysis of texts, statements, expressions that are reiterated in mass media and considered as "the uplifter and transporter" of the discourse. Shouman (2007) believes that the discourse was circulated originally within what was called the structuralist trend in researches resembling the western research trends. Within this trend there was: anthropological (Strauss structuralism), Psychological (Lacan structuralism), Marxist (Althusser structuralism) and cultural-cultural structuralism²³.

Nonetheless, Levi²⁴ in an article published in 1975 diverged statements and opinions that categorized Foucault as structuralists, though this point is not among his research goals, he opposed to situate Foucault within the post-modernist ideology.

In Foucault's book, "The Order of Discourse" (2007) he defines discourse as: a lingual concept, that is distinguished from any script, speech or writing... etc. by its form for any and every mental product, whether it was poetry or prose, written or spoken, individual or collective, institutional or individual. While other terms are confined to one aspect, discourse has its own internal logic and institutional attachments; it is not necessarily a product of unique entity that it expresses or carries its connotation or refer to; discourse can be an institute discourse or time interval or a branch of knowledge. ²⁵

22 Baáli, Hafnawi (2009), Introduction to Feminist Criticism Theory and Post-Feminism, Al-Ikhtilaf publications, Beirut.

23 Shouman, Mohammed (2007), Analysis of the Media Discourse, Cairo, the Egyptian-Lebanese House of publishing, p 49-56 p117)

24 Levy, Bernard Henry, Foucault, Michele (2007), Order of Discourse, translation of Mohammed Sabiella, Beirut, Dar Al-Farabi, p 59-72

25 Foucault, Michele (2007), Order of Discourse, translation of Mohammed Sabiella, Beirut, Dar Al-Farabi, p 6

The above definition was stated in the margins or notes written in Foucault's book *Order of Discourse*, as it was said during a lecture he gave in 1971. Foucault stated three main dimensions of discourse: "**prohibition, division of discourses or rejection, the will of the truth**"²⁶. He saw the discourse linked to desire and power (control) as it has submission tools, great knowledge skills, subjection principles and a true will originated from the materialistic, technical, tool usages of knowledge history. He believes that discourse has no author or stays in a status of "disappearance/vanishing of the authors' names". As for the author's position or rank, Foucault believes that what is called "discourse grouping" is responsible of writing, renovating and reproducing discourse²⁷.

Foucault considers that individuals do exist in a set of educational, economic, moral and civil discourses without realizing they are not free within this discourse and at the same time unable to exist outside. Moreover, he believes that human beings are formed within a set of different practices and discourses, and the power of the object comes within the discourse and its language.²⁸

Foucault asserts that discourse is capable of self-maintenance and preservation via relying on:

First: The major tales/narratives that become with time fortunes or introductions to be built on -in case of any developments or updates such as the religious or legal texts²⁹.

Second: The author's death (the other function). Foucault believes that it is hard to say the discourse has an author as well as believing in the coincidence logic of the discourse birth³⁰.

Third: the growth of knowledge branch within the boundaries of

26 The same source, p 15

27 The same source, p 5-85

28 A lecture delivered by Dr. Reema Hamami at the Institute of Woman's Studies, Bir-Zeit University, 5/11/2009

29 Foucault, Michele (2007), *Order of Discourse*, translation of Mohammed Sabiella, Beirut, Dar Al-Farabi, p 17

30 The same source, p20-23

discourse via error operations and correct operations. Discourse benefits from these processes and developments and is maintained in “an ongoing resurrection of its founding rules”³¹state.

Fourth: the discourse groupings formed have the main mission to protect discourse and its products within confined circles. What is published of this discourse is for the use of regular common objects that consumes and employs aspects of discourse but not shaping it or affecting it³².

Foucault Ketchup³³

Nevertheless, with Foucault the order of Solution seems different, proposing solutions, in the academic terms, are not reached at the end of any analysis, but there is an amazing sense of liberation from the ascendancy of discourses in these studies and researches, a state that opens new horizons and potentials to disseminate texts and knowledge and nourish creativity at a certain stage of analysis.

Much literature suggested diverse enormous tools for analyzing discourses that we are unable anymore to differentiate between the tools. Methods of analysis are categorized according to the academic subject. we will analyze my research on the basis of a group of discourse and texts analysis³⁴ as a reference in analyzing texts in the Palestinian media in addition to a set of concepts we have acquired while reading Foucault’s (2007) and several articles by authors in the same book about Foucault and his work and finally on a book called: “Michele Foucault- Jacques Derrida,

31 The same source, p 23-27

32 The same source, p 30-33

33 In a lecture at Bir-Zeit University, I complained about the magnitude of the academic papers and researches that are based mainly on Foucault in analysis; my colleague from Sociology Department, said instantly: “Foucault has become like a ketchup in the university.” We all laughed, but those who care and are interested in this topic felt heartbroken. I always had the conviction that Foucault was the twentieth century knowledge wonder; and that his quotes and statements will liberate us from what is prominent and conventional in researching; unfortunately, most of the times when I read researches influenced by Foucault and his ideologies and post-modernist doctrines, I reach a status of tampering and void with no proposed solutions in the sight.

34 Some of these were presented in aa lecture delivered by Dr. Reema Hamami at the Institute of Woman’s Studies, Bir-Zeit University, 5/11/2009

Texts and Dialogue³⁵.”

The Analysis tools will include:

1. Repetitive paradoxes and existing binaries in the text
2. The text affirmation
3. Glossaries that are agreed upon recognized that the text is based on.
4. Type of power /authority in the text
5. The silence/muteness stated in the text
6. The point where the text addresses the reader
7. The distance to where the text pushes the reader outside
8. Detect the active agent in the text, how it manipulates the agent by exposing or hiding; is it the dilemma or the solution
9. Frequency in the text
10. How the text tackles alternative or opposing plea, and how the text develops this plea via opinion and the opposite opinion.
11. Form and magnitude of the text voice and its motives

We will employ these tools in exploring and analyzing journalistic texts circulated in the written Palestinian media in addition to general remarks whenever it is necessary to reinforce the analysis and evoke it suggest criticisms that may reveal points of inefficiencies and inadequacies in the texts the research is analyzing.

35 Michele Foucault- Jacques Derrida, *Texts and Dialogues*, (2006), translation of Mohammed Milad, Latakia, Dar Al-Hiwar for publishing and Distribution

الإدارة العامة لصحة وتنمية المرأة في وزارة الصحة تصدر تقريرها للعام ٢٠٠٩

تتبنى تعريف الطفلة على ماهية الجبروتوكول وإخاله للمتدريس ضمن مقررات السنة الخامسة لمساق الأمراض النسائية في كلية الطب. وأشارت د.سوزان عبده مدير عام إدارة صحة وتنمية المرأة بأنه تم تبني عدد من التوصيات في التقرير السنوي، من أهمها التركيز على برامج توعية الخدمات وتقديم خدمة ذات جودة عالية، وتوسيعها لتشمل جميع مراكز الأمانة في الرعاية الصحية الأولية، والتركيز على التوعية المجتمعية حول صحة المرأة والنوع الاجتماعي والعنف بأشكاله.

ممرضات مؤهلات للكشف عن هذه الحالات نظراً لازدياد المراجعات لمراكز الصحة. وأشارت بصياغة الخطة الوطنية لسرطان الثدي، بالإضافة إلى السيطرة على العدوى في المستشفيات وتزويدها بالمواد الأساسية اللازمة من مواد التحقيم، وترميم قسم الولادة في مستشفى رام الله وتزويده ببعض الأجهزة والمعدات، إضافة إلى وضع بروتوكولات الولادات الطارئة وتوحيدها في مختلف الأقسام. وعقدت إدارة صحة وتنمية المرأة وصندوق الأمم المتحدة للسكان اجتماعات مع عدد من الجامعات لكي

رام الله - الحياة الجديدة - أصدرت الإدارة العامة لصحة وتنمية المرأة في وزارة الصحة تقريرها السنوي للعام ٢٠٠٩، حيث عدت الإنجازات التي حققتها من خلال مشروع تطوير جودة خدمات الصحة الإنجابية، للعدم من صندوق الأمم المتحدة للسكان. حيث تم تشكيل اللجنة الوطنية لوفيات الأمهات ووضع آلية رصد موحدة، إذ تم تسجيل ١٩ حالة وفاة للأمهات خلال عام ٢٠٠٩، وتابعت إدارة صحة وتنمية المرأة عملية الكشف لبعض سرطانات عنق الرحم، وذلك من خلال تزويد المراكز بالمستلزمات والأجهزة الطبية اللازمة، وتدريب

The General Administration of Women Health and Development at the Ministry of Health Publish its Report for the year 2009

The institution is in the title while the dead mothers in the body

It is accustomed that headlines in written journalism holds the most important and central information following precise accurate conclusion of story/news climax or developments. However, under the dominance of the institutions and their daily reports and statements, the interest of the institution has become more of promoting itself as an institute rather than its activities and issues. On the other hand, in the light of commercial relations between the civil society organizations and/or the official organizations with the local newspapers, the mutual interests negatively influenced the professionalism of the news and the coverage itself. Consequently, the news becomes a one-sided message; i.e. the institute operating in the feminist issues domain. Media message tools are totally absent from conveying and reporting the institute's news that becomes conventional news template with repetitive, familiar and dominant discourse.

The above news published in Al-Hayat Al-Jadida and Wafa News Agency³⁶ clarifies the **prominence and supremacy** of the institute and its discourse as well as its impact on weakening the role of journalism and transforming it from the social domain that grows with questions and inquiries into tools for passing and conveying media messages to the audience without any effect on the message itself.

The headline was: “The General Administration of Woman’s Health and Development at the Ministry of Health Publishes its Report for the year 2009”, a 12 word-headline where the focus was on the name of the department that occupied the forefront as if the existence of the department is a miracle, then the name of the Ministry of Health came second as an authoritative entity, then the issuance of the annual report comes last drawing it as a huge achievement but noting that all the operating institutions publish or archive their annual reports. The context of the story or text anticipates that the readers will be astonished and amazed by the title.... Oh we have General Administration of Woman’s Health and Development... we have ministry of health..... The department fulfilled one of its duties... it published its annual report.”

On the other hand, we find that the body of the story carried more important information than the title; the report talked about the death of 19 Palestinian mothers in 2009 without further details on the causes: repair of the maternity section in Ramallah Hospital, adopting a new course on Gynecological Diseases for the 5th year students in Medicine Faculties, the increase of the number of women who undergo cervical cancer screening, qualifying more nurses to diagnose cervical cancer diseases, setup and unify a protocol for emergency delivery operations for all hospitals...”. All these details were overlooked in the title that talked about the name of the institute and its “magnificent” achievement. Hence, the news/text is eager to voice the institute is the most impor-

36 Wafa News Agency, on 1/2/2010 and Al-Hayat Al-Jadida on 2/2/2010 p. 17

tant player, it is the **“text actor/doer”** from which the solutions emerge and without it major problems may occur.

The body, the text/news relied on a set of **“discourse groupings”** in the Foucaultian terms, these groupings stem their legitimacy from international and local institutions operating in gender mainstreaming, which are: **United Nations Population Fund, the National Committee of Maternal Mortality, the National Committee Combating Breast Cancer, Medical Protocol, Medicine Faculties in the Universities, Dr. Suzan Abdo, Manager of the General Administration of Woman Health and Development.** It seems that there is no space to mention the status of sick women, their sufferings, or the impact of disease on mother’s and children’s health or on marital relations or production; or what is needed to provide sick mothers with by the official and non-governmental organizations.

We can conclude from the news that the three institutes **discourse groupings** controlled the news reporting coverage tools are: The United Nations Population Fund, and the Palestinian Ministry of Health and the General Administration. Meanwhile, while the targeted individual in the activities, which is the Palestinian woman or mother, is absent (being alienated) for the benefit of giving more space to talk about the “achievements and outcomes” of the project.

The media loss of important critiques in such news articles is huge, the reporter or editor is confined to the power of the institute discourse and without any intervention or opinion, assessment or inquiries from his/her side contradicting all journalism schools’ main concern has been in that it should be mature and develop the necessary social questions bank and then pass them to the audience. In other words, when the media is only a passage/channel through which the message or news is passed - without any influence.

Additionally, such news may transform the readers who are the discourse audience into **passive recipients** and on the long term, will turn them to open available territory for dominating discourses; without enjoying any power or capacity to question or hold these institutions accountable for their services or ideas; **the text here kicks them out** and hides them to let the show-off for the discourse group/institute.

You can imagine how significant and forceful would it be if the newspaper dealt with the deaths of the mothers not the institutions' achievements, or if it conducted an investigation on the shortfalls in one of the hospitals not on what they provided, or published an awareness material about cervical cancer and the methods of treatment and not about an organization that keeps repeating the slogan of gender mainstraming in spite of the fact that this word is hardly known or familiar to the literate Palestinians or relevant people, not to mention common Palestinians.

News that Fool Women

في كلمة لمناسبة الثامن من آذار يوم المرأة الوزير : المرأة كانت ولم تزال حارسة بقاء نار الثورة الفلسطينية ومرجعيتنا ونبراس طريقنا

رام الله - **الوطن** - قالت رئيسة الاتحاد العام للمرأة الفلسطينية النصار الوزيرام جهاد - إن امرأة عانت ولم تزل حارسة بقاء نار الثورة الفلسطينية. كما جاء في اعلان الاستقلال. مرجعيتنا ونبراس طريقنا الذي تستند اليه في تأسيس نظامنا السياسي الذي نطمح اليه. مجتمع التعددية السياسية والفرعية. الذي يضمن حقوق الجميع في اطار الديمقراطية وتعاون السلطات. مجتمع العدالة والسيادة. جاءت كلمة الوزير خلال احتفالية خاصة نظمتها الاتحاد برعاية الرئيس محمود عباس في تسمر رام الله الثقافي بمناسبة الثامن من آذار يوم للمرأة العالمي. وبمختصر الطبيب عبد الحميد مغللا من الرئيس ووزيرة شؤون المرأة ريمية ذياب وعنده من المسؤولين والقهاليات النسوية والجمعية. وقالت الوزيرة: تحمّل البدع في يوم المرأة العالمي في الثامن من آذار. نحيات لثورة الفلسطينية في كل مكان. من القدس الحبيبة. ومن هنا بالشفقة. وهناك من غرّة والشابات المرأة والنشأة شريفة العرب. شريعتهم في التسوية والقرار. واعتبرت رئيسة الاتحاد العام للمرأة أن الثامن من آذار لهذا العام يأتي في مرحلة صعبة ومعقدة. حيث يصعد الاحتفال على نحو غير مسبوق. من اجراءاته الاحتفالية. في مساندة الارض وبناء الجدار. وتوسيع المستوطنات ونهويد القدس وتزوير وجهها العربي الفلسطيني. والاعمان في تكريس الواقع في محاولة تهدف الى رسم معالم الحد القائم على شطب الحقوق الفلسطينية. وفي ظل استمرار حالة الانتداب السياسي والجغرافي. الامر الذي يضعف الموقف الفلسطيني ويخلفه. وما يوفر افضل الايواء للاحتلال حواسله سياساته العدوانية الهجينة. مؤمنة أن المرأة الفلسطينية تعيش معاناة

مضاعفة. فهي من جهة تتفع لمن الاعتمادات الاسرائيلية البوية. وتواجه عمليات القتل والاعتقال وعدم البيوت والحوار. وتنتسى الى توفير لقمة العيش لها ولأسرتها. بسبب ارتفاع حدة الفقر الناجمة عن البطالة بسبب الحصار وتضييق الاحتلاليات التنمية والاستقلال الاقتصادي. ومن جانب آخر تتعرض لشروطات الاقتصادية والاجتماعية والثقافية وقانونية ناجمة عن التمييز الذي ما زال يمارس شعبنا بالقتال متعدد بسبب التفرقة والفتنة الخطيفة المتبادر. وأكدت الوزيرة ان نضال المرأة وتحسيناتها ومشاركتها تقاسم أسماء النضال واستحقاقاته. والوقوف الخلق لصاحب القرار الفلسطيني الذي يتحارب مع مطالب النساء حلقت مكاسب للنساء على نحو غير مسبوق. معنيرة مصادقة الرئيس ابو مازن على اتفاقية القضاء على جميع اشكال التمييز ضد المرأة. دليلا على اسناد السلطة الوطنية لحقوق المرأة والدفع باتجاه تحقيق مساواتها. وأكدت ان اصدار مجلس الوزراء لقراره القاضي بتخليق العمق بمادة العذر للخلل والمخفف لتركيب جرائم الشرف في قانون العقوبات. انجازا جديدا لصالح المرأة ورفع الظلم عنها وخطورة مهمة نحو تحقيق المساواة. وأشارت في صلب عظمتها الى ان وصول المرأة الى مراكز صنع القرار على مستوى السلطة التنفيذية والتشريعية والقضائية وفي الوظيفة العمومية يعزز الثقة باعتمادات تحقيق مكاسب تراكمية للمرأة. داعية للتركيز على التقدم المحقق باتجاه رفع مطالب جديدة تنطلق بحماية المرأة الفلسطينية وتحقيق مصالحها وتخليق عمومها.

**In his speech on the occasion of the 8th of March: Woman's Day
The Minister: Women has been and still are the guardian of the
Palestinian revolution fire and our locus and path beacon**

Al-Hayat Al-Jadida³⁷ published a coverage of a celebration organized by the General Union of the Palestinian Women where many political leaders delivered speeches. In the title the editing journalist who seemed to think it is considered the best title to head the coverage it says: **The Minister: Women have been and still are the guardians of the Palestinian revolution fire and our locus and path beacon**". Mentioning this example, we have to stop at two main analytical points:

First: The Palestinian national discourse for decades persisted on recapping descriptive slogans about women, slogans that do not reflect the realities or attempt to institutionalize transformations or changes in the Palestinian woman's image; they do not express the actual life where women were placed in the far marginalized lines in roles-sharing, decision-making, gaining-fortunes, powers- allocations and powers-sources. The Palestinian discourse producer or discourse production parties of revolutionary movements and forces or the **sectarian groups**,³⁸ as called by Foucault, were promoting themselves by trying to persuade or entice women's audiences by using buzzwords and slogans to attract massive sectors of people to work for and support the revolution. In other words, the national spirits were employed in such discourses as an excuse that aimed at utilizing women in the revolution; this motive is vicious to the degree that its use annulled any motive or excuse that contradicts or opposes them. **The pretext of homeland** is bigger than **the treason or being left behind** or self-building away from the masses.

The descriptions employed in the Palestinian national dialogue of

37 Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, Wednesday 10/3/2010, Volume 5156, p 16

38 Foucault, Michele (2007), Order of Discourse, translation of Mohammed Sabiella, Beirut, Dar Al-Farabi, p 33

men and women are multiple as observed by Massad³⁹, among which are: “**Fire Guardian, Factory of Men, Sister of Heroes, Sister of the Wounded, and Mother of the prisoner....**”

In spite of all the affectionate preambles, in the first elections following Oslo agreement the Palestinians witnessed, women lost their anticipated political representation. They also lost their opportunities in attaining positions and roles in the process of the PA institutionalization and in decision-making. Men earned the lion’s shares of the phase’s rewards politically and administratively and they monopolized the majority of the phase outcomes.

The struggling of leading women besides the ordinary women underwent massive setbacks and it returned backstage. All the resonant slogans and speeches about equality and equity reiterated for long decades in the Palestinian discourse just evaporated... and vanished.

بلدية سلفيت تحتفل بالثامن من آذار

سلفيت - الجليلية: احتفلت بلدية سلفيت والبلديات التابعة لها في بلدة سلفيت احتفالاً بمناسبة يوم المرأة في قاعة المركز الجماهيري البلدية وذلك بحضور عضو المجلس التشريعي المقطوع نجاة أبو بكر و مدير عام النوع الاجتماعي في وزارة الحكم المحلي حنان مسيح وبلال مزربل عضو المجلس الثوري لحرية فتح وامين سر القليم سلفيت والقائم بأعمال المحافظ نواف صوف تحسين أبو سليم.

وافتتح الحفل بترشيح لرئيس بلدية سلفيت أبو سليمه مبيياً دور المرأة في المجتمع وكيف أن الإسلام حفظ لها حريتها وحقوقها واحترمها كما ورد في القرآن الكريم والسنة النبوية. بدورها قالت أبو بكر «إن المرأة الفلسطينية عانت ولا تزال مشروع الانتصار ولقد مرت في جميع مراحل وشاركت فيها حيث حملت الهم الفلسطيني وحملت السلاح». وتحدث مزربل عن دور المرأة الفلسطينية على مر التاريخ التي ساندت الرجل في النضال فتمها القائدة والأسيرة والشهيدة ثم دعمت حنان مسيح في تحضير قيادات نسوية للمشاركة في الانتخابات المحلية الفلسطينية وتعزيز دورها في هذا المجال الحيوي.

بدوره قدم صوف كلمة هذا المرأة في هذا اليوم الذي خصص لتكريم المرأة وأشار إلى أن المرأة تعمل من أجل إعطائها حقها في المجتمع وأن القيادة الفلسطينية من خلال قراراتها تعمل على إنصاف المجتمع في مختلف المجالات.

وفي الختام زار المشاركون بيت السنن في مدينة سلفيت متمعنن دوره الريادي في العناية والاهتمام بالسنن والوقوف إلى جانبهم.

In the same page of Al-Hayat Al-Jadida Newspaper⁴⁰, we find the PLC member Najat Abu Baker stating that: “woman throughout the history has supported man in the struggle, we find the leader, the prisoner and martyr woman....” We respond, if this is the case,

39 Massad, Joseph, “Conceiving the masculine: Gender and Palestinian nationalism”, Middle East Journal. Vol.49 (3).summer 1995

40 Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, 10/3/2010, Volume 5156, p 13

why women lost most of the new posts and ranks during the PA institutionalizing process; if women always supported men, and the later accounted for all roles, allocations and representation positions then why a female PLC member keeps on echoing that a woman backs up a man while the man is using her as a backer in his discourse and is abandoning her at times of social profits or in real life.

Therefore, we are entitled to pronounce that the **Palestinian descriptive discourse** and buzzwords and slogans were fake awareness and perception as the language employed was a tool to fool women, to woo them and turn them into consumers and chronic mute agents to demand change.

It is true that Palestinian women through their affiliation with the PLO factions for the last decade were able and successful in eliminating historical subordination ranks and in the revolution and the political representation in its committees and structures as articulated by Jad⁴¹ in her study “**From the Salon Ladies to the Popular Committees**”. However, the Palestinian history movement and the consequent developments following Oslo and the foundation of the PA, all proved that: being involved in the the revolution did not bring about a lot for Palestinian women except their access to mobilization, political representation and moving from the private to the public arena for a limited time during the revolution. In the Post-revolution phase, women found themselves out of all the gains and achievements; because the discourse that has been used for decades and decades was **devious** in regards with women’s participation; although they were involved in the revolution and occupied many positions before, but they did not gain any new posts. This status persisted reproducing complexes that restricted women’s access to representation and distribution.

41 Islah Jad “From the salon ladies to popular committees: Palestinian women,1919-1989” In nassar and heacoch. Intifada: Palestine at the crossroads. New york.1999.pp 125-134.

women, then we will analyze the Palestinians' statements published in the newspapers on Woman's International Day:

Mahmoud Al-Aloul: Fateh movement is proud and boasts the Palestinian women: the martyr, prisoner, wounded, leader, teacher, fighter, and the educator. The movement supports her leading vanguard prominent and pioneer role in the Palestinian revolution, and her leadership of the public work and social organizations and attaining high and senior posts in the various official and non-governmental organizations.

The previous statement/text avoids addressing the illiterate, handicapped, sick, or the ordinary women; because he wants to rely on characteristics that are taken for granted that they are the best, and he doesn't want to refer to the weak, noting that weakness is the status of the Palestinian women.

Adnan Al-Dumeiri: women gave the martyrs, prisoners and wounded, and she is striving daily against the occupation; she is a genuine remarkable and great asset and player in the daily struggle in Jerusalem and against the Separation Wall, she occupies major ranks and positions in the different security and civil institutions side by side of the man.

The text or the statement relies greatly on the ideal excuse (homeland), as if the text is articulating unintentionally that women are out of the "Revolution, Confrontation with the occupation and Country" formula and that they do not deserve appraisal or occupying important positions.

Fatima Al-Batmah: the Palestinian woman did not and won't be broken, she is the one who raises her children on victory; only by her strength, and she was able to be in the forefront of the struggle.

Hasan Abu Libdah: women were fighters and guardians of our endurance; thus, we should call this day the Palestinian Woman's

Day and then International Woman's Day.

The statement here relies on hidden argument against the world's women by saying to the Palestinian women that you are more entitled to celebrate the 8th of March; this expression implied unsuccessful compliments.

International Relations Dept., PLO: the Palestinian woman sacrificed her life, prisoned, and she was mother of a martyr, sister of a prisoner, daughter of wounded and wife of a fighter.

In the previous statement, there is scandalous confirmation of who's the actor/doer in the text; it is the man who is the link or the bond of everything else to attain its position and importance; but he was not any man: he is the wounded, prisoner, martyr or fighter, as if anyone out of these characteristics does not deserve to belong.

Hebron Governor: this honouring is a result of our keenness and assertion on the importance of this day for women in general and the Palestinian women specifically since she constitutes half of the Palestinian community. We express our gratitude and confession of her great role: woman, wife, sister, daughter, worker and fighter in addition to her political, social and economic responsibilities in the Palestinian society.

The coverage published in both was the same. In Al-Ayyam newspaper⁴³ there was a marginal discrepancies. Both local newspapers were parallel in passing the resonant discourse or the method of quoting the sayings and press statements.

The reality of the two newspapers' coverage is not that different from the coverage of Wafa Agency, so even when the material is written by the agency correspondent not the PR department of any institution, we find the correspondent/reporter and the editor both join the buzzwords chorus in relation to women The

43 Al-Ayyam Newspaper, Tuesday, 9/3/2010, p 11

news report for example starts this way, literally:

Cases of Women in their daily Lives

Nablus, 8th of March 2010 – Badawiyah Al-Samri

The Palestinian Woman has always had her impacts and achievements within her community; she is the **mother of prisoner, the wife of martyr, the sister of wounded**, and there is also the **female prisoner, worker and activist** who sacrificed her life for the sake of others, and the idea itself of her resistance and durability is a pronounced achievement.

Women of Nablus alike all the Palestinian women have survived and challenged all types of hardships and stood beside the men at all times, they learnt and accomplished a lot. Many women who devoted their lives to serve their communities believe that woman should support women in order to fulfil her goals and ambitions.

The Head of the Counselling and Special Education Section in the Education directorate of Nablus, Mariam Shakhshair, hoped that the Palestinian woman will step up and be a decision maker so she can have her own achievements and respect in Palestine and the world⁴⁴.

One important observation is how ***standing next to the man*** was repeated in more than one statement and how the language used attaches a woman with a man . Here, we contend that **the text itself asserts the legitimacy of men's presence and dominance** – in which a woman was never mentioned independently. Our colleague Al-Samri introspected the Palestinian political discourse and embodied it although she is a woman and journalist who was supposed to have her own culture and trends. This brings us back to the **power of discourse** in that if it dominates the mind surrenders to its authority and how any analysis and any attempt to discuss the dominant would become an outsider path in a world

⁴⁴ WAFA Agency, published report on 8/3/2010

full of fallacies and shallowness and, lastly, where the prevalent and repetition becomes an inevitable daily front.

Of course, we are not against the recognition of a woman's status, and absolutely not against honoring her but this discourse has been repeated for a long time. While the change process is at standstill in terms of language and glossary, simultaneously, the miserable conditions of women's subordination are visibility at all fields and domains starting from equality in job opportunities, a long series of discriminative practices in rights, ownerships, freedoms, opportunities and sources..... meanwhile, the grand linguistic celebration here is in: **wife, sister or mother of a martyr, prisoner or fighter...** that are all hollow preambles with no indications of right and share or allocation for the benefit of the Palestinian woman.

The fear in this context is in the **resonant discourse** that persists veiling the details and circumstances and beautifying simultaneously a reality that discriminate and oppress women, and that the idea of change becoming a fantasized reality expressed only by language, **but it does not exist as a living reality/world (note that the reality only exists in the language in post-modernism ideology).**

في يوم المرأة العالمي شخصيات ومؤسسات وطنية تؤكد دعمها لنيل المرأة حقوقها وتمكينها

واشاد مدير عام ديوان الرقابة المالية والإدارية جمال فوزي أبو الدين د. محمود أبو البر، بدور الجهاد التضامني من أجل بناء المجتمع.

قاضي القضاة
كما هنا قاضي القضاة الشيخ تيسير الشامي، أقراد الفلسطينية يهذه الاحتفالية، مؤكداً بمساهمتها الفعالة التي جلت مع تطلعاتها في مسيرته المهنية وعطائه، حيث الاحتفال، وشهدتها أروع الألفاظ في التسويد والثناء والوقار، والإجلال من قبلها الوطنية.

شقيقة أوجيا
وعبرت شقيقة أوجيا، أمين، عن إعجابها العميق بالإنجازات التي حققتها في المجالس الفلسطينية، وقال رئيس البلدية حسن بلخسي، وعبرها في الكادر، مشيداً بمساهمة أقراد في الأمانة التي عزت من بين الأقران.

الفرق الأخرى
وتقدمت الفرق النسائية الفلسطينية والفرق الفلسطينية، والفلسطينيون في جميع الفئات الأخرى، والفلسطينية، ومركز المرأة الفلسطينية، ومركز المرأة الفلسطينية، ومركز المرأة الفلسطينية.

ثقافة الصحافيين
وتوجهت ثقافة الصحافيين الفلسطينيين بتعزيزها الجاد للإعلام الفلسطينية، التي تاهت بشعبها وعاملوها في سعيها لنيل حقوقها كاملة في مجتمع مدني ديمقراطي، وفي سعيها لنيل وطنها والرامة الدولة الفلسطينية كاملة السيدات بمساهمتهن في النهوض والتقدم، والتمتع الثقافية قران الرئيس محمود عباس القاضى، بضرورة إنجاح كافة الشكاوى المحيطة بشد أقراد بعد مساهمة على الثقافية، سيدون.

مركز الحزبان
من جهة أخرى، عرضت الحزبان لحقوق الإنسان في بيان له، وتوقعه للدائم إلى جانب تكامل أقراد السيدات، من خلال العمل الفلسطيني، من أجل نيل حريته ونحوه في تحرير مسيرته أسود بشعبه الأخرى.

مركز حقوق الإنسان
في ذات السياق، أكد المرشد العام الفلسطيني لحقوق الإنسان في بيان له، إن التضامن في الأراضي الفلسطينية المحتلة تواجه حقوقه بالغة المسؤولية والتضيق، حيث يتمحورن لأشكال مختلفة من حقوقهن التي تمس بتضيق من حقوقهن.

مركز الديمقراطية
وبما مركز الديمقراطية وحقوق الإنسان في فلسطين، التي عجاهاة المنظمة وتمتد لتعبر المساهمة بين الربط للمرأة أمام القانون على أرض الواقع، وتحرير المدين الواقع بشد أقراد العاملة.

مؤسسة «ماتديلا»
وتوجهت مؤسسة «ماتديلا» الفلسطينية إلى جميع السيدات الفلسطينيات، من أجل الاحتفال والتأييد للإجرائات والاحتفال بالإنجازات.

وشارت الحصري إلى بعض القضايا التي حثتها أقراد الفلسطينية، وأن يهذه تطلعاتها الجديسة الشريفة، ويوجد خمس وزيرات في الحكومة، وتوجد لها موقع مهم ومساحة هي الحكومة الإدارية والمسا والقطاع الخاص والمنظمات المجتمع المدني.

«التربية»
وهنأت وزارة التربية والتعليم العالي أقراد الفلسطينية بمناسبة يوم المرأة العالمي، تقديرًا لدورها في التصعيد التربوي والتطويع الاجتماعي، وسبقاً منها للتفكير في دور الشبيبة والراهبة التي لا تتحقق إلا بالمساواة الاجتماعية بين الجنسين.

«الاقتصاد الوطني»
وقال وزير الاقتصاد الوطني د. حسن أبو حمدة، خلال لقائه «موظفات الوزارة بمقر الوزارة، أمين أن أقراد الفلسطينية عدت مساهمة وحاضرة لاقتصادنا، وسبقاً منها من الأقران ان تنطق على هذا اليوم يوم المرأة الفلسطينية، وبعد ذلك اليوم العالمي للمرأة.

وزارة العدل
واعتقدت وزارة العدل، شاركتها وزير العدل د. خشان المناسية، وخشيت كافة كوادر الوزارة، بعهدة الأقران، وأوضح خشان أن وزارة العدل من المؤسسات الرئيسية الرائدة، التي عدت على تعزيز دور أقراد.

«الحكم المحلي»
كشده الحصري وحملة المنسوح الاجتماعي في وزارة الحكم المحلي، موقفات الوزارة بتوزيع الهدايا والورود عليهم، وخلاصه القول، أمينة أهمية أقراد ونورها في كافة المجالات، وفي كافة المؤسسات سواء في الوزارات أو الفلسطينية، أو في المنظمات المحلية.

«التخطيط»
وكرمت وزارة التخطيط والتنمية الاقتصادية موظفات الوزارة، وتم استنطاق المجلس الأعلى للتخطيط أحمد عباس في كلمته تبارية عن وزير التخطيط د. علي الجريسي، على عظمة أقراد الفلسطينية المساهمة، وشيداً بدور أقراد.

«الزراعة»
وكرمت وزارة الزراعة عامراتها والعاملات فيها الفلسطينية، وأسرة وزير الزراعة د. اسماعيل دقيق عن أسرته في تحمسن وضع أقراد الفلسطينية، في كافة المجالات والعيادين.

«ثقافة»
والتمسحت مديرية الثقافة في سلطيت، أمين تورية تربية لإعمال الفعاليات الثقافية، وشاركتها العديد من وزارة الثقافة، في مقر نشاء المنطقة، وقامت مديرية الثقافة بإشهاد الترومي، إن المسورة تعاني شمس حملة الوزارة وإشراكها، للحملة على الفور، الشرائي الثقافي.

ديوان الرقابة
والقائم وحدة المعاملات العامة في ديوان الرقابة المالية والإدارية، أمين احتفالاً خاصة بأخصائيه في مقر الديوان بمرام الله.

رام الله - دوماً هذا العديد من الشخصيات والمؤسسات الوطنية والشبيبة، أمين المرأة الفلسطينية لتتأدية الثامن من آذار، يوم المرأة العالمي، فقد حثت دائرة العلاقات الدولية في منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية، ونساء العالم، بمناسبة يوم المرأة الفلسطينية، وتضمنت فعاليات الحقد العاملة.

حركة «فتح»
في هذا السياق، تقدم محمود المازوق، مدير إدارة العلاقات العامة، عضو اللجنة الفرعية لحركة فتح، باسمي أليات الإصرار والإجتهاد لتسوية الفلسطينية، في كافة أماكن تواجدها في الوطن والشباب، وقال: إن فتح، ونحن ونظمتنا وبالرأية والبرورة والبرورة القادة الملمة المناهضة العربية. في منظمة الشبيبة والنظمتين، وبضرورة استمرار العمل بالإجرائات كافة الإصرار والأسرى في سجون الاحتلال، وأما يوم المرأة العالمي يوماً للتضامن مع الأسيرات، معتبرة أن أقراد الفلسطينية استطاعت ان تلمس من العمل، ومع ذلك الظروف الصعبة التي عاشتها الفلسطيني.

«عفا»
كما تقدم الاتحاد الديمقراطي للمرأة العمل النسوي بأجر، الفعاليات للمرأة الفلسطينية، وعلى لسان أخصائيه يوم أقراد العالمي، مؤكداً أهميتها كعناصرنا الحقيقية مع سائر القوى النصارية الديمقراطية، والحركة النسوية الفلسطينية من أجل ترسيخ ما جاء في وثيقة الإعلان بشأن ضمان تحقيق المساواة للمرأة.

«العربية الفلسطينية»
وهنأت الجمعية العربية الفلسطينية، كافة نساء فلسطين، ونساء الأولة العربية، ونساء العالم، وسعدت أن مسؤولة سبل أقراد حثتها هي مسؤولة كل القوى العاملة في المجتمع، من عجلت والامية، وأمة بتوجهها عليها أن المجتمع، تأخذ دورها كاملاً، أرفع مستوى وعي أقراد.

«التوجه السياسي»
من منتهى، قال مفوض التوجيه السياسي والوطني اللواء عدنان شموري، إن الثامن من آذار الفلسطينية للمرأة الفلسطينية هو كل أيام السنة، فهي التي قدمت التضامن والأسرى والجرحى، وتضيق الواجبة اليومية من الاحتلال.

«معاون المرأة»
من ناحية أخرى، قالت مديرية التربية في وزارة شؤون المرأة فاطمة الميلة، إن أقراد الفلسطينية لم وإن تكسر، فهي من ربت أمتنا على التضامن، وعبرتها المؤسسات أن يكون في منظمة الشكاوى.

«التعاون الاجتماعية»
وكرمت دائرة المرأة في الإدارة العامة للإسكان في وزارة الشؤون الاجتماعية، موظفات الوزارة والمساهمة في الوزارات المساهمة الاحتفال بيوم المرأة العالمي، بحضور وزيرة الشؤون الاجتماعية ساجدة الحصري، وكفال الوزارة د. محمد أبو حمدة، والوكلاء المساهمين، وتحت إشراف من الموظفات والفلسطين.

National figures and institutions assert its support of women rights and empowerment

Second: we will analyze here how the reporters and editors deal with the Palestinian discourse statements and media press releases of the 8th of March. We find that the two main newspapers; Al-Hayat Al-Jadida⁴⁵ and Al-Ayyam⁴⁶, published the previous reso-

45 A-Hayat Al-Jadida, 9/3/2010, volume 5156, p10
46 Al-Ayyam, Tuesday 9/3/2010, p11

nant discourse without any interference from its editors or any type of reports' skills like conducting clipping of the discourse, renew it or convey it to new spaces or, finally, even to delete the conventional parts and focus on the updates and developments-which is actually a great loss. In fact, journalism has the social responsibility and mission to be "**the Gate Guardian**" as it has been called in academia and theories of media. Accordingly, journalists must have matured social issues and re-woven them and sent them back to the audience after applying sensible professional skills that must consider the moral liability of the published materials. This way it can constitute an introduction of a responsible social maturity not re-production of the news as the journalistic liberal trends seek to promote.

The three Palestinian newspapers, on every public occasion, such as Labor Day, Mother's Day, International Woman's Day, Child's Day and the International Day for Journalistic Freedom, assign many pages to a torrent of institutional and political discourse statements and speeches. Due to the many pressures of communications and interests between the newspapers and the ministries, political parties and the non-governmental organizations, the reporters, editors and managements of these newspapers tend to pass loose catch-phrasing statements that primarily promote the **organization's "discourse group"** who send the statement; which considers the press statements as part of its public relations celebrations organized for itself and for its bureaucratic agendas and which is usually funded in advance by the donors.

Journalism here fails to do its core mission and overlooks its fundamental role to conduct the necessary investigations or field reports that should shed light on the worlds and needs of women in-sites.

The financial consequences/costs seem to be the main reason for a poor lazy coverage too in which the newspapers adminis-

tration become accustomed to their staff laziness as time passes by and the tendency of their administration towards profits that come from paid ads by the companies, institutions and parties, especially since spending money on sending reporters to conduct field reports and investigations would require additions to budgets than just receiving a press release via email or fax to the headquarters of these newspapers.

The news about women and the picture of men



مشاركين في العطل.

القدس : نقابة أطباء الأسنان تنظم احتفالاً لمناسبة يوم المرأة العالمي

القدس: نظمت نقابة أطباء الأسنان في القدس أمس احتفالاً بمناسبة يوم المرأة العالمي بحضور ممثل محافظة القدس عبد الله صبحان وممثلي القدس والصيقل المقدسية الشيخ محمد صبحان والسرطان عطا الله حنا رئيس أساقفة فلسطينية لعموم الإقليمين وابن سر جصمينة لعموم الإسكندرية العرب الدكتور فخرى حسن ومدير عام مركز القدس لتعميق الإجتماعية والإقتصادية زياد المحموري وابن

سر أعضاء الإسكندرية في مركز القدس الدكتور إبراهيم عثمان ورئيسة النقابات المسيحية في القدس وبمشاركة عدد كبير من الأطباء وطبيبات الأسنان في محافظة القدس وجرى خلال الاحتفال تقديم شهادات تقدير لأعضاء النقابة أساقفة القدس جواد أبو طليح والدكتور شبيب المنثلة والدكتور رائد السليمان والدكتور حكيم راعي والدكتور عماد قرش والدكتور طارق راعي والدكتور نضال جمارين

والدكتور منير قرواني والدكتور محمد مصطفى والدكتور محمد بشاري والدكتور صالح الشحمصي والدكتور محمود أبو غاغبه والدكتور سمحان والدكتور أحمد رحمان والدكتور ناصر الخضراء والدكتور أحمد رحمان والدكتور رائد الشيبه كفا قدم أعضاء اللجنة العامة بتكريم الدكتور رائد الجديدي وتقديم درع شكر وتقدير له على مساهمات العطاء الطويلة التي قدمها في الحقل الطبي والقائمي الخواص.

Jerusalem: The Dentists Syndicate organizes a celebration on the occasion of International Woman's Day

The majority of local newspapers published pictures of men in their news coverage of events related to women, and usually the picture published for any feminist media is of the official speakers in the activities whether it was launching projects, honoring women or launching campaigns.

The odd thing here is that the three local newspapers published in their last pages colorful decorative big pictures of the charming women and celebrities in the world of fashion and cinema. The persisting question remains is why there is no space for a picture of Palestinian veiled women while there is the exaggerated openness toward westerns who were short outfits, striking makeup and in seductive poses?

When a colleague who works in the editing management was asked such a question his perplexed response was: “oh really, it is true... how would I know why?” He added: hey you, it is not allowed for us to publish pictures of our veiled women, and also because our women do not like or approve publishing their pictures?” When asked: “But, is it allowed to publish pictures of nude women?” His response was: “Leave me man!”⁴⁷

This response revealed a vague position, which in fact implies a complex character not only of the colleague but of many Palestinian journalists; a character that carries many different phases of alienating positions and a state of contradictions and lack of clear responses.

Even when honoring women on Woman’s International Day, we see that the published picture confirms the patriarchal hierarchy indeed in the three dimensions: Male’s dominance, reconstruction dominance, and lastly the dominance of ranks’ **power and jurisdictions**.

Al-Ayyam newspaper⁴⁸ in a news titled “Jerusalem: Dentists syndicate organizes a celebration on the occasion of Women’s International Day” have published along a picture that symbolizes the two religious patriarchate representatives in the Palestinian territory: Mufti Mohammed Hussein and Bishop Ataallah Hanna and a third person who is unknown, not even the names or any

47 I meant to add this short quick conversation with my colleague in which I meant to surprise him and get an honest reply from him.

48 Al-Ayyam newspaper, Thursday 11/3/2010, p19

identification of the three people was added under the picture.

In the body of the news, there were 22 names who attended the celebration mentioned: 21 men and one woman, The names of men were associated with senior titles: Head, secretary, doctor, Mufti, Bishop, secretary general, general manager, manager...etc while in the whole article the word “woman” is mentioned only twice, once in the title and the second was in the introduction.

In this short piece of news, there was a surprise; among the names of the attending men at the Women’s International Day celebration, we find a word in a trivial part of the news that says, “..... with the attendance of a large number of male and female dentists from the Jerusalem District”, note that they mentioned the male dentists first and then the female dentists who were alluded to in a very insignificant part of the news. **Here, we contend that the text pushes the different outside.**

The most shocking part in this news piece was the fact that the certificates of appreciation during the ceremony on the occasion of Women’s International Day were distributed on 17 male dentists. **Here again, the text pushes the different or let’s say the targeted outside.**

In this specific example, we can discover a very awkward and painful case of women’s oppression by men; they are not subordinates according to feminist analysis, they are assumed to exist or present. Here, we contend that there is an **assumption** of their presence which, we perceive as harsher and tougher for it means a **total cancellation/abolition**.

If we scrutinized this case more thoroughly, we will find that the organizers and the writer of this news pushed it forward towards cancelling the presence of women completely via exploiting Women’s International Day to sustain the male presence and absence of women.

It is noteworthy that dentists' syndicates in Jerusalem have 50 female dentists⁴⁹; none of these were honored in their supposedly celebratory day. However, it is true that men fool women in the event they organized and the news they wrote.



مشاركة يستمع للحاضرة.

محاضرة في نابلس حول كيفية التعامل مع الأطفال ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة

نابلس - نظمت مدرسة التربية الخاصة في جمعية الهلال الأحمر بجمعية نابلس، امس، محاضرة بعنوان "تعاملنا مع الأطفال ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة"، حضرها فيها الدكتور فواز عقل الحاضر في جامعة النجاح الوطنية، وحضرها عدد كبير من ذوي الطليحة ومدربي المدرسة والمرشحات الاجتماعيات وعدد من موظفي الجمعية. من جهة، التقى بعض مودع مدير عام الجمعية الدكتور عقل واعرب عن ترحيب الجمعية بالتعاون مع الكوادر العلمية التي تعمل لتقديم خبراتها في مجال التعامل مع الأطفال من أجل نجاح تجربة تعليم الأطفال المختلفين في مراكز الجمعية النابلسية.

وقدم عقل مقدمة عن التعامل مع الأطفال أصحاب الإعاقات الخاصة. وقد بدأها نقياً للتفكير من خلال الحاضرين، وتودع أن الإعاقات لا تعني أن طفلنا عاقل في سبيل تقدم الإنسان بل تكون في العلم الأحيان حائزاً. مقدماً بحثه عن الإعاقات الطيرية في المجتمعات وطريقة التعليم التفاضلي في فلسطين مع الدول المتقدمة في أوروبا وأمريكا. وأن الصعوبات التي تواجه الأهل في تربية الأطفال ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة موجودة ويعاني منها معظم المجتمعات التي تفوق فلسطين عدداً وعلمياً وتجريبياً وثقافياً وكوادر بشرية ويعتقد أنها جميع الوسائل المساعدة.

وقام عقل بتقديم نماذج عن الإعاقات بشكل عام في المجتمع من خلال وثائق علمية وشرائح مصورة تعرضت على الحضور وتقدم الفصل طرق والوسائل لتجاوز التحديات والمحيطات واسهل الطرق للوصول والتعامل مع المشاكل التي تواجه أطفالهم.

وقال ياسر حمدي عثمان رئيس المهنة الإدارية للجمعية: علمي الجمعية على الأزيد من الحاضرات والموارد والتمويلات المتاحة. مرحباً بالكوادر لتقديم علمهم وتجربتهم في سبيل إنتاج العملية التعليمية للمختلفين وإثراء أروافنا من الجمعية بدورهم المراتم في هذا المجال الإنساني في فلسطين والمنطقة.

The Man talks while the Woman listens and learns

“A Lecture in Nablus on How to deal with Children with Special Needs”

In that same page⁵⁰ where the previous piece of news was published (both occupying the most important and readable column in terms of design, or the first news at the head of the page from the right), we find another piece of news on women under the title, “A Lecture in Nablus on How to deal with Children with Special Needs”. Above it, appeared a picture of two men (in the center) who are the speakers one of them is a lecturer at An-Najah University and the second was the Head of the society that organized the lecture, both men were surrounded by veiled women

49 Dentists Syndicate Agenda, 2010

50 Al-Ayyam, Thursday 11/3/2010, page 19

listening attentively to what they say. These two men, we contend, **are the doers of the text and the picture.**

In the body of the text, we find that the article was addressing fully on the two men said when the participating females in the audience were not mentioned at all neither for their opinions, or declarations or statements (they were not quoted).

We argue here that taking care of the handicapped children in the Palestinian households is considered a part of women's domain and responsibility (mothers, wives, daughters, home nurses) most of the time, so why is it that a man (**the doer of the text**) talks about this role? We can detect that the news piece's wordings came as a ready-to-publish text sent by the organizing society; and then it was taken (**copied-pasted**) and published in the newspaper without edits or any intervention from the editor or the reporter.

Moreover, it is not possible or comprehensible that the lecture was conducted this way: the lecturer and the head of society speak all the time and all the participating women were in a complete silence throughout the lecture. They probably inquired about their needs as mothers or sisters of handicapped children, but who wrote the news piece trivialized the already-trivialized sector and talked about what is promoted by the society that it is present, active, serious, and have had achievements. Thereby, **the society, as stated in the news, is more important than the audience** and the institute's discourse is passed in the Palestinian newspapers more than the individual. If this discourse is passed, it would be for the benefit of the man while the woman is marginalized and abandoned perceiving the event is about one of the most difficult details of her life.

In the aforementioned news, the mothers of the handicapped children were not mentioned at all except with an image of them being silent, surrendering and listening without any action or in-

teraction. This is exactly the stereotype of women's presence and roles in society.

Journalism here was manipulated by the two organizations mentioned in the previous pieces of news. It was not a positive sensible gate to give the appropriate magnitudes and importance of the social actors in its coverage. The mass media here was only a tool in the discourse, allegations or claims on women and gender mainstreaming, while what happened was actually the opposite or let's say that mainstreaming has turned into blacking out the gender issues.

القُدس الخميس ٢٩/٤/٢٠١٠

غزاوي تزوج ١١ امرأة ولديه ٤٣٠ ابناً وحفيداً

غزة - بي بي سي - قصة نجاح عبد الرحمن النجار والذي يعمل في إدارة كازينو النجار بشرقي خان يونس تبدو غريبة إلى حد ما، لكنها والأعية لرجل فلسطيني يبلغ من العمر ٨٢ عاماً تزوج في حياته أحد عشر امرأة، طلق إحداهن بعد ساعتين من زواجه منها لأنها لم تستمع كلامه، وتوجب من عشرة منهن، ٣٢ ابناً ولديه أكثر من ٤٣٠ حفيداً.

قصة النجاح أبو طلال كما يجب جبرته أن يسمو تعد واحدة من القصص التي يتحدث عنها كثير من أهالي القطاع.

زوت النجاح أبو طلال في منزله التواضع وعند ما دخلت إلى باحة المنزل، هوجت جرجل ممن يجلس قرب كنبون النور ويشتد الأطفال من حوله يضحكون ويستمعون إلى قصصه، اعتقلت لوهلة الأولى أنه يجلس مع الأحفاد، لكنه قال لي بأنهم ولادته وأصغرهم يبلغ من العمر عاماً ونصف العام.

يقول أبو طلال أنه بدأ يفسر مخزها بآلام في قدميه، مضيقاً أنه يقتني خمسة أبنائه في زوجته وأن تزوج أولي أسامه عند ما كان في الزوجة وأن تزوج أولي أسامه عند ما كان في الخامسة عشر من عمره في بيت زوجته في الحين كانت إحدى قريبته التي توفي زوجها

فيضطر إلى أن يتزوجها خلفاً عليها رغم أنها كانت في السابعة والعشرين من عمرها.

يقول الرجل وهو يتحدث بعض الخشب الذي يستعد لإيكاذه: "أنا تزوجت كثيراً ولو أسامني الله عمراً وصحة ستزوج مرة أخرى، فلما وولادي وأحفادي تزيد عن أربعمائة والتمنى أن يزيدوا أكثر وأكثر نكابة في إسرائيل.

لذا نكابة في إسرائيل؟ لأنهم -غزواينا وأريد أن أقول لهم فيما قلتم من أساتق أكثر وإن تضاروا علينا، حتى لو قتلوا من أولادي وأحفادي ٢٠٠ فلن يوفقوا أسامنا".

ويتحدث نجاح أبو طلال بأن ولادته يسبون على خطاه، فإذ لم يطل توطي على ذمته خمس نساء، ولكنه جمال تزوج من خمسة نساء أيضاً، ولكنه الثالث متزوج من سيدتين، ويقول إنه يرغمه والذي يبلغ من العمر عشرينات أنه سينفذ وصية أبيه وسيزوج من عشرين امرأة.

ويقول الرجل والذي لا تكاد الضحكة تدرن وجهه التقهجد: "لا تصدق النساء فون كلابيات فلنلا مرة (من الر) والنساء نسايات للجمين" فقصته متسللاً إلا كان هذا راياك

بين ههنا تزوجت عشر نساء، فأجاب ضاحكاً "لأنني أقوى منهن جميعاً".

ويقول أبو طلال: "كنت أعود من عملي كعظم لبيارة وكنت زوجتي يجلسن أمام المنزل ههنا داخل الشارع الذي في بيتي حتى ينور عيوني فكان بعد أن يبدأن بالهولة من الولاد إلى داخل البيت خوف مني".

حولت أن تحصل منه على الوصية الصحيرية التي تركه فيها ويطمئن بصحة جيدة، لكنه أغفلني بقوله لا أكل كثيراً، فإكتفي فقط بتناول حبة من الطعام صباحاً، وبينتني على الفخار، لكنني كنت في الماضي لا أكل إلا الخبز مفضلاً بزيت الزيتون.

سأته: "ألا تأكل اللحم والجمود، فضحك وقال إن ذمته حال جداً، وأنه لم يكن لحم منذ أكثر من عشرين عاماً، ثم أضاف ضاحكاً: "إذا جلبت لي زجاجة من اللحم ماكون شاكرًا لك."

"جيش أبو طلال"

يرتخر أبو طلال كثيراً ببنائه وأحفاده وأبناء أحفاده الذين تجاوز عددهم نحو ٤٣٠ شخصاً، ويقول: "إذا أقمنا فرحاً في العطلة تتهل على المنزل جميع ملائتي، فلما لا أرسل

بماتت الحصة للأرانب لأن عدد ملائتي يكفي لقائمة الأفران".

ويضيف: "ما لي يحصل فرح في البيت أو مناسبة معينة ويقتحم الأحفاد لمرحة حتى يردد الناس عبارة (وصل جيش أبو طلال إلى الهمدان) من كل مرة العدد".

ويضلل أبو طلال مناعة مسهل -عقلة النجاح متولي- الشهير والذي قام ببعولته القدان المصري نور الشريف وجمع فيه بين أربع زوجات، قائلاً: "أنا تجربة ناجحة وقصيدة ولدت مسلاً، ولدي جازية تامة لإقناع الرجال بالتمدد".

ويضيف مقتبماً حديثه: "بعت أرضي التي أمكنها والياقة مساحتها ٦ دونمات من أجل مؤسسة الزواج والتجارب، فخصطين بجاجة إلى المزيد من الرجل في ظل الحروب الإسرائيلية التي تستهدف الفلسطينيين أينما وجد".

الرجل الذي اعتاد على أن يذهب بالنار صباح مساء، بل طوال عمره، لا ترضى عنه كل نساءه بل أن يرضين بشرفن والتم لألانه يترجوا آخر نساءه وهو مصري الجنسية والتي تزوجها قبل ١٧ عاماً وأنجب منها قبل عام ونصف آخر لطفلة، فمعظم نساءه يمتن في بيت آخر قرب بيته مع أبنائهن.

وجهة نظرة عابدين، وترتيبها الخاصة

Man's Joy is a Stir.... A Woman's Misery is to be Silent on

"A Gazan married 11 women and has 430 children and grandchildren" Al-Quds newspaper published a news story quoted from the BBC titled "A Gazan married 11 women and has 430 grandchildren." The news story was presented in a high suspense and excitement

mode that any correspondent won't hesitate to write about it to incite the readers' passions and instincts.

We are not against this kind of journalistic behavior or practice that is profitable for the mass media, readers, audience and listeners by achieving excitement, passion, weirdness and pleasure. However, we believe that the responsibility of guarding the media gate requires an advanced level of respecting the profession's morals and ethics, in addition to the great responsibility of a just distribution of opportunities and benefits for the concerned individuals.

In the published story, the statements and words of the old man from Gaza are leveled to the degree of heroism; they wrote about the details of his life with intense excitement that turned him into a unique social model that may become an example to follow by many people. In addition, the story is composed as more like celebrating sexuality, several marriages and man's pleasure and lust as if his "sexual intercourse operations" are a unique reaction or resistance against the Israeli occupation.

The story's wordings and language about the old man's replies are also to justify his multiple marriages as he is to provide a Palestinian offspring that will defeat the occupation in the national war. In other words, the language – in a way or another – exhibits that the man is using his wife's womb to fight occupation. In the continuous series and manifestations of oppression and subjugation of this womb, the old man says, "the oppressive woman deserves her husband to take eighty other wives...." From his own words, the naivety of the story and its justifications are apparent, once the story uses the sexual marriages as a way to resist occupation, and once to oppress an oppressive wife, and once to multiply "Abu Talal's army" or what is called in Palestinian term "ezwa- strength circle" i.e. to reproduce as many males as possible to use them in the tribal family fights and quarrels.

The news story only quotes statements from two of his wives;

one said that he sexually abandoned her, and the other one is very contempt and pray that her husband gets a long life.

Reading the story brings great fervor, but beneath this there is a blackout and great silence and passivity of the associated losses; a story of this type will be an example of retarded regressive Palestinian family in the eyes of other societies. Abu Tala's 430 children and grandchildren were only numbers not active influential human beings, numbers that are similar to the numbers of Gaza martyrs following the war of 2009, whom we talked about in numbers not human bios and lives; similarly, the eleven wives are totally absent, we know nothing about them; what kind of circumstances made them marry in such a primitive way? It is not how they raised their children and stayed awake taking care of them while the husband is sleeping in another's woman bed. Silence is also dominant in what concerns his children's education; what may be concluded from the story, in the way it is written, is that they are not educated and that they are ordinary ineffective unproductive citizens because if they had remarkable production the journalist would have written something about it.

This type of journalistic writing stems from a masculine national ideology is best reflected in the deceased Palestinian President Yasser Arafat call to give birth to more and more children; same as Ahmadi Najad, the Iranian president, who called the Iranians in June 2010 to give birth to more children to confront the international threats of hitting Iran and ending its nuclear project.

In the same context, a draft law was proposed by the extremist Jew Kahana to the Knesset in Israel that called for women to increase their offspring so as to multiply the number of Jews in Palestine and demographically defeat the Palestinians. This logic continued for good with the advancement of weapons it is believed that one pilot can guarantee the victory over hundreds with one bomb and Abu Talal's army won't be but a fuel for a

new defeat not a national victory. Therefore, why journalism has accepted and conceded such defeated logic that establishes new downfalls under the excuses of suspense, individuality or eccentricity?

The extent of loss and deficiency on the level of the Arab or Palestinian image throughout the world is massive, the reader of this story, whether from the West, Latin America, China or of any different community will develop a mental image of the Arab or the Palestinian of being lusty, polygamous, women-oppressor with excessive tendency for having as many children as possible and indulged in a martial national ideologies living in a traditional life style of rituals and habits.

The stereotypes of Arabs in international journalism are mostly made and produced by the Arabs themselves via reporters and photographers who work in international press. For example, a Palestinian photographer from Gaza, Hebron or Jenin takes photos of cars, vehicles, people, streets, banks, buildings...etc and then sends them to the chief editor who will select the weirdest or non-typical picture to be published in western newspapers. It is like choosing a cart dragged by a donkey which then will be circulated in many western newspapers, the selection of similar pictures would continue, until a mental image is developed in the minds of western readers that Gaza, for example, is full of donkeys, carts and tents.

The coverage of Hajj Abu Talal's heroism that we are analyzing here is not different from the cart dragged by a donkey in international journalism; it would be possible that an image of all Palestinian men be of Abu Talal's and all Palestinian women as Um Talal's and the other ten wives whom Abu Talal constantly has sex with in order to build his Palestinian army that will defeat the Jews. **We contend that the excuse of having so many marriages to defeat the occupation is misleading and there is no link or**

relationship whatsoever between marriages and victories.

The journalistic coverage here passed a strange statement by Abu Talal, that he is doing all his marriage championships because “he is stronger than women”, according to the writer. We are here in front of an outdated pattern of masculine patriarchy that men dominated and considered women weak subordinates. Unfortunately, it is a regressive retarded pattern that is being re-produced by an educated journalist who works for the BBC and who would not even comprehend the devastating damages he caused to the image and status of women by supporting descriptions of inequalities in the local society.

What is genuinely painful and agonizing is that journalism as a domain associated closely with the scientific inventions of printing press, internet, cameras, newspapers.... and all the sophisticated advanced production methods were sadly employed to reproduce and proclaim recessive outdated patterns of society on the expense of overall image and cultural image that may have potential of a positive progressive transformations within it.

Shocking Responses commenting on Abu Talal’s story

On Al-Quds newspaper electronic page, Abu Talal’s story was met with many comments, mainly by men who wrote using nicknames; their comments reflected a poor decadent culture, that had implications of sexual obscenity, disgraceful words against single women, offensive of Prophet Mohammed, ignorant atone phrases in a mixture of cheap popular opinions., as follows without any edits: keeping their spelling mistakes exactly as were published in the website⁵¹:

Saeed Al-Maneh: The man is worth receiving five million Euros from the donors, according to the economic regulations in the donor countries, for children allowances, so who stole his money has to return them to him,, god bless you

51 See Al-Quds newspaper website: <http://www.alquds.com/node/254539>

Safeerat Al-Aghwar (Trough Ambassador): Good for you uncle, long live and have more kids, everyone is free of his/her own beliefs, he definitely solved the maidens' crisis in Gaza

Visitor: Allah bless his life and offspring, what the old man has done is very good and necessary for fighting settlement, but I hope this won't be contagious

Al-Behnisawi: To Wa7d mn elnas, who brought you to our area,, go back and hang yourself and we get rid of you; you should be an example of all the aggressors like you, this is the place for the cheerful only because you are with Abu al-Zulouf

Wa7d mn elnas: People with lots of time to spare and have nothing to do,,, they need....., and they need strangling.

Al-Khalili: Where are you the people of Hebron, this man from Gaza defeated you in terms stubbornness.

Salamlak: You mean fish or hot pepper, because when the new entrepreneurs took a bath in the sea of Gaza, all the fish migrated and never came back – when you see him pass our regards

Al-Olympi: I nominate him to preside the Palestinian Olympic team, because he broke the record in the number of goals he scored in the demographical game

Al-Bahri: I think the effect of fish is much stronger than thyme, that's why the people of Gaza are doing this, and the people of the West Bank don't

Halawet Al-sokari: This is a prescription to fight diabetes, if he had this disease, one wife would be more than enough on him, especially if he is reiterating at all times Ya Allah.

Al-Sexy: Please write on the prescription of the Gazan hot pepper (Duqqa), without it, I don't think that he was able to satisfy this number of women

Masrawi from Garga: If they clone this man one thousand clon-

ing, the number of Palestinian would exceed forty million, in a simple calculation, if they clone one thousand of him, the number of the Palestinians will be more than 40 million in 10 years

Thahrawi: You are such a criminal man Abu Talal, Sharon did not dare to do what you did,, marry 11 women, you have no fear of God man?

Visitor: It is not your fault, all the blame on the women who accepted to marry you, he is the main reason for the population crisis in Gaza

Masrawi from Dashna: Start your mornings with Czech underwear rather than of Haniyah's face, a Palestinian guy told me this proverb, please let me know more about the validity of this saying

One of his neighbors: One mistress is more enjoyable and satisfying than all his wives/ pleasure is not in marriage, he knows nothing about sex

The International Mashhour: He did not change the type, it would be more enjoyable and pleasurable if he married 11 women from different 11 countries, but from the same place and the same taste!!!!

Abu Mhjob: God forgive him

Abu Taher al-Misyar: Men with tendency of having more marriages must be supported, I demand Abu Mazen to allocate financial support for men who are into many marriages, alike the mothers' allowances in the advanced countries.

Dandash Al-Halawani: My plan for the coming three years, Abu Talal encouraged me to marry 10 times at least in the coming three years

Atrees Abu Al-Ghanamat: A man that has no resemblance; my sorrow on ewes of men

Abu Adham Al-Araj: Polygamy is needed whether via marriage or

acquaintance/ I know a man who married 27 women, but do not want to mention his name

Sehi Moslem: Prophet Mohammed got married 16 times, 16 times so no wonder

Talal Al-Ruweili: Is he a Moslem..... Islam allowed to marry four times not five not more than that, unless he divorced one so it is okay.

April 30th: Oh really, did they have camera's in Gaza a long time ago, plus, I have seen this photo of the man taking the picture of these women a while ago, and at that time it was supposed to be for a Saudi guy.

Abu al-Nour Al-Maqdesi: It is infidelity, with respect to the old man, but religion does not allow this, the verses are clear

Journalism and journalists echo the institutions' news without comprehending the connotations

ورشة عمل في الخليل توصي بتعديل القانون الخاص بالنساء

الخليل - وفا - أوصى مشاركون في ورشة عمل بعنوان «حقوق المرأة بين الواقع والطموح»، نظماً للركن الفلسطيني لاستقلال القضاء والحامدة مساواة»، في مدينة الخليل، أمس، بضرورة تعديل القانون الخاص بالنساء والشرأة للمرأة في جميع المحافل السياسية ومراكز صنع القرار. وقد تمّت مناقشة برنامج مسودة فيما نوبت، نبذة تاريخية عن مشروع مسودة، وأوضحت أنه يهدف إلى تحقيق العدالة للنساء الكاهنات في أماكن العمل والمكث من خلال التعاون مع المؤسسات المجتمعية، والجمعيات النسائية والاتحادات. وتحدث الناشط الحقوقي من الهيئة المستقلة لحقوق الإنسان اسلام الخطيب، عن جوهر الحقوقي للمرأة في العمل والسلامة الشخصية الخاصة وحقوقها في الحياة، وتطرق إلى الانتقالات الخاصة بالمرأة مثل اتناحية سيداو، وقرار مجلس الأمن ١٣٢٥، والقانون الدولي لحقوق الإنسان، مشيراً إلى حق الشعوب

تقرير مصيرها، وبالتالي حقها في النضال من أجل حريتها وإن السطة تعمل دون ايصال للانضمام إلى المحافل الدولية. ووصفت مسودة برنامج مفتاح سيمون فلواسة، قرار ١٣٢٥ الأممي بالسبيل المنفتح، وأشارت إلى أنه ينص على مشاركة النساء في صنع القرار وحماية نساءها في أوقات الحرب والنزاعات، وتحدثت عن الصحة الانجابية، وأنواع العنف الذي تتعرض له المرأة. وقد تمّت مسؤولية وحدة النوع الاجتماعي في وزارة المرأة فاطمة رابيدة، نبذة عن وزارة شؤون المرأة وأسماها ودورها في النهوض بالمرأة. ومن جهة أخرى، قدم مدير دائرة حماية الأسرة والطفل الخليل عماد جواردة، نبذة عن نسم حماية الأسرة وواقع المرأة في محافظة الخليل. وفي ختام الورشة قدمت منة أبو هيكل إحدى سكان جبل الرحمة، قصة نجاحها وتحدياتها كل الصعوبات التي تواجهها كونها تعيش في محيط مستوطنة تل ربيدة.

A workshop in Hebron recommends amending the woman's law

The Palestinian News Agency (Wafa) published the following mistaken news:

A Workshop in Hebron Recommends amending the Woman's Law

Date: 22/3/2010, time: 18:06

Hebron, 22-03-2010, Wafa: During a workshop under the title "Woman's Rights between realities and ambitions" organized by Musawa – The Palestinian Center for the Independence of the Judiciary and the Legal Profession in the city of Hebron, the participants recommended the necessity of **amending the Woman's law** and involve women in all the political forums and decision making processes.

Musawa Programs coordinator, Deema Dweik, gave a historical brief about Musawa project, and clarified that the main goals of this project is realize justice and equality for the working women at work and households via cooperation with the societal organizations, women associations and the unions.

Islam Al-Khatib, a legal activist from the Independent commission for Human Rights, talked about the essence of woman's rights of work, personal safety and right of life, he mentioned some of agreements and conventions that deal with women's affairs such as **CEDAW, UN Security Council resolution 1325**, the International Law of Human Rights; noting that nations have the right of self-determination, consequently, the right of struggle and fight for freedom; and that the PA is working relentlessly to join the international forums.

The Programs Coordinator at Miftah, Maysoon Al-Qawasma, considered the **UN resolution 1325** as inimitable simple; the resolution states that women shall participate in decision making processes and protect themselves in times of wars and conflicts; she talked about the reproductive health and types of violence that women face.

The Head of the Gender Unit in the Ministry of Women Affairs, Fatima Radaydah, gave an introduction about the ministry, its de-

partments and roles noting that the governmental commitments can be developed through coordination with the relevant ministries and its role in networking and building relations with international organizations and set plans and strategies to achieve women empowerment goals.

On the other hand, Head of the Family and Child Protection Department, Mr. Ata Al-Jawabra gave a brief description of the Family Protection Dept. and women status in Hebron District, the role of the Protection centers in the Police stations and what women face of psychological and social pressures.

At the end of the workshop, Ms. Hanas Abu Haikal, one of the residents at Al-Rahman mountain area, narrated her success story and the challenges she face on daily basis since she lives in the surroundings of Tal Rumeida settlement⁵².

First, the major mistake in this piece of news is that there is no law called woman's law, what is meant may be probably that the terms and articles integrated in Palestinian laws regarding woman's issues; which was apparent in the body of the piece.

Second, notions and concepts were mentioned repeatedly in the news body without clarification; for example, we find the word **empowerment**, **CEDAW** Convention and the **UN Resolution 1325** without stating the Arabic wordings of it. There is also a wrong understanding of the resolution either from the speaker at the workshop, or the correspondent who may have not understood what she said, or maybe it was the institution that sent the news to the newspapers; which must be familiar with the connotations, contexts, and texts of the international resolutions. It is apparent that the organizing institution was so busy and engaged in these terms and resolutions to the degree it thought that everyone knows and understands them -or let's say that the discourse group within the "secrecy and publishing" paradox preserves its secrets and does not allow circulating them according to Fou-

⁵² Wafa Agency, 22/3/2010

cault suspicions.

This takes us to the way civil society's organizations operate in the feminist fields. Most of this work takes place in an institutional office enclosed by great barriers, that do not permit the access of popular opinions into its domain or system and their work is independent in the context of many projects and isolated from its audience and sites but at the same time it promotes itself as being capable of determining woman's needs, rights and best interests. We can call on the civil society "**discourse groupings**" that, according to Foucault, **exchanges knowledge, authorities, social ownerships of ideas and turns into scientific and political authorities.**⁵³ These groupings keeps their discourse secretive and does not allow any publication or lets large numbers of people to access the center for re-producing the discourse.

We are in front of an outstanding combination of international laws, among which is the International Law of Human Rights which was interpreted as a basic fundamental law for self-determination and end the occupation for Palestinians. It was connected also with assertions that the PA is working on joining the international forums, but we wonder why international forums? Here, the scale of bestowing **authoritative abilities (of the discourse)** through international laws and the PA is revealed.

Publishing such piece of news in an official news agency exposes the domestic status of comprehending the international and chasing it in all possible means to the extent that the subject becomes distorted echoing of international discourse on the expense of the domestic language that came within a poor understanding of the context of a **dominating discourse**. You can imagine what kind of readers, outcomes and conceptual ambiguities are produced when committing such mistakes.

53 Foucault, Michele (2007), Order of Discourse, translation of Mohammed Sabiella, Beirut, Dar Al-Farabi, p30

This piece of news with all the impeded mistakes was received by the local newspapers, which publishes news from the official news agency, the mistake/mistakes done by the agency correspondent, were committed again by the editor in Al-Hayat Al-Jadida without correcting or editing it on its pages⁵⁴.

After some search and examination we found that a Palestine Press Agency published the news piece with the same wording, **copy and paste**, without any relevant feedback or introduction to the new concepts⁵⁵.

UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) included 18 articles that dealt with various topics about defending women and girls' rights at times of conflicts, as well as woman's participation in decision making and sexual training in maintaining peace operations and mainstreaming the sexual perspective mainstreaming in notification and execution systems at the UN.

Mainstreaming the institution's news not re-writing or editing it

In the same context, Wafa agency and Maan agency have published a news article for Miftah (The Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy) and it is apparent that Miftah emailed the news to the two agencies who has published it without any editing, additions, feedback or explanations.

Maan published the news as the following:

The conclusion of Training course in Nablus and Hebron on the Security Council Resolution No. 1325

Date: 8/5/2010

Hebron, 8-5-2010- Wafa, The Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global dialogue and Democracy (MIFTAH) concluded today in both Hebron and Nablus a training course on SCR 1325 that responds to the Palestinian context.

54 Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, Tuesday, 23/3/2010, p10

55 See the Agency link: <http://www.palpress.ps/arabic//writers.php?maa=ReadStory&ChannelID=71386>

The course is part of “Combating Violence against Women through the Empowerment of community-Based Organizations” that is ongoing project for a year and half with the partnership and support of the Austrian representative office, and following the UNSCRC 1325 coalition cooperation among the local organizations, GOs and the media to determine the needs, priorities, and periodic re-assessment of the coalition work.

Over three days of training in both Hebron and Nablus, and for 18 hours, the attendants discusses the SCR 1325 and associate it with the reality of the Palestinian woman, as an integral part sector of the Palestinian community, since she endured so much suffering, such as the women prisoners, their suffering on the Israeli occupation checkpoints, the apartheid separation wall, and the settlers’ abuse and harassment in the Palestinian territory (so-called Area C)

The trainer Maysoon Al-Qawasmi pointed out to the urgency of woman’s effective participation in building peace among the Palestinian sectors and in the internal and external negotiations, the necessity woman attains and participates in the decision making processes whether in elections or all levels side by side with the men.

It is worth mentioning here that work was accomplished to setup a media plan of lobbying to activate and reinforce this resolution, along with training on advocacy and support skills. This plan was designed and prepared by the officials in the coalition organizations, targeted in this training. Execution will start on June 2010 in response to the trainees whose needs were determined and identified during the first stages of the project.

Training was conducted on Mechanisms of documenting the Human Rights Violations in the Palestinian Territory that was delivered by Abdel Razzaq Ghazal in Nablus and Hisham Sharabati in Hebron⁵⁶.

56 See Maan Link: <http://www.maannews.net/arb/ViewDetails.aspx?ID=282686>.

The same news was published in Wafa Agency as the following:

The conclusion of Training course in Nablus and Hebron on the Security Council Resolution No. 1325

Date: 8/5/2010

Time: 15:33

Hebron, 8-5-2010- Wafa, The Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global dialogue and Democracy (MIFTAH) concluded today in both Hebron and Nablus a training course on SCR 1325 that responds to the Palestinian context.

The course is part of “Combating Violence against Women through the Empowerment of community-Based Organizations” that is ongoing project for a year and half with the partnership and support of the Austrian representative office, and following the UNSCR 1325 coalition cooperation among the local organizations, GOs and the media to determine the needs, priorities, and periodic re-assessment of the coalition work.

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Training was conducted on Mechanisms of documenting the Human Rights Violations in the Palestinian Territory that was delivered by Abdel Razzaq Ghazal in Nablus and Hisham Sharabati in Hebron⁵⁷.

On the same day, Al-Quds newspaper published this news piece on its website a day before printing out the newspaper, in the same way.

Saturday 8 May 2010

Ramallah- From Ali Samoudi

The conclusion of Training course on the Security Council Resolution No. 1325

The Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global dialogue and Democracy (MIFTAH) concluded today in both Hebron and Nablus a training course on SCR 1325 that responds to the Palestinian context.

The course is part of “Combating Violence against Women through the Empowerment of community-Based Organizations” that is ongoing project for a year and half with the partnership and support of the Austrian representative office, and following the UNSCRC 1325 coalition cooperation among the local organizations, GOs and the media to determine the needs, priorities, and periodic re-assessment of the coalition work.

Over three days of training in both Hebron and Nablus, and for 18 hours, the attendants discusses the SCR 1325 and associate it with the reality of the Palestinian woman, as an integral part sec-

57 See Wafa link: <http://arabic.wafa.ps/arabic/index.php?action=detail&id=73363>

tor of the Palestinian community, since she endured so much suffering, such as the women prisoners, their suffering on the Israeli occupation checkpoints, the apartheid separation wall, and the settlers' abuse and harassment in the Palestinian territory (so-called Area C).

The trainer Maysoon Al-Qawasmi pointed out to the urgency of woman's effective participation in building peace among the Palestinian sectors and in the internal and external negotiations, the necessity woman attains and participates in the decision making processes whether in elections or all levels side by side with the men.

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Training was conducted on Mechanisms of documenting the Human Rights Violations in the Palestinian Territory that was delivered by Abdel Razzaq Ghazal in Nablus and Hisham Sharabati in Hebron.

MIFTAH seeks via (Combating Violence against Women through the Empowerment of Community-Based Organizations) Project to contribute to the elimination of gender –based violence and promotion of gender equality in the Palestinians society through capacity building of the civil society organizations and advocate women's issues related to violence against women and women's representatives in the decisions making positions in both Nablus and Hebron districts. MIFTAH also endeavors to empower the coalition in both districts via building bridges of cooperation and coordination among the NGOs and GOs; further meetings were held

between a number of the operating efficient coalition and the Minister of the social Affairs Mrs. Majeda Al-Masri who promised to give directives to the ministry branches and offices in Nablus and Hebron to cooperate with the coalition members⁵⁸.

Concluding Remarks:

- Although gender discourse has evolved from a feminist ideology, with time it has transformed into institutions, groups and states ideology embodied and reinforced by adopting schemes, policies and developmental processes interpreted to top-to-bottom projects and aids. In the Palestinian context, the gender discourse came in its internationalized image that was adopted by some local groups who worked to disseminate it from the top-to-bottom institutionally and it was not rooted within the communities' spirit and soul.
- The Palestinian written media was not an opinion for journalism, but more a journalism of the news reporting type that mechanically copied the gender discourse narratives. Consequently, it was not effective or helpful, either in supporting the gender mainstreaming or supporting its means and tools, to keep up with the imposition and blind adoption of this discourse.
- Demands to gender mainstreaming via mass media have to take into consideration the status quo of the mass media and its capacities and potentials to attain its anticipated roles and responsibilities pertaining to the mainstreaming processes. It also implies studying the work patterns in these institutions and the efficiency of their working staff in terms of their potentials, skills, contacts and opinions - not only their artistic and technical skills.
- The institutionalizing molds and patterns in gender and media

58 See Al-Quds Newspaper website: <http://www.alquds.com/node/256842>

are manifested in workshops, meetings, and forums that are covered by mass media using news, reports, statements' templates which ultimately hinders any creativity or inspiration whether in the feminist thought or the journalistic opinion.

- Discourse analysis method and tool provides women and media issues, studies and papers a new version of women's studies and media-analysis' studies and gives the researcher more freedom and access to the process and presents unprecedented critical meal that questions the scripts and texts, exposes the actors, the absentees, the language, the expressions and the power complexes on several dimensions.
- The Palestinian feminist movement and the Palestinian written media are immensely and mainly present in the general arena, while the majority of the Palestinian women exist within the private arena.... Does not that constitute a challenge to the anticipated outcomes of mainstreaming?
- In the international gender mainstreaming discourse including its institutions, tools, language and dominance the last word is not in it and for it, as well not for women, the same case applies to Palestinian gender cases of mainstreaming, thus, where is the dilemma? The answer is: What is the woman's problem throughout the world? (Sumptuous question) and what is the Palestinian woman's problem (a question that can be tolerated)?

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