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The Marginality of Human Rights Discourse in Local Arabic Newspapers

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**“Since when do you enslave the
people when their mothers bore
them as free men”**

U`mar ibn al-Khattab

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Executive Summary

The current research presents some data concerning the representation of human rights issues in Arab weekly newspapers. It examines which types of issues are presented in the media discourse and their connection to the social and political environments. The focus on human rights stems from the subject's general importance, especially in cases of ethnic minorities, like the Arab-Palestinian population in Israel, which endures the violation of their rights in various aspects of life.

Our purpose is to examine, analyze and understand the representation of human rights issues in a sampling from the most popular newspapers published among the Arab population. We would offer an opportunity to understand the nature of human rights discourse by asking which issues get more attention, what is their level of prominence, how are they presented and to what extent are they connected to human rights terminology. We will also compare the representation of Arab minority's social rights facing the state, with the representation of human rights within society itself, and ask what could be the reason for the differences between the two. The comparison between them may help us gain a better understanding of the media discourse and its level of concern for group and individual rights within the society, especially of those deprived of their rights, not just by the state, but also by groups or individuals from within the society. In other words, this study examines the Arab media's commitment to human rights issues, not just by counting the number of human rights related articles but also by probing their content. Thus we explore the willingness of the media to acknowledge the difficult situation in which the Arab community in general and certain disadvantaged groups within it find themselves, and emphasize the violations of human rights in order to enable the consolidation of the human rights paradigm in society.

While findings in most samples of news reports suggest that the general

atmosphere is in favor of human rights, we found no special emphasis on the subject or active calls by the media to turn this general atmosphere into a human rights ethical stance. Likewise, there was no attempt to educate the readers about human rights by tying the articles to international norms, standards, treaties and organizations dedicated to them. The media reports merely monitored incidents of group's or individual's rights violations. The articles were mostly descriptive; their content may have been related to human rights issues but there was no mention of the direct link between the incident reported and its specific human rights components, nor an expressed support of the right that had been violated. This is the most common kind of coverage, even in cases of gross violations of the Arab minority's rights by the government or its agencies. The subject of violence is prominent in the media agenda according to the findings, a reflection of the growing violence within society, which result in rights violations of specific groups, particularly women. We found that although specific groups within Arab society, such as women, domestic violence victims or house demolition victims have their rights being violated, most news reports related to human rights discuss the larger communitarian impacts rather than focusing on how these violations specifically impact women.

This kind of coverage shows that the collective social framework of the Arab minority in Israel is the dominant one, having created a collective self-image of this social group. But it results in generalizing the human rights issue and excluding gender-sensitive analysis, thus neglecting the question of how gender, race and even class interlock and creating a sense of acceptance of such forms of violations. The findings show us that media reports relating to human rights lack historical references to human rights issues, which could enhance the reports by reminding the readers of events or people related to the subject of human rights. The avoidance of historical references to policies and behaviors that violate human rights, indirectly undermines the idea of human rights as the ethical framework for the incident reported in the article.

After measuring the quantity of the reports and examining their characteristics, we may conclude that there is no special emphasis on human right issues. There is no declared policy concerning this matter and human rights issues

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are reported like any other issue on the media agenda. We found that the most prominent rights on the media agenda are the local and regional rights of the Arab minority; the right for personal safety and the right for security and wellbeing are the most prominent in articles discussing violence in Arab society, while freedom of speech, the right to equality and the right to adequate housing are the most prominent when discussing Israel's policies, which points clearly to the intentional and systematic violations of Arab minority's basic rights. There is a difference between the focus on collective rights, set by the relations between the state and the Arab minority, and individual rights, shaped between individuals, at the level of the community, and impacted by the state. While there is a common, though not systematic, practice of focusing on civil, political and to some degree socio-economic rights of the Arab-Palestinian minority, there is no sufficient emphasis in the media on violations of human rights performed by actors from within the community itself.

To sum up, we can say that while there is definitely a general atmosphere in favor of human rights and against violating them, especially when it comes to the Arab minority's rights in Israel, there is no direct emphasis expressed, nor is there use of human rights terminology. The informative and educational aspects of reporting on rights violations are also noticeably absent.

Introduction

The Arab media regards itself as a basic component of the Arab public sphere in Israel, a platform for exchange of opinions, arguments and confrontations over issues which are of interest to the Arab public. This approach is evident in the frequent attempts of various media outlets to speak on behalf of the public, especially when discussing the relations with the state and with its institutions. The self-perceived responsibility of the Arab media for the Arab common good is carried out through its main message, which is based on social responsibility. This message is expressed in personal columns and editorials written by newspapers' editors and presented by journalists in the electronic media outlets. The message of social responsibility goes hand in hand with interests of the media outlets, aiming to gain popularity and create the feeling that they are part of the society. Additionally, media outlets encounter discriminating, marginalizing and negligent policies similar to those directed towards the Arab minority as a whole. Thus when speaking about the media situation we are actually reflecting on the situation of the entire Arab community.

The approach to the Arab media's social responsibility falls within the media theories of social studies, which identify two kinds of media: free and independent media versus subordinate media, subjected to the political and security authorities of the state, or partisan media outlets, which are used to express particular partisan views. The theoretical idea of social responsibility is an intermediate position, claiming that the media, as an important social institution, must protect the public's rights and play an active role in protecting the public's values and interests. The basic assumption of this idea is the claim that the media's active forces are an integral part of society, and are affected by its class system, its political and its social pressures. Journalists and media owners are a part of their society, and their work is deeply affected by that fact.

However, this kind of analytic position challenges the idea of media's

uniformity, since journalists, media owners and media outlets have their own ideological views, interests and utilitarian practices. How can we reconcile the media's general message, which presumably represents the public and its interests, with the financial interests and ideological views of media owners and journalists? How can we explain the co-existence of the prominent media message, which is based on representing the public's interests and which confers a positive image of media practitioners and institutions, alongside more personal and organizational interests? This two-face position calls for an examination, asking whether or not these two positions can co-exist, and how sincere the media's commitment is to representing the social common good and the basic rights of society.

How can the media discourse combine public interests with personal interests of the media owners? This question is even harder to answer if we see the media as a social institution, influenced by society's classes, ideologies, values and financial situations - all of them are elements of inequality within society. To what extent is the media committed to representing the general public, and how is this commitment being expressed? Furthermore, if we accept the self-perceived assumption of the media, that it represents the public's interests, how can we account for the different opinions in the various media outlets? All these questions are important within this context and this research aims to answer some of them.

In order to do that, we chose the level of the media commitment to human right discourse as the main focus of this study. Our hypothesis is that if the media represents the general public's interest, especially when facing the Israeli political environment, and if the media fulfills its responsibilities to the society when facing the challenges to the rights of its various parts, this position should be reflected in the media discourse and in the use of human rights terminology. Therefore, the question of using human rights terminology within Arab society and its connection with the state in the Arab media discourse becomes important and worthy of inquiry in an attempt to understand the correlation between the official media message and the actual coverage of social rights issues.

Our research contains a survey of the media's human rights coverage in a sampling of four dominant Arabic media outlets, which are perceived as

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advocates of the Arab public and present themselves as the best of advocates. By describing this coverage of human rights we hope to explain the features, characteristics and the true nature of the media as a representative of Arab society. The Arab media usually portrays Arab society as a minority group which suffers from rights violations and marginalization, and claims that this fact is reflected in social and political damage to the central pillars and values of this society. Another claim is that there are deeply rooted norms and traditions which result in the rights violations of groups and individuals within the society. If this portrayal is true, we would expect (or even demand) that the media discourse use human rights terminology, emphasize the importance of the human rights paradigm and relate it to commonly used terms in international organizations and treaties dedicated to the subject. Moreover, if the media is committed to the common good of society, they must systematically and constantly point to injustices and rights violations of groups or individuals within society.

There is a need to explore the discourse of Arab media outlets and analyze the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of the dominant human rights discourse. By that we can offer an opportunity to understand the nature of human rights discourse by asking which issues get more attention, what is their level of prominence, how are they presented and to what extent are they connected to human rights terminology, based on international human rights ideas, norms, standards and rules. We will also compare the representation of state violations to rights of the Arab minority and those that occur on account of local actors, both public and private, and try to explain the differences in representation between them. The comparison between them may help us gain a better understanding of the media discourse and its level of concern for group and individual rights within the society, especially of those deprived of their rights, not just by the state, but also by groups or individuals from within the society. In other words, this study examines the Arab media's commitment to human rights issues, not just by counting the number of articles but also by qualitatively analyzing their content. Thus we explore the willingness of the media to acknowledge the difficult situation in which the Arab community in general and certain disadvantaged groups within it find themselves, and emphasize the violations of human rights in order to enable the consolidation of the human rights paradigm in society.

Before we discuss the research data and method, we must explore the theoretical and historical background of human rights discourse and its role in the development of society. The first chapter will therefore review the historical development of human rights discourse and the different theoretical paradigms.

Historical and Theoretical Background

The human rights subject is one of great importance and wide influence over every aspect of our lives. The human rights paradigm, which crystallized in the aftermath of WWII and was initially codified in 1948 in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and later in the form of international covenants, conventions and other instruments, became a central reference point for debates in the international institutions and in various states. We can identify three viewpoints regarding this subject. According to the first, the human rights paradigm is a political, social and cultural philosophy which is relevant in every aspect of life, and should be the basis for all practices and systems. This position sets the framework for all UN organs, institutions and bodies, as well as informs governmental institutions in various states and the work of international NGOs such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch.

The second viewpoint had emerged out of the criticism made regarding the preliminary assumptions and human rights concepts of the first viewpoint. According to this viewpoint, the human rights paradigm is culturally bounded and reflects the Western individualistic and secular set of values. Therefore, any attempt to force it on the international arena promotes Western dominance and condones non-Western cultures or countries to judgment by ethical values foreign to them. The champions of this viewpoint claim that the human rights paradigm is nothing but a shrewd and calculated mechanism, used by the stronger countries of the world, led by the United States, to dominate, control and interfere with internal affairs of disadvantaged countries. They also point out to the double standards of these states in supporting regimes which have no respect for human rights and violate them daily (e.g. US support of the Pinochet regime in Chile and the autocratic regime in Saudi Arabia). They highlight the fact that some states dismiss human rights when in conflict with the interests of the

powerful forces in society, hence the dismissal of third world immigrants in France, Germany and the UK and the violation of social and economic rights of the poor in capitalist states. The supporters of this viewpoint don't deny the importance of human rights, nor do they deny the need to defend the rights of groups and individuals in the various states, yet they point out the implications of subordinating human rights concepts to political and financial interests by states which hold the monopoly over human rights discourse. They also expose the conflict of ideas between the liberal viewpoints of human rights and the traditions and customs of minorities in Western countries (Douzinas, 2010). This viewpoint adds an important aspect to and is an integral part of the human rights discourse, even though it contradicts some of the commonly accepted principles of the first viewpoint mentioned above, among them social, cultural and economic rights.

The third viewpoint is a compromise between the preceding two. Its supporters claim there is no conflict between human rights concepts and the non-Western cultures. They reject the idea of human rights as a Western worldview, as well as the violation of basic human rights under the pretention of particular social or cultural values. They claim that human rights are not one coherent paradigm based on Western cultural ideas, but rather a general human concept with various expressions and many different interpretations in various realms.

The ongoing debates and arguments that are being carried out between the advocates of the different viewpoints have helped to enrich human rights philosophy, turning it into a theoretical paradigm that surpasses local boundaries. The human rights paradigm has gained influence in various political contexts, and has become a general basis for constitution-making in many cultures. The fact that the Code of Hammurabi, even though of the "negative" (prohibitive) rights variety, is the first written document to discuss human rights, suggests roots that are non-Western and non-secular. The historical truth is that human rights values were manifested throughout history in various codes all over the world, especially within the monotheistic religions. Though they may be limited in terms of human rights, the monotheistic religions designed some of the social, political and cultural aspects of life, and can be seen as progenitors of contemporary

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human rights philosophy. The Ten Commandments contain basic crucial rights, which had turned over time into laws. Such as “Thou shalt not kill” which forms the basis for the right to life, or “Thou shalt not steal” which turned into the right of property. Christianity, in its early days, had also dared to challenge the social status of women and slaves in Roman society (Bogdan, 2005).

The famous saying by U' mar ibn al-Khattab, “Since when do you enslave the people when their mothers bore them as free men”¹ provides a non-Western origin for a basic human right, which was formulated into law later in history. Human rights issues were prominent in philosophical and legislative debates and conversations since the establishment of the House of Wisdom in 9th century Baghdad until the occupation of the Arab Middle East by the Turks.

The human rights paradigm is part of the human development process, and it has taken on different forms, according to the time and place of its origin. Controversies regarding meanings, origins and essences of human rights have existed since the period of ancient Greece, and different schools of thought have been created.² The human rights paradigm had developed in many directions since the first debates over basic rights, such as the right to liberty or the right of property. These rights - like others - have different meanings and implications in different parts of the world and did not spring out of thin air in the Western world.

The west was influenced by legislative and moral traditions of the Eastern empires, though these rights were never phrased as such. The right to freedom and the right of property were institutionalized and implemented in different ways over cultural, political and geographical realms. One cannot disregard the importance of social rights in Eastern cultures, which have paid special attention to the rights of the poor, the orphans and other disadvantaged

1. "متى استعبدتم الناس وقد ولدتهم أمهاتهم أحرارًا" his main concern in organizing the Umma's affairs was to create a balance between the state's rule and those of the personal domain, where people can be free.

2. "Each human being is primarily a citizen of his own commonwealth; but he is also a member of the great city of gods and men, where of the city political is only a copy." Epictetus, Discourses 1.15.2, Robin Hard revised translation.

groups. Therefore, we may say that human rights ideas developed over time and were always an integral part of the political structure throughout history.

If we look at the Magna Carta (1215 AD) as a historical landmark, we will see that when the European political thinking started focusing on the importance of political participation as a lawful right, it was added to a list of other rights granted only to the aristocrats (Dunn, 1992). We mustn't forget the bloody conflict between religious thinkers, who tried to protect the power of the Church and that of naïve religious belief, and those who tried to merge religious thinking with humanistic elements, like Thomas Aquinas.

Despite the role played by Christian theocrats and thinkers in promoting imperialist adventures, one cannot ignore the contribution of some of them to the rise of human rights as a central ethical code in modern times. The Lutheran Reform Movement of the early 16th century was a major step towards legitimizing religious practices by individuals, which later became the philosophical pillars for the development of the individualistic liberal movements (Weber, 1958). After the weakening of the monarchies, following a long confrontation with the Catholic Church on one hand and with the local aristocrats on the other, the emergence of Protestantism also played a part in separating the religious establishment from the political one, renewing the debate over the right to rule (Wuthnow, 1989). The Reformation Movement had a profound impact over European society which, after being drowned by religious and ideological bloodsheds which resulted in thousands of deaths, was forced to reach truces and treaties which consolidated some human rights, mainly the freedom of religion and conscience, and at the same time promoted the discussion over other rights, such as the freedom of speech.

The emergence of the modern state, since the middle of the 16th century, brought about confrontations between the monarch rulers and aristocrats who tried to interfere with the state's affairs, particularly its finances. Another event which contributed to the development of the human rights paradigm was the English Revolution at the end of the 17th century, which began with the establishment of the constitution in 1689 and ended with the agreement signed between the king and the parliament (Dunn, 1992).

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The development of the parliamentary institutions enhanced the importance and functionality of several crucial rights, mainly the right to property and freedom of speech (Locke, 1956). Although at that time these rights were granted to an advantageous few, they were the seeds which later turned the human rights issue into a basic principle which naturally expanded further and further. The confrontations between the monarchs and aristocracy over influence brought about new political and social alliances and gave the rising bourgeoisie the chance to enter the parliament in several European states, thus expanding political rights. At the same time, thinkers began expanding human rights ideas to include all members of society, claiming that all men were created equal, and that the political order must reflect that principle.

The natural law school, and among them some of the “social contract” thinkers, was the first to discuss human rights as natural rights. They claimed that human beings are born with their rights, which cannot be taken away from them. Therefore, we must consolidate these rights by law and use the state’s institutions to defend them. They established an obligatory link between human beings and their rights, which are set by nature and not by a contract. These thinkers set the stage for an individualist perception of society, equal political rights and defense of the individual against the political ruler. They focused on a representative political system, seeing society as the sum of its parts, and challenged the class system and the method for distribution of possession (Hobbes, 1909). The long lasting link between possession and political participation has started to give way due to the new sectors coming into politics, which could no longer be ignored as they were in the past. The concept of citizenship reflected the legal and political contract between the state and the individual, and consolidated a number of rights which gave individuals the right to define the essence of the political entity in which they live (Pocock, 1996). The concept of citizenship became, over time, a paradigm that was impossible to ignore as a moral, political and legal principle, particularly when discussing social justice (Marshall, 1964). There began the separation between the political and legal rights and the issue of property, based on the notion that political influence should emerge out of political equality, and not out of the financial merits of an individual. Even though this separation was intended to protect the dominance of a small wealthy section of society over the majority, it also

initiated a new political and legal paradigm, based on equality and freedom.

The American Revolution was another important step in this process, turning the human rights paradigm into an obligatory constitution for all state's institutions, and into a political culture which is still influential to this day. The controversies between political parties and values of the various groups in American society revealed the superstructure of the constitution and the gap between its ideals and the actual situation in the United States, but this constitution had paved the way for certain developments which penetrated successive societies, causing them to embrace the human rights paradigm which, by then, was expanded to include most sections of society (Smith, 1997).

The most eventful chapter in the worldwide development of the human rights paradigm was the French Revolution of 1789, which resulted in the spreading of human and civil rights, and defined the concepts of individual and collective rights, while deriving inspiration from Enlightenment and Modernity (Rousseau, 1957). Thanks to their boldness, their explicit terminology and their worldwide relevance, the concepts defined at that time remain influential to this day. It was then understood that every human being in every culture is entitled to human rights, that the people are the basis for any political order, and that the emphasis should be on individual rights, first and foremost liberty, equality and fraternity. The government should serve the people, and its role should be limited to preserving security and allowing the people to realize their rights in the fullest form possible.

Religious, cultural and social developments tied the human rights paradigm closely to Western culture. Yet the basic principles were, and still are, relevant to all human beings and guide the conduct of most human societies without subjugating them to the specific characteristics of Western culture, such as extreme individualism or the role of religion in society. Current debates in the Western world - particularly in countries who led the human rights revolutions, like the US and France - lead to the conclusion that the alleged separation between religion and state and the emphasis on individualism are both ideal models which cannot be realized fully, yet they are used as a means to demonstrate the homogeneous nature of the human rights paradigm. Recent debates over human rights paradigm proves that it

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is not limited to one specific state or culture - though some try to infer it is. Additionally, states that presume to be human rights leaders keep defending their interests and realizing their goals, both locally and internationally, by using selective interpretation of the paradigm.

Returning to the three points of view mentioned above, we can now see that the third and intermediate position is the closest to the truth, without turning human rights into a colonial scheme or falling into the trap of cultural particularity. Our research is based on this intermediate point of view, which acknowledges the centrality of individual and collective human rights. The development of international human rights discourse has created basic human values, which became inclusive and guide the conduct of most countries worldwide, albeit persisting deviations in the conduct of states and political regimes.

The human rights paradigm became a binding, undeniable and powerful set of values in international politics, which is reflected by the political human rights discourse and the importance of international human rights organizations like Amnesty International, Doctors Without Borders, Reporters Without Borders and Human Rights Watch. These organizations are respected by the international community and define criteria for the various states, Western and non-Western alike. As a result, even states not committed to these values still consider the issue's implications on their international status. There's no doubt that the international political trend is one of strengthening commitment to human rights, binding all political forces, states or organizations, and forcing them to align and concede with these standards, as states grow conformant to avoid international criticism.

Over time, the human rights paradigm expanded to include aspects which were previously ignored. Looking back at the initiation of human rights, we can see that civil and political rights were the first to appear, whilst social rights weren't always as important as they are today. Human rights concepts were expanded over time to include basic socioeconomic rights; e.g. the right to an adequate standard of living, the right to adequate housing, the right to education, the right to health, etc. Human rights concepts have also evolved to include all groups of society, women, children, refugees and others, while limiting the ability of the wealthy to misuse their financial strength.

By reviewing the history of human rights and its spread throughout the world, we can clearly see that these rights are universal by nature, though they center around the individual. But international organizations, which talk about civil and political rights as well as economic, social and cultural rights, stress that human rights must also be collective, since some rights cannot be implemented for individuals without the involvement of larger society (e.g. the right to self-determination, the right to culture and the right to freedom of association). International conventions like the UN Convention for Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention for Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the International Convention for the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, as well as those conventions encompassing the rights of disabled persons (CRPD) and those subject to enforced disappearance (CPED) demonstrate that the human rights paradigm went on to include additional aspects of life. The human rights paradigm is still expanding, and continuing debates evolve around supplementing the corpus with more rights, such as the right to information and freedom of information transfer.

The Dialectic of Human Rights in Israel

Due to the historical circumstances of its establishment and the basic conflict between universality of human rights and the particularity of its national identity, human rights are a sensitive issue in Israel (Akram, 2011; Kretzmer, 2002). The establishment of Israel forced the displacement of Palestinians, the majority of whom were expelled or forced to flee in the hundreds of thousands and had their right to self-determination snatched from under their feet during the war of 1947-49.

The Jewish national entity which emerged from the aftermath of this war adopted a legislative and constitutional order which was based on a racial distinction between those who belonged to the Jewish national group and those who were outside of it. The official definition of a Jew was broadened to serve expansionist strategies, as part of the Jewish people's self-proclaimed right to rule the land and defend itself, and the Palestinian people were deprived of their right for self-determination and of their right to life in their historical land as an independent people with equal rights like any other nation (Pappe, 2011; Masalha, 1997).

A review of the laws which were enacted by the state of Israel since its early days reveals that the human rights paradigm which was promoted by the state was based on a fundamental distinction. The Law of Return and The Absentee Property Law, also referred to as "Present Absentee" Law, clearly show the fundamental distinction between two basic groups of residents: the Jews, who enjoy full rights, and the indigenous Palestinians, who are deprived, under the pretence of international law, of their right to life in their homeland (Kretzmer, 1990; Jamal, 2011). This discrimination served as the foundation for the development of the Israeli human rights paradigm. The national identity of the Jewish majority took precedence over human rights principles in order to protect Jewish dominancy in all aspects of life

(Jabareen, 2002; Jamal, 2009). The embracing of human rights terminology helped to maintain Jewish dominancy in the political and legal realms.

The Israeli Declaration of Independence had promised human rights for all, but this promise was tainted since day one by giving the Jewish people as a whole (in Israel and abroad) the control over the affairs of the Israeli state, including human rights and international relations policies, through the open right of return and the involvement of Jewish communities living outside the state of Israel in shaping its policies. This founding document has determined the direction for the development of a human rights paradigm that revolves around a national factor, a policy that has gained wide support among the Jewish majority in the country. For example, the emergency situation declared in 1948 is still active to this day, and is continuously extended without any real objections. Likewise, the Emergency Regulations set by the British in Mandatory Palestine of 1945 are still in effect in Israel in 2012. The right to property and the associated rights related to planning and building, are still dependant on criteria which contradict the essence of the rights.

According to Harari decision from 1950 - the decision to build a constitution in the form of Basic Laws in an incremental form - the first laws to be enacted have to do with state institutions and its resources. The second Basic Law: Israel Lands, (the first was Basic Law: The Knesset) was enacted in 1960 and was the basis for what was later referred to as the land regime of Israel. In a nutshell, the law says that the lands of Israel (owned by the state or by the Jewish National Fund), belong exclusively to the Jewish people and cannot be sold (Yiftachel and Meir, 1998). The Israeli state confiscated most of the Arab lands, which were privately owned, and became the single biggest land owner, controlling over more than 92% of the country's lands. Under these conditions, the basic right of property became meaningless, especially for those who had their land confiscated by the state under legal authority (Kedar, 1998). The right to own land could serve as a criterion for judging the Israeli human rights paradigm. It reveals that basic human rights in Israel are still dependant on external considerations, in contrast with the demands of the various international conventions. These considerations override human rights principles in other aspects of life as well, mainly

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political, social and economic. Most of the Israeli laws dealing with civil, political and social-economic rights bypass the principle of equality, by according greater value accorded to the ethnic, Jewish component, thus contradicting the universal spirit of these rights under international human rights law. This is seen in the widespread opposition to enactment of the Basic Law: Equality, and the effective deletion of the equality principle in other basic laws, most importantly Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty.

All these laws are subordinated to the basic definition of the state as a Jewish one, even though at least fifth of the citizens are Palestinians, the indigenous people of the land, whose rights are determined by the state's ethnic parameters. This structural hierarchy is reflected in the human rights paradigm. There's very little legitimacy to challenging this paradigm in the political sphere, and the legislative activity throughout the years, and especially since 2002, is aimed towards the violation of civil and political rights of the Palestinian minority (Jamal, 2011). In the financial sphere, the confiscation of land, a main source of income for this minority, resulted in a process of impoverishment which drove more than 50% of the Arab population under the poverty threshold (The Socio-Economic Survey, 2010). This is also the reason for the high unemployment rate in Arab society, and it explains the shortage in housing among them. The government's investments in the development of the Arab society are not in accordance with their percentage within the general population of Israel, and they suffer from multiple violations of basic rights. It is obvious that Arab Palestinian society is positioned on the margins of the Jewish Israeli society, where human rights are only partially respected, though failing by the standards of international human rights law. These fundamental challenges to the political, civil, socio-economic and cultural rights exposes the inherent hypocrisy of the Israeli human rights paradigm (Or, 2003). This paradigm is selective and partial, and the rights of the Jewish-Israeli population are determined by ethnic and ideological factors, in contrast with the universal nature of human rights in their pure form.

The Israeli political and legislative discourses presumably revolve around the human rights paradigm as a fundamental ideology, yet the selectiveness of this paradigm, which is demonstrated by the hierarchy of values described

earlier, shows that national identity undermines the fundamentals of this paradigm, turning its elements into mechanisms which serve to preserve Jewish dominance in all aspects of life. The widely spread racism among Jewish society itself proves the partiality of the paradigm and its subordination to political considerations, dedicated to preserving the status quo in Jewish-Israeli society. The partiality and the limitations on human rights paradigm are evident in opinion polls made among the Israeli population. Apparently, the majority of Jews legitimize the limitation of basic human rights of the Arab population, and views conflicting with the human rights paradigm exist within the Jewish-Israeli society itself.³ These polls show that the legislative activity in recent years, e.g. The Nakba Law, The Citizenship Law, The Law Against the Division of Jerusalem and others, emerged from the fertile soil of their legitimization by the Jewish majority. The legislative dialectic and the public opinions reflected in the polls are the basis for the human rights paradigm in Israel, and they reflect the deepening gap between a minority among the Jewish population, which tries to preserve a pretence of humanism, and the majority, who thinks that this pretence stands in the way of realizing political schemes, decline the universality of the human rights paradigm and subject it to a nationalistic and chauvinistic project. This dialectic aligns with the occupation mentality, which deprives the human rights of almost four million Palestinians, in addition to the rights deprivation of the other five million Palestinians in Diaspora. The attempts of the Israeli state to distance itself from the occupation are nothing but a mockery of the human rights paradigm. How can we discuss the human rights of Jewish-Israeli citizens in the state of Israel, while they themselves deprive others of basic human rights in the occupied Palestinian territories? This political and legislative structure stands in direct contrast with the idea of a universal human rights paradigm, being based on the idea of equality among all human beings, of all cultures and nationalities.

3. The Israeli Democracy Index 2011. See: Hermann, 2011.

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Since the Arab Palestinian minority in Israel lives under the jurisdiction of the Israeli legal system and are effectively excluded from making their own laws and establishing human rights as the guidelines for society's values, the legal system cannot be used for exploring Arab society's attitudes towards human rights. Consequently, we must develop different tools to investigate these attitudes. But before we delve into this matter, we must distinguish between two different things: Arab society's struggle for rights before the state, and the development of an awareness and a discourse which reflects the importance of the human rights paradigm not just in relations with the state and its institutions, but also within society itself. The defense of the community's rights against violations by the state is certainly an integral part of the realization of the human rights paradigm. Yet, it is important to note that the human rights paradigm includes rights practiced within Arab society itself, those of disempowered groups such as women, children, the elderly and others. Therefore, we must develop tools to investigate the public's perception of the human rights paradigm, and trace practices related to this paradigm within society, as well as those aimed towards the state's institutions.

Public opinion polls could have given us information about common views regarding human rights in Arab society. Unfortunately, polls regarding these issues were almost never conducted in Arab society, a fact which should be taken into consideration in this discussion. The only recently published poll giving some indications regarding this subject is the "Democracy

Index”, conducted by the Israeli Democracy Institute.⁴ Various questions were presented in the poll regarding the concept of democracy, dividing it into many values and principles: freedom, institutions and mechanisms, leadership and government’s responsibilities, equality, pluralism and treatment of minorities, human and civil rights, justice, negative notions of democracy and contradicting concepts to democracy. The Arab participants consisted 15% of the survey. When asked what is the fundamental meaning of democracy, 2.4% chose human and civil rights; 8.9% chose pluralism and concern for minorities; 12.1% chose equality, while 59.7% chose freedom as the fundamental meaning of democracy. Merely 3.2% thought justice to be the fundamental meaning of democracy. Human and civil rights got a very low level of support as the basic meaning of democracy, a fact which reflects the low level of awareness of these rights as a crucial part of the democratic political order. The findings also reveal the most common concepts of democracy in the Israeli society and in the official Israeli discourse: freedom of speech, freedom of movement and freedom of association, which are granted to Arab citizens as long as they comply with the limitations set by the authorities and have no conflict with the constitutional order set by the state, e.g. the authorities approval for Land Day demonstrations or Right of Return marches.

A minority of participants (less than 50%) cited principles of human and civil rights, justice, equality, pluralism and concern for minorities in their interpretation of democracy. Additional indications for the Arab population’s awareness level regarding human rights issues can be found in other sections of the index. The Arab participants were asked about their level of trust in various institutions and power positions, e.g. political parties, religious leaders, the government, the parliament, the media, the Supreme Court and the State’s Comptroller. The data suggests that the religious leaders got the highest trust rate - 80% of the participants - which can be compared to the lower trust rates in other institutions or positions. The second most trusted authority was the Supreme Court with 69.4%, and the media got 62.7%. It

4. *ibid*

infers that the Arab population accepts authorities or institutions which are considered a part of the defense of civil rights mechanisms and are thought to represent the interests of disempowered groups in society, including the Arab population.

Another indication for the status of human rights in Arab society is the existence of human rights organizations which promote these principles. The number of organizations in Arab society proves a certain level of commitment to the human rights paradigm, at least among the elite. Organizations dedicated to human rights began appearing in the late 1980's, when the Arab Association for Human Rights (HRA) was established. HRA was alone in this realm until the late 1990's when organizations such as Adalah - The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel, and Mossawa Center - The Advocacy Center for Arab Citizens in Israel, were established. Women's rights organizations began to emerge around the same period, like Women Against Violence which was established in 1992. These organizations promoted women's rights before the state as well as promoting freedom and equality within Arab society itself.

The establishment of these NGOs reflects the progression of Arab civil society which allows for the development of organizations that serve the causes of human rights and use the international human rights discourse to defend and promote the rights of the Palestinian minority in Israel. There's no doubt this discourse was spread among the Arab elite, but it didn't penetrate the different sectors of society. This fact can be concluded by a public opinion poll conducted in 2007-8, by one of the authors of this report (Amal Jamal), where a random sample of the Arab population was asked about their awareness to the activity of Arab civil society organizations, including those dealing with human rights.

The data collected in this survey showed that the Arab public has very limited and superficial knowledge of human rights organizations and of human rights discourse, as defined by international organizations and norms. Even though the poll showed that human rights organizations, such as Adalah and Women Against Violence, were among the most recognized by the public, it appeared that this recognition was superficial, and based only on the image portrayed by the media and by the organizations themselves in their PR

campaigns. The information concerning the activities of these organizations was based on rumors alone, without any meaningful investigation. The data also showed that the public trusts these organizations to defend their rights against the state, but not to defend individual rights within the Arab minority. This conclusion relates to another finding, regarding the dependence of Arab citizens on these organizations for achieving their goals before the state. Even though many turn to Adalah as a last refuge in cases of confiscations, house demolitions and planning issues, especially with regards to collective issues which affect the rights of the society as a whole, the findings suggest that awareness to human rights organizations' activities and reliance on them are very low.

The media discourse is another tool that can be used to investigate the Arab public awareness to the human rights paradigm. The media reflects the various issues that get the public attention, and tries to define the important social, cultural, political and financial views in society. Since we believe that the media is part of society and not a neutral reporter of events, the current research may add an important aspect to the research of human rights concepts in Arab society. However, the media also affect human rights perceptions in Arab society in many ways, bringing focus to the importance of human rights as a fundamental principle in all aspects of life, not just as a pragmatic tool for achieving recognition of rights by the state. Arab media discourse refers to the internal affairs of the Arab society, enabling us to further explore the human rights attitudes of the Arab public by analyzing the media's discourse and its coverage characteristics.

Explaining the Sample

When analyzing the quantitative characteristics of contents presented in newspapers, there are three assumptions which should be taken into account, although they are yet to be proven beyond doubt. The first assumption is that the content of newspapers reflects the conscious or unconscious choices of the paper's editors. Therefore, a quantitative analysis of the newspaper's content could give us better understanding with regards to conscious or subconscious intentions of the editorial board. The second assumption is that there is a connection between contents presented in newspapers and the general situation in its surrounding, which serves as the newspaper's main point of reference. The quantitative analysis could help us understand the course of events in the reality, and recognize the most commonly occurring phenomena. The third assumption is that news appearing in the newspapers is of random nature. Since the arranging of a newspaper issue is an organizational process, related to the arrival time of news onto the editors' desk. As a result of editorial deadlines, the content of the newspaper is determined by the availability of information and of the human and financial resources required to collect it.

These assumptions are not contradicting, and we might even say they complement each other most of the time. Therefore, any quantitative analysis of the news elements in the papers, conducted by measuring their size or position, can reflect the relations between these assumptions and help to further understand the process of creating the journalist discourse, the cognitive awareness and the cultural, social and political categories in it.

Since the number of pages in newspapers varies, even between different editions of the same newspaper, we counted the number of human rights articles in every newspaper and calculated the rate by counting the number of articles per page. Obviously, the number of articles on human rights

issues varied between the different newspapers, but the ratio per page can give us a fare basis for comparison.

The sample included four weekly newspapers: *Kul Al-Arab*, *Panorama* and *Hadith A-Nas*. We inspected four different issues of every newspaper published in different periods, as seen hereunder:

Number of human rights articles/total number of articles in the newspaper

name of the newspaper / Date of publication	<i>Panorama</i>	<i>Hadith A-Nas</i>	<i>A-Sinnara</i>	<i>Kul Al-Arab</i>
4.3.11	20/140 14.2%	9/66 13.6%	13/76 17.1%	19/86 22%
25.3.11	16/150 10.6%			17/115 14.7%
15.4.11		14/57 24.5%	10/110 9%	
6.5.11	12 /124 9.6%			17/97 17.5%
27.5.11		7/50 14%	8/94 8.5%	
17.6.11	17/122 13.9%			16/89 17.9%
8.7.11		15/45 33.3%	14/83 16.8%	

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A special code for exploring human rights articles was developed for this research. Every news article dealing with violation or support of human rights was considered a part of the sample, even if there was not an explicit use of human rights terminology. First we posed descriptive questions, to get the preliminary information on the dominant method of coverage in the newspaper. Then we posed questions related to the framing and design, in order to identify the stances of the journalist or the newspaper regarding this article. Based on this data we narrowed the sample and chose the articles which were included in the analysis, and categorized according to their various characteristics. In order to assure the accuracy of our selection, we conducted a pilot in which two people selected and analyzed the news articles separately. The cases that reached over 80% correlation between the selected articles and the implementation of the analytic codes developed for this research were included in the final analysis.

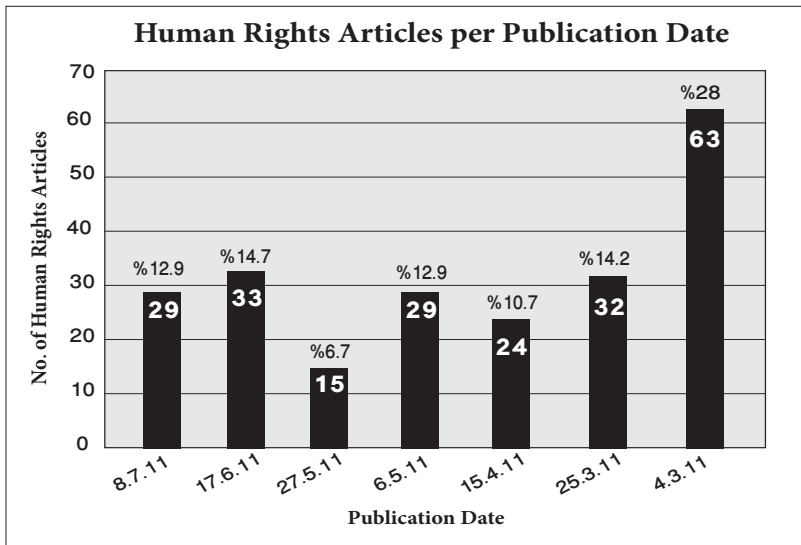
The quantitative analysis was conducted using a statistics program (SPSS), and the different findings were compared in order to further understand the quantitative results, and also to try and extract prominent coverage patterns and corroborate the conclusions by checking the credibility of the data with statistic tools. By comparing various factors in the statistic analysis we were able to identify phenomena which couldn't have been identified otherwise.

The qualitative analysis was intended to further explore the discourse's characteristics, and check whether confirm or contrast with the characteristics found in the quantitative analysis. A few articles were analyzed in a way that enabled us to check subconscious and hidden opinions in the text, repeating patterns or phrases that could teach us not only about what is visible in the text, but also about what is written in between the lines. An argument can be seemingly explicit and manifested clearly, but in fact it reflects implicit hidden meanings, intentionally or not (Foucault, 1972). The Qualitative analysis thus helps us expose aspects which couldn't have been exposed using only the quantitative methods.

Data Presentation

The average percentage of human rights articles in the Arab press is: 17.8% in *Kul Al-Arab*, 12.1% in *Panorama*, 12.3% in and 20.6% in *Hadith A-Nas*. Unlike the others, *Hadith A-Nas* is a local newspaper, but it can still be compared to the others using the average percentage of human rights articles. We found that the average number of (general) news articles in *Hadith A-Nas* is 54.5 per issue. In order to explore the routine coverage of human rights issues, we tried to avoid external factors which might increase or decrease the magnitude of the coverage. Thus, we didn't choose dates which carry special national meaning, such as Land Day or Nakba Day, and might temporarily enhance the number of articles related to these issues. Hence, the Sample includes issues from seven separate weeks, between March 4th 2011 and July 8th 2011. We found that the coverage of human rights issues was at its lowest on the week ending on May 27th (figure 1).

Figure 1



While 28.8% of the Arab journalists are women (55 out of 177), 86.6% of the human rights articles were written by male journalists, and only 13.4% by females. This data raises questions as to the social and gender aspects of the Arab press. If we review the names of journalists in the newspapers, we will find male dominance on every level, a fact which influences the coverage characteristics of the various subjects. Researches in communication studies revealed that gender has a tremendous influence over the presentation of news contents and over the preservation of the cognitive perceptions and values system in the media. The integration of women as journalists is a major factor of change; there is no immediate transformation in the gender-based discourse, but those influences must be examined over the long run (Sreberny and van Zoonen, 2000).

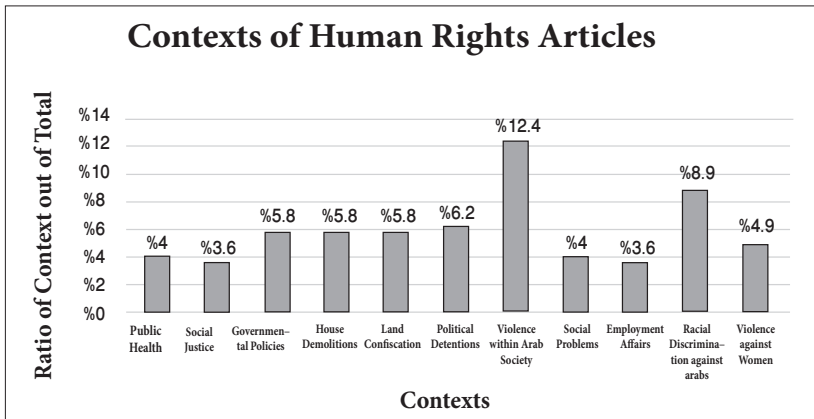
As expected, we found that most human rights articles were published in the news sections (88.9%) rather than in entertainment and sports supplements (11.1%).

The data regarding the contexts of human rights articles (figure 2) reveals a division between many divers categories. The most common context is violence within the Arab population in Israel (12.4%), and the second most common is racial discrimination against Arab citizens (8.9%). The third most common context was political detentions, with 6.2% out of the total number of articles. Three contextxs got identical rates (5.8%): land confiscation, houses demolition and governmental policies regarding the Palestinian minority. The context of violence against women rated at 4.9%, although this unfortunate phenomenon was brought forth by the media in recent years. Other context got lower rates, as presented in the figure. The findings suggest that newspapers report, first and foremost, about issues related to the Israeli government's policies regarding the Arab public, hence the total rate of these contexts, which amount to 32.5%, and second most reported are violence related contexts, which rated at a total of 17.3%.

According the data collected, we found that 225 out of 1,504 published articles were related to human rights, rating at about 15% of all articles. The somewhat low percentage is still surprising, since former researches

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Figure 2



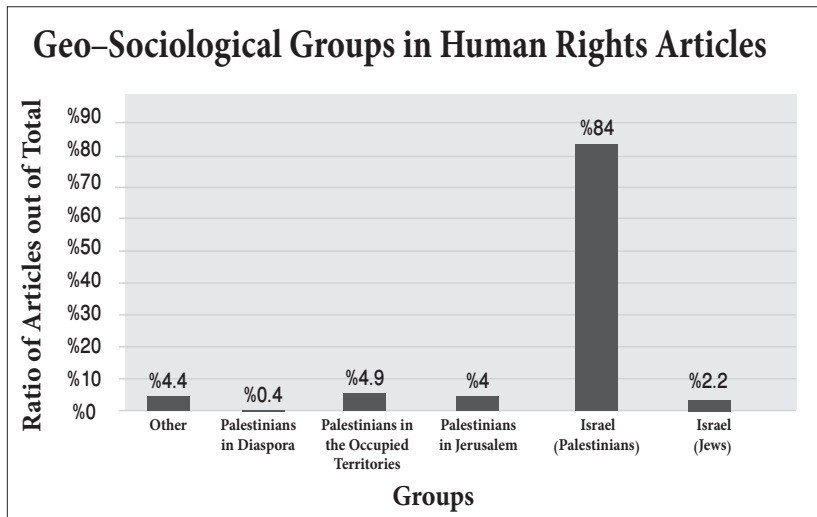
suggested that the Arab newspapers are preoccupied with populist news, mostly gossip, and with social and entertainment news. This doesn't mean we can be satisfied with the number of human rights articles in the context of a national indigenous minority which faces daily discrimination, alienation and marginalization. The Arab minority faces every day policies which aren't reported in the Hebrew press or media. The only daily Arab newspaper in Israel is under partisan influence and therefore limited. The weekly newspapers, which present themselves as advocates of the society, should be expected to play a major role in covering human rights issues within the Arab society, and of the population fronting the state and its authorities. From this point of view, 15% seems rather low, and doesn't do justice to the daily evils and challenges endured by the Arab public, whether it's facing the state or internal injustices, like human rights violations of women, children and the elderly.

A 15% rate definitely indicates a positive trend, but it also represents a wide gap between the nationalistic representative message of the press, as an advocate of the people, and the level of its actual dealing with the social, political, cultural and financial rights of the Arab society.

We tried to identify geo-sociological groups presented in the human rights articles, and found seven different groups: Palestinians in Israel, Palestinians in Jerusalem, Palestinians in the West Bank, Palestinians in

the Gaza strip, Palestinians in Diaspora, Israeli Jews and a miscellaneous category, comprised of articles which don't refer to any of the above, or refer to more than one of them. The purpose of this division was to explore the variations in the coverage of different groups in the social surrounding of the Arab press. Unsurprisingly, we found that the vast majority of articles (84%) refers to the Palestinians in Israel, while Palestinians in the west Bank and in the Gaza Strip were covered in 4.9% of the articles and Palestinians in Jerusalem were covered in 4% only. Human rights issues in the Jewish population got only 2.2% ;therefore, we can conclude that the

Figure 3



Arab press takes special interest in the issues of Palestinians in Israel and in the occupied territories (figure 3).

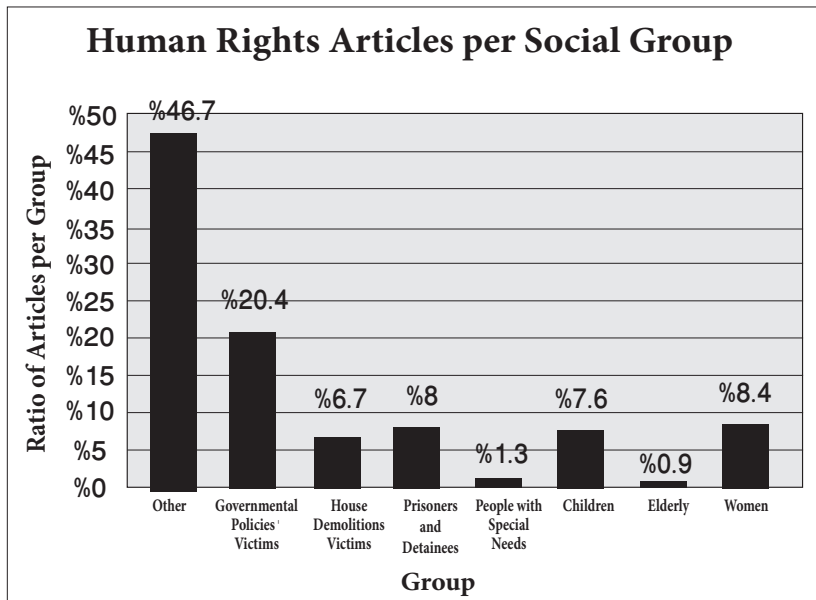
There is a wide gap between the coverage of Israeli policies aimed towards the Arab public and the coverage of human rights issues within the Jewish society. This gap verifies the fact that the Arab press views itself as a representative of the Palestinians in Israel. The data also demonstrates the difference between two spheres: the Arab public sphere, represented by the

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Arab media, dealing with problems of the Arab population as a separate society with unique issues, and the Israeli public sphere, which focuses on the Jewish population and pay little attention to the Arab population.⁵ There is a correlation between the geographic interests of the press and its attention to human rights. The Arab press deals with the rights of the Arab population living in Israel more than other Arab populations, a fact that proves that the press views the Arab society in Israel as a unique society with particular characteristics and therefore embraces its national identity.

In order to find out which social groups are most prominent in the human

Figure 4



rights articles, another division was created, this time between the different social groups mentioned in the articles (figure 4).

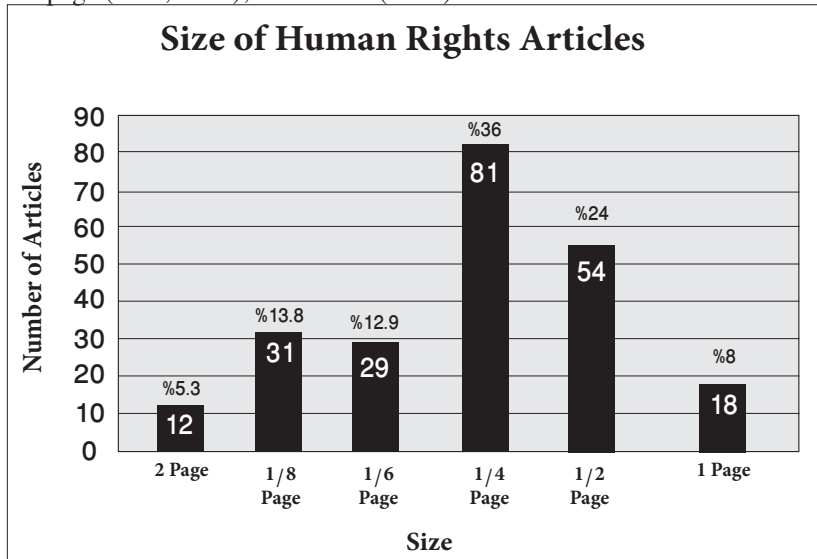
5. For data on the Arab population in the Hebrew press see: Masalha and Jamal, 2011.

The categories were determined according to the results of the preliminary pilot, in which we found seven different groups at the center of most human rights articles. It seems that 46.7% (n=105) of the articles deal with the general Arab population, without referring to a specific group; for example, articles dealing with the spread of violence within the Arab society or other general phenomena. The other groups were divided as following: Arab citizens victimized by various state's policies: 20.4% (n=46); Women: 8.4% (n=19); Family: 8% (n=18) and children: 7.6% (n=17). The rights of people with special needs were covered in merely 1.3% (n=3) of the articles, while the elderly were covered in only 1% (n=2) of the total number of articles. These numbers demonstrate the marginality of those groups in the press' coverage, even though their rights are constantly violated, as indicated in the Report of Children's Injuries (Ibenkovsky and Kislev, 2011). We must point to the possible connection between the social groups which are the focus of the media coverage and their financial advantages compared to the weaker groups.

Visual Indicators

According to the Data collected, the highest rate of human rights articles appear in the first six pages (11% on average), though it's interesting to note that only 2.7% of them are featured in the first page. It should also be noted that human rights issues are randomly spread across the pages, and are not gathered into specified sections; hence, it seems there is no real attempt to focus the readers' attention on these issues.

To examine the visibility of human rights articles we checked the relative size of the articles and found that most articles are featured on a quarter of the page (36%, n=81), while 24% (n=54) of the articles are featured on half



a page. Thus, 60% of articles relating to human rights issues are featured in a relatively large size area, attracting the readers' attention (Figure 5).

Figure 5

Expanding the scope of data regarding the articles, we counted the number of words used in human rights articles, which amounted to an average of 421.8 words per article. The articles in the sample were then divided, according to the number of words, into five groups: 5.3% of the articles contained 1-100 words; 47% contained 101-300 words; 27% contained 301-600 words; 13% contained 601-1,000 words and 7.6% of the articles contained 1,001-4,000 words.

We can clearly see that the highest rating group is the one of articles comprised of 101-300 printed words, which means almost half of the human rights articles are relatively short. In further examination of the written content, three rights were found to be most prominent in the second group (101-300 words): the right to life, freedom of speech and the right for personal safety. Among the articles containing more than 1,000 words, the right to life was most prominent (27.3%), and second most prominent were the right for equality, the right for a collective identity and the right for personal safety (18.2% for each).

We took only the articles dealing with the nine most prominent groups (as shown below) and compared the number of words in the articles with the data regarding geo-sociological groups. Apparently, 40% of the articles concerning the Palestinians in Israel fall within the second group (101-300 words), while 21.8% of them fall within the third group (301-600 words).

When comparing the number of words per article with the data about social groups we found that the second group (101-300 words) is the most common in all social groups.

The paging of an article points to its importance. Researches regarding theories of defining the media agenda focused on the visual indicators and the paging of the article in written press or in web pages of the electronic media. Their findings suggested that the paging reflects the importance of the

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article from the journalists' point of view, and affects the level of importance and attention it gets from readers (Berger, 2012). In the current research we tried to shed some light over the importance of the human rights articles by examining their paging. We found that 48.4% (n=109) of the articles were printed on the upper half of the page, 20.9% (n=47) were printed on the lower half of the page, and 18.7% (n=42) received a full page spread. The rest of the articles (12%; n=27) were paged in the center.

As for the use of special colors, we found that in a majority of the articles (59.6%; n=134) there is no use of special colors at all, while highlighting colors are used in 40.4% (n=91) of the articles. Among the second group, the most prominent color is gray (29.7%), and others are black (23.1%), red (22%) and blue (14.3%). Some of the articles are printed against a colored background and others are framed by a colored border. Black is used in many of the articles reporting death, while red is often used in articles of political nature (e.g. about Israeli Jews or about the settlements in the occupied territories). We tried to find out whether certain colors are related to specific rights, but found no significant correlation, though we did find some interesting variations among the articles in which colors were used: 17% of them were related to freedom of speech and 14.5% to the right for personal safety, while the right to life and the right for adequate housing rated at 12% each. It is difficult to come to a definite conclusion in this context, though the data might point toward implicit orientations in the press.

Another visual indicator is the use of images. We found that 72.4% (n=163) of the articles include images related to the written content, while 4% (n=9) of the articles include non-related images. The rest of the articles (23.6%; n=53) have no images at all. The average size of the images is 11 cm².

We examined the connection between the type of image and the prominent rights featured in the articles, and found 151 articles dealing with one of the nine most prominent human rights that include relevant images. We found diversions between various human rights. Most images were featured in articles related to the right to adequate housing (15.2%), while the right for equality and the right for personal safety rated at 13.2% each. Articles about the right to fair trial rated the lowest of all articles featuring related images, at only 5.3%.

We should note here that a relevant image attached to the article helps to promote it, while a non-relevant image undermines the subject of the article. By analyzing the difference between the right to adequate housing and the right to a fair trial in this context, we can clearly infer that the first is more prominent in the media agenda than the second.

Headlines in the front page

A headline appearing in the front page indicates the importance of an article, and indicates the intention of an editorial board to attract the readers' attention. 66.7% (n=150) of the human rights articles had no headline in the front page, while the remaining 33% (n=75) did have front page headlines. The subjects that appeared in first page headlines were: government policies towards the Palestinian minority (n=10); violence and crime (n=9); poverty and housing (n=6); the issue of labor force (n=5); xenophobia and ethnical conflicts, the judicial system and social issues (n=4 each).

The subject of the article

One of the measurements used to characterize the coverage of human rights issues was the subject of the articles. The subjects were defined according to the GMMP list (appendix 1), which specifies news contents. Since some articles in the sample include more than one subject, we tried to define the three most prominent subjects in every article. The division within the first group of most prominent subjects was as follows: Violence and crime rated at 12% out of the human rights articles; the judiciary system and the law rated at 6.7%; 6.2% was the rate for poverty, housing and social welfare; 5.8% dealt with culture and education; 4.9% of the articles dealt with employment issues, strikes, riots, consumer protection and consumption issues. In examining the secondary subjects we found that violence and crime, family law and family legislation all rate 15.4% (n=9) each. We couldn't find a third subject in any of the human rights articles.

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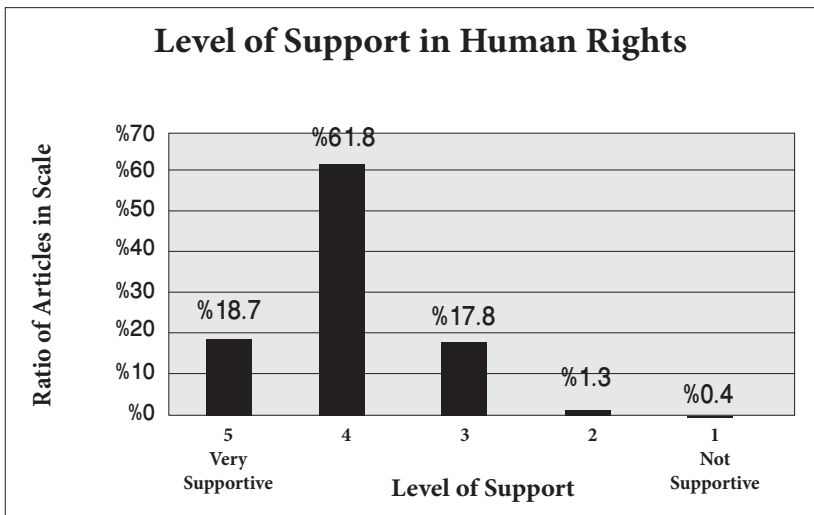
The Presentation of Human Rights

Two methods of presentation were identified in the sampled articles: “substantial”, which means the article refers to a specific right and presents it by name, and “generic”, which means the article’s content is relevant to human rights issues, yet there is no reference in the content to specific human rights principles. We divided these categories into direct and indirect reference to human rights, aiming to deepen our understanding of media coverage. One of our goals in creating this division was to see the gap between empathy on the one hand and the direct link between the subject of the article and the human rights issue on the other. The latter exists whenever the readers’ attention is directed towards the substantial link between the content of the article and the rights of the group or the individuals afflicted by it. The generic definition refers to cases in which the content is related to human rights, or to violation of human rights, without pointing towards the link between the content and human rights. We found that 73.3% (n=165) of the articles pointed directly towards the substantial link to human rights; 16% (n=36) of the articles pointed indirectly towards this substantial link; 7.6% (n=17) of the articles referred to human rights in a direct generic way, while 3.1% (n=7) of the articles reported human rights in an indirect generic way. These findings can point to the lack of awareness to human rights issues among journalists, or to their lack of knowledge regarding this issues.

In order to go beyond the quantitative data and investigate the qualitative aspect of human rights coverage and the ethical values infused in them, the contents of the articles were graded according to a scale defined for this purpose. The scale was based on the academic literature on qualitative analysis of media contents, which calls attention to the values infused, directly or indirectly, into the media discourse (Fisher, 1997). Since this research is based on quantitative methods, we also tried to analyze ethical trends by using quantitative methods. We defined the variables in a way that would allow us to identify significant trends in the sample of contents examined. The variable of supporting human rights was defined as: the adding of invigorating descriptions to the mentioning of human rights, explaining it further by adding adjectives to emphasize its importance, warn against abusing it or attract attention to the violations of this right.

We found that the vast majority of the human rights articles (98%) support human rights, directly or indirectly, by using adjectives or positive expressions such as: “the importance of the right”, “the fundamental importance of the right”, “the right shouldn’t be violated”, “the right is indivisible”, or by adding adjectives warning against any violation of the right or against challenging it such as: “brutal assault”, “apartheid policies” and “aggravation of violence”.

It should be pointed that while almost all of the articles support human rights, most of the expressions refer to human rights violations and to the protest against it, and only few of the expressions are positive ones, intent to support the rights. In order to confirm the findings, we defined a human rights support scale. The scale was divided to five groups; the first was named “not supportive” and the fifth “very supportive”. In figure 6 we can see that the majority of the articles fall within the forth group (61.8%), and



that 98% of the articles are above the median.

Figure 6

The data suggests that the mere mentioning of human rights contents expresses, directly or indirectly, strong support of these rights. To further

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investigate the results we compared the most prominent rights in the sample of articles with the coverage type, substantial or generic, direct or indirect. We were trying to find out if there is a significant link between the various rights and the direct or indirect coverage type. The data suggests there are two distinct groups of rights, differing in the percentage of direct substantial coverage type. The first group was comprised of the right for equality (15.7%), freedom of speech (15%) and the right to adequate housing (15%). The second group rated lower in direct substantial coverage, and was comprised of the right to life (9.2%), the right for social justice (11%), the right for collective identity (8.5%), the right for personal safety (9.2%) and the right for wellbenig and security (9.8%).

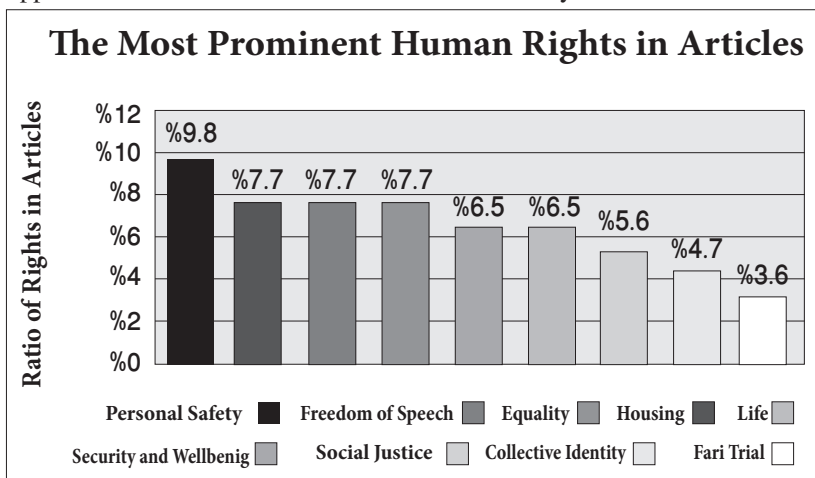
Supportive Terminology

Terms in support of human rights were clearly expressed in 76.4% of the articles. In 15.6% of the cases there were no clear terms of support, and in the remaining 8% of the cases. The use of supportive terms was vague. The differences between these findings and the findings in the previous sector that examined support in human rights can be explained if we acknowledge the fact that some positive expressions cannot be defined as a term, a word or an adjective, but they can still be seen in the context of the whole article. Here are some examples for supportive phrases: “The people rooted in the land must demand their right to stay and develop in their land”; “improvement in health services will improve our quality of life, and that’s what we want”; “an attempt to silence the voice of an independent Palestinian journalist”; “there are Arab groups which cling to their land firmly”; “despite the attempts by the Israeli authorities and the Zionists movements to erase the memory and the remaining of the deported villages”.

Representation of Various Human Rights

We defined the various human rights in every article of the sample according to the comprehensive list of human rights which was composed for the purpose of the research using international conventions, organizations and

norms (human rights list appendix 2). We extracted at least two human rights out of every article and defined their hierarchy (first/second) according to their level of visibility and clarity. We found a total number of 74 human rights articles in both groups. Their appearance rates were diverse: some appeared in only less than 1% of the articles, while others appeared in close to 10%. In order to identify the most prominent human rights in the sample, we created a list of those rights which rated over 3.5%. As we can see in figure 7, the right for personal safety appeared in 9.8% of the articles; freedom of speech, the right for equality and the right to adequate housing each appeared in 7.7% of the articles; the right to life and the right for security and wellbenig each appeared in 6.5% of the articles; the right for social justice appeared in 4.7% of the articles, and the right to fari trial appeared in 3.6% of the articles. We found that only 21 news articles of the



sample included more than one right.

Figure 7

The data suggests that the right for safety and security holds a significant prominence in both first and second groups. This fact reflects the violence felt among the Arab minority, and the intensification of the discussions concerning these issue, by reporting violent incidents rather than contents

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aimed towards raising awareness. If we combine the right for security and Wellbeing with the right for personal safety we will find both rights are significantly prominent - an inseparable part of the prominence of the issue of violence in the samples' articles - since the issue of violence has attracted the attention of every political and social forces in recent years. It is likewise interesting to notice that the freedom of speech appeared, in both groups, more than other rights. This fact may be related to the growing legislative activity aiming towards limiting the freedom of speech and eliminating certain subjects from the Israeli public sphere (Jamal, 2011).

As expected, different newspapers articles focus on different human rights. Hence, we must pay attention to the link between the various rights and other important variables, such as the geo-sociological groups. The examination of the various rights against the geo-sociological variable yields that the right for personal safety was the most prominent in articles focusing on the Palestinians in Israel, the dominant group in the sample. 15% of the articles on the Palestinians in Israel clearly refer to this human right. As aforementioned, this number reflects the issue of spreading violence in the Arab society, a serious challenge that is now perceived by all social forces as a strategic threat which must be addressed and stopped. The second most prominent human right in articles concerning the Palestinians in Israel is the right to adequate housing, a fact which seems to reflect the difficult situation of this group with regards to building and planning. In the year 2000, the government had recognized the need of the Arab population for building 10,000 new housing units a year, over a period of 4 years. In addition, the jurisdiction areas of the Arab local councils make up only 2.5% of the states' lands.⁶ Next come the following rights: the right for equality (12.8%), freedom of speech (12.8%) and the right for security and

6. The housing shortage of the Arab population is expressed in various ways, the most important of which are: there are no lands available for building, since most of the lands were confiscated and defined by the Law for Planning and Building (1996) as open lands, therefore they cannot be used: "state lands" associated with the JNF are given only to Jews, according to their internal criteria.; new TPSs for the Arab city councils did not get approved and they are forced to work with old TPSs which were not updated in decades; the government is not investing in building new housing units; there is no private investments by contractors in building apartments to rent, ect. For further details see: Hamdan and Awad (2009).

Wellbenig (12.3%).

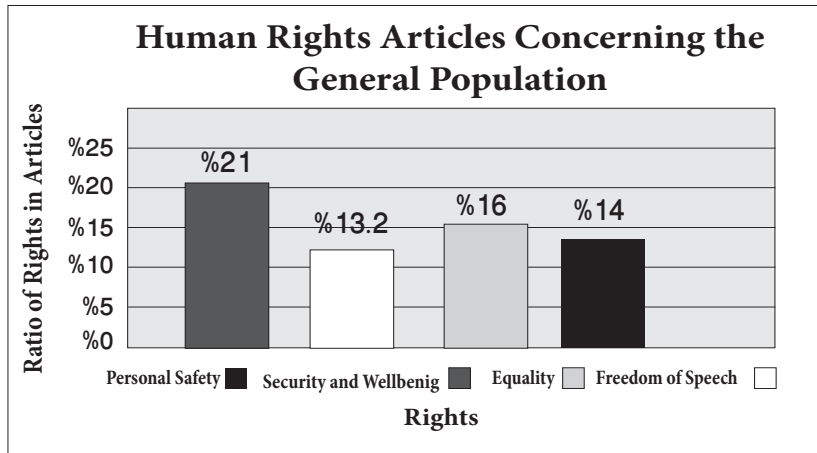
We also compared the most prominent human rights in the articles with the data on the various social groups. We found that the elderly and people with special needs are the least mentioned in human rights related articles. On the other hand, we found that when discussing victims of government policies, the right to adequate housing was the most prominent, with 22.7% of the articles. We can deduce that when discussing the rights of the Palestinian society in its relations with the state, land and housing issues are the most pressing. This conclusion was verified by examining the group of house demolitions victims, which seems to get a lot of media attention. The right to adequate housing appeared in 73.7% of the cases, making it the most prominent in articles regarding this group.

The data concerning women is particularly interesting. We could clearly see that the most prominent human right in this regard is the right for personal safety (43%), followed by the right for security and Wellbenig (28.6%). If anything, these findings indicate that violence against women under the pretence of protecting “family honor”, still exist in Arab society and is discussed in the media nowadays.

When discussing the various social groups we defined a general group which include articles without reference to a specific group or those which refer to more than one group. As we can see in figure 8, this group was the most dominant. When exploring the nine most prominent human rights with concern to this group, we found that the right for personal safety was the most prominent here as well, appearing in 21% of the cases. If we add the data regarding the right for security and Wellbenig (13.2%), we can see that the issues of personal and collective safety are the most important in newspaper articles dealing with human rights issues. This affirms again the conclusion that violence is a major concern of the Arab public sphere. We should add two more rights: the right for equality and the freedom of speech, which are the third and fourth most prominent, rating respectively at 16% and 14.2%. It seems that the second challenge that the Arab public is facing is the relations with the state, a challenge to which we can add the data concerning the issues of housing shortage and house demolitions. Thus, human rights articles in the Arab press reflect the general state of the

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Figure 8



Arab society and the challenges it faces, albeit the differences and inequality between the various groups.

As for the placing of the article in the newspaper, we found that the nine most prominent human rights mostly appear within the first 10 pages, and more particularly in page 4, which is usually the news page of the paper. Yet, it's hard to say if this derives from a clear and decisive policy of the editorial boards regarding the presentation of human rights articles in the newspaper. Generally, human rights articles are dispersed all over the newspapers, therefore they are more difficult to notice or attract the readers' attention to, especially when if remember that the newspapers are filled with colorful advertisements which steal away the readers' attention and reduce the impact of actual news.

Regarding the relative size of the articles it is hard to point out a clear editorial policy, since the articles relating to the nine most prominent human rights differ in size and show no clear pattern. When checking articles of a quarter page size, which is the most common size of human rights articles, we found six human rights rating roughly the same: freedom of speech (14%), the right to adequate housing (12.8%), the right for social justice (12.8%) the right for personal safety (12.8%) and the right for security and

Wellbenig (12.8%). This distribution suggests an equal prominence of these rights, with no hierarchy whatsoever.

Finally, we examined the link between the most prominent rights and the paging of the article. We've defined four categories: the upper half of the page, the lower half, center and full page. As mentioned above, we found that compared to other categories, the upper half of the page was the most common. When checking only the articles featured on the upper half of the page we found that the right to adequate housing was the most prominent (18%), followed by the right for equality (16%), the right for security and Security and Wellbenig (13.8%), and the rights for social justice and for personal safety (12.8%). Regarding the full page spread articles, the right to life and the freedom of speech were the most prominent, each appearing in 16.7% of the cases. Less prominent were the following three rights: equality, social justice and collective identity (13.9% each). The differences between these rights are insignificant, and even though the category of a full page spread is not the most common, it seems that all these rights receive special attention by the press.

When dealing with articles referring to more than one human right, we tried to identify the balance between the different rights published in the articles. Therefore, we asked the question: Which are the rights the article attempts to balance between? Although these rights are all related to each other and depend on each other, we found that in 36.4% (n=82) of the articles there was an attempt to find balance between different rights, while 58.7% (n=132) of the articles refer to one right only. In order to find out whether the media pays attention to the possibility of contradiction between human rights of different social groups, we tried to find direct references to the conflict between various human rights. Only a small percentage of the articles (3.6%; n=8) referred to a possible conflict between the human rights mentioned in them, especially in regards to the right to life, freedom of speech, the right for equality, the right to adequate housing, the right to fair trial, the right for personal safety and freedom of religion.

Terminology contradicting human rights was explicit only in a small number of articles (2.7%; n=6). Hence, we can infer that the newspapers included in

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the research sample tend to avoid criticizing human rights principles - even if these principles are not supported, clearly or directly, at all times.

Opposition to Human Rights Violations

A closer look into the opposition or criticism of human rights violations revealed that a vast majority (86%; n=194) of the articles oppose or criticize human rights violations. These findings prove that the vast majority of the articles refuse to accept the possibility of human rights violations. Moreover, they seem to attack this possibility, thus creating a nurturing atmosphere for human rights concepts to evolve in, especially when it comes to the rights of the Arab citizens or women. To further emphasize this conclusion we may add that there are direct quotes by dignitaries supporting human rights in 51% (n=115) of the articles. The use of quotes is an indication to the importance of the contents in the eyes of the editors and journalists. Quotes of dignitaries opposing human rights appeared in only 5.8% (n=13) of the articles, a clear indication that the newspapers tend to avoid expressing views opposing human rights ideas.

On the other hand, the vast majority of the articles (90.2%; n=203) do not refer to international human rights organizations or declarations, thus leaving the positive atmosphere stripped of the legislative and moral sources of the international human rights discourse. This fact shows us that the newspapers support human rights contents out of an innate feeling, but do not develop it into a studied and systematic approach with a clear educational and accumulative range. By supporting human rights out of gut feeling only, the issue becomes merely a general aspiration. These findings are supported by the fact that 62.2% (n=140) of the articles include general cliché expressions in support of human rights, while 37.8% (n=85) express a neutral stance regarding human rights issues. These clichés promote the supportive atmosphere of human rights, but there is no commitment by the press to transform it into a methodical philosophy.

News Sources

As part of the research, we tried to identify the sources of human rights related articles. We found that in 24.9% of the cases, the information was retrieved through official sources: ministries, local authorities, parliament members etc. The second most common source was the journalists (19%), including news delivered by undisclosed sources. The third source was eye witnesses (16%). NGOs and human rights organizations provided the information in 16% of the cases, and the police delivered 7.6% of the news on human rights issues. It should be noted that the police information - through press releases or responses to journalists' questions - is not used as the sole source of information, but as an addition to other sources.

Models for Qualitative Analysis

In an attempt to further explore the contents of human rights in the press, we selected a few articles out of the quantitative analysis, and performed a qualitative analysis on them by deconstructing the press discourse and examining the explicit and implicit meanings in the texts. One of the advantages of qualitative analysis is that it enables us to explore each article independently in order to try and understand the terminology used and the design and content elements of each article (Fairclough, 2003). The analysis model here is a combination of two models: First, the critical discourse analysis, which explores the article as a coherent body of thought, by examining the terminology, the phrasing and other expression methods; Second, the critical analysis of the media's political sub consciousness (Jameson, 1981). According to this model, the article's meaning and the impact on the readers' minds comes not only from the visible content, but also, and maybe even more so, from the subtext (Jameson, 1981; Fairclough, 1995).

The critical discourse analysis assumes that the discourse contains an ideological stance which reflects power relations in the social sphere. The discourse is connected to its social, political and cultural surroundings; it is an expression of all these, achieved by the use of terminology, concepts and implicit assertions, all included in the text (Foucault, 1972). Therefore, during the discourse analysis, we must pay attention to all these elements and to the mutual relations between them, in order to define the meaning and intention of the text and identify the moral hierarchy and the preferable behaviors expressed in it.

The model of extracting political subconscious is based on the dialectics between the superstructure of the text and the fundamental motivations hidden in it. Here we claim that the unconscious subtext is more important than the visible text, which sometimes refutes it. Thus, in interpreting the text we must extract the unexpressed meanings from the expressed ones; the expressed meanings are incomplete and sometimes refute the meanings hidden in the subtext (Jameson, 1981).

Five articles were chosen out of the four newspapers used in the sample. To avoid comparison and enable a qualitative analysis, the articles were chosen randomly. The first article was published in *Kul Al-Arab* on March 25th, 2011, with the headline reading “The Nakba causes the Knesset to enact a law which will prohibit the Arab citizens to have commemorating ceremonies” (appendix 3). The article presents the Nakba Law enacted by the Israeli parliament which grants the Minister of Finance the authority to reduce budgets of organizations supported by the state if they perform any activity to commemorate the Nakba, claiming that mourning ceremonies on the Nakba day, Israel’s independence day, pose a threat to the state’s security and fundamentals. After citing the numbers of supporting and opposing parliament members in the vote, the article contains quotes of various Arab parliament members who spoke in the parliament during the deliberations on the law and the response of the head of the Follow-Up committee on Arab Education. The article was published on a full page spread and it contains 900 words, 800 of which are quotes of the five parliament members whose photos appear in the article.

The quotes of the parliament members and of the head of the Follow-Up Committee clearly show that the newspaper considers them to be the relevant figures to comment on such a subject. This law has major implications on education, and especially on the schools within the Arab society, which are the focus of the Follow-Up Committee on Arab Education. Yet before we begin analyzing the contents of the article, we must pay attention to its structure, which in itself sends a message and has political implications. All the Arab parties and political movements of the parliament were represented in the article, in an attempt to appease all parties and avoid offending anyone. There was also an attempt to give an equal number of words to each speaker,

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yet the first quoted was the female parliament member Haneen Zoabi, a decision which reflects sophistication and respect for her as a woman.

As for the content of the article, there's no doubt that the newspaper's editors agree with the Arab parliament members in their attack against the Nakba Law, and the article enables them to express their dissatisfaction with the it. The editor's point of view is further emphasized by the subtitle, which is printed on a red background and reads: "penalty for feelings and fear of historical narrative." The subtitle puts the headline in a specific context and emphasizes the fact that the Nakba Law refutes human rights principles, especially the right to express feelings and the right for identity. The subtitle also uses the term "historical narrative" as an important factor, one which the parliament tries to limit by denying its legitimacy as an integral part of the Arab-Palestinian existence. The article shows that the enactment of the law is in fact a continuance of the Nakba, which started in 1948 and continue to this day. The connection between the historical awareness and the patriotic feelings confirms the crucial role of the Nakba as a part of the identity of the Palestinian society, which is in direct conflict with the Israeli political institution. The subtitle also hints that the parliament legislative activity cannot be seen as part of a democratic process, especially when the Israeli parliament undermines the Palestinian existence and the extent of its consciousness and self awareness. In addition, the subtitle suggests that this legislative process reflects fear and lack of self-confidence rather than the power of the legislator. By differentiating the Nakba from its commemoration, the subtitle consolidates the position of the Nakba as a part of the historical self awareness of the Palestinian people. According to the newspaper presentation, the Israeli parliament attacked the commemorating ceremonies of the Nakba, and not the Nakba itself, which is a much stronger concept that cannot be easily erased from the historical awareness by the parliament.

When examining the order of the parliament members quotes, we discovered that the choice of Haneen Zoabi as the first speaker was not random, and her being a woman was only one of the reasons for it. The analysis of the text suggests a direct and meaningful link between the subtitle and Zoabi's words: "We are creating a law that legitimizes governmental intervention

in feelings, thoughts and believes of citizens... The law proves that the state sees the history, its own history, as the biggest strategic threat against itself. In addition to punishing feelings, the law exposes the parliament's fear of the truth and the Palestinian memory, which proves that this is indeed the historical truth, and not just a Palestinian narrative." These words by Haneen Zoabi vary in nature when compared to the sayings of other parliament members, and they definitely were the key inspiration for the article's title. The article points to the important distinction between the Nakba as a challenge the Palestinians face daily since 1948 and the common view of the Nakba as a historical event which was over in 1948.

The claims in the title concerning the continuance of the Nakba and the delegitimacy of the legislative activity of the Israeli parliament undermine the legitimacy of the Israeli parliament as a fair and just legislator for the Palestinian minority. Although the parliament members can have their say and express their opinions as part of the legislative process, their voices are not really heard and have no impact. According to the political subtext in the titles and in the article itself they are nothing but empty words. This point of view can lead to a comparison of the terminology used by the different parliament members, which talked about the connection between the enactment of the Nakba Law and the Jewish experience in the Nazi period. Mohammad Barakeh and Ahmad Tibi both talked about this connection, referring to the historical memory of the Jewish people to explain the gravity of the current legislative activity in Israel.

The mentioning of Jewish history was meant to send a humanitarian warning message against the dangers of the Nakba Law enactment. Barakeh and Tibi pointed to similarities between the situation of the Palestinians in Israel today and the Jewish fate in the Nazi period, albeit the differences between the two. This reference and comparison may be viewed as acceptable by the Arab society, by some of the Israeli liberal organizations and in international forums. Yet, since it was not intended to alert parliament members of the Jewish Zionist parties, it lost its impact and instigated antagonism instead. The Jewish parliament members controlling the legislation process saw this comparison as defamation; an insult to the Jewish feelings and a degradation of their history.

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One of the major issues of the article is the issue of the deportation, a central element of the Palestinian collective memory, which gives the Nakba its main meaning. When the parliament member Barakeh says: “your laws won’t dismiss the crime of the Nakba in 1948, of which I am one of the victims,” he demonstrates the link between what happened in 1948 and Israel of the present. The main goal of the political establishment is to wipe the Palestinian memory of the historical crime executed by the Zionist movements during the establishment of Israel, a crime for which Palestinians today still pay the price. There is also a clear link between the denunciation of the deportation and the ideological view which is the source for the Citizenship Law, a law based on racism and hatred which recall events from the Jewish history. “These are cowards’ laws, of people who cannot meet the challenge of the Palestinians’ right to be rooted in their homeland and live on their lands, and they also challenge the Palestinian narrative which exposes the fictional myth and of the “moral army”, says parliament member Masud Ghanayim. His words reflect the gap between the current legal situation in Israel and basic human rights, which are violated and undermined every day.

The quotes by the Arab parliament members describe a historical and political situation which is based on inequality and undermining of basic human rights principles. Yet, there is no use of human rights terminology to emphasize, directly and clearly, the historical framework of the deprivation of the Palestinian people of their rights, and the legislative activity aimed towards reducing their presence. The articles content are associated with human rights terminology, but not in a direct way and not by direct phrasing of human rights conventions, a fact which has to do with the victim psychology. Although the text recognizes the position of the victim, this position remains limited and is only a reaction against the unjust situation. The reference to the historical injustices towards the Jews does a bad service to the rebuttal against the racist legislative activity in Israel, since the victim consciousness, which is embedded in the Israeli mind, perceives any reference to its history as a reminder of its need to defend itself at all cost, especially when the speakers are those forming a constant reminder of the oppression caused by the Zionist movement since its early days.

Towards the end of the article we see a use of human rights terminology,

in the report on the intention of Adalah Center to submit an appeal against the enactment of the law under the pretext of endangering the principle of equality, depriving the Palestinian citizens' right to preserve their history and culture and contradicting the freedom of speech, which is considered one of the most important constitutional principles in international conventions signed by Israel. This reference of human rights terminology puts the whole article in a human rights context; yet, compared to the size of the article and the number of quoted speakers, it remains marginal.

This coverage type shows that the press feels deeply about injustices and the violation of Palestinians' rights, but there is no direct and explicit use of human right terminology throughout the article. This analysis does not diminish the importance of the article itself, which allows a group of Arab leaders to express their point of view on the difficult situation of the Palestinian people. Yet the lack of basic human rights terminology prevents the article from stirring a momentum and limits its power to repeating arguments of the Arab parliament members, important as they may be. The article doesn't express a clearly defined human rights point of view which could serve as a basic reference point for explaining the situation of the Palestinians in Israel in the general context of international agreements and conventions. These conventions legitimize the rights of the minority, and the mere mentioning of them could give the Arab readers some much needed information to support their position against the injustices and the attempts to eliminate their existence and attack their presence. It seems that the Arab public needs a professional terminology for self-defense mechanisms more than repetitive arguments by the leadership at every occasion. The arguments in the quotes are mostly similar. It seems that the editors wanted to avoid partisan sensitivities; otherwise, why would they quote five parliament members? They could have added comments on the laws or excerpts from international conventions which would have established human rights terminology and could educate the public about it. There's no doubt the political discourse is given precedent over the professional discourse.

The second article was published in *Panorama* on March 4th 2011, under the headline: "Injuries and fighting during the demolition of mobile houses foundations of Abu Eid family in Lod" (appendix 4). The article contains

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206 words and its size is 23 cm², while the picture under it is sized 6 cm². Out of the total 206 words, 148 words are citation of the official reports by the spokesman of Lod city council and the spokeswoman for the police. Only 46 words are dedicated to describing the incident and 29 words are the testimonies of eye witnesses. This division comes to show the essence of the article, which is devoted mainly to the comments of those who perform a major violation of a basic human right - the right to adequate housing, which is considered one of the most important rights by international standards. The article doesn't contain any background on the incident, nor does it describe the act itself. There is also no comment by any of the family members who had their house demolished. Instead, the article brings the comments of the official sources who provide legitimacy for the violation of a basic human right of a Palestinian family in a city which holds long standing oppressive policies in an attempt to reduce the Arab presence in it. The article's structure points towards a problematic stance of the newspaper's editors, who avoid adding a human rights element to the news, either by enabling one of the family members to explain the actions taken by the family or by describing the unjust authoritarian policies against the Arab citizens in Lod. The subtext of the article is deeper and more important than the obvious content itself. By ignoring the voices of the afflicted family, the newspaper legitimizes the act, which is perceived as a legal act authorized by the law under considerations of the public interest. In addition, the people responsible for the houses demolition are humanized by reporting their comments, calling the family to stop breaking the law.

The article include no references to similar incidents in the same city, disconnecting the article of its historical background. There is also no mentioning of the ethnical division and the symbolic status of the city. Lod was oppressed since 1948, and still endures the same dehumanizing policies today. The article ignores the city's iconic status and the historical process, yet allows the official authorities spokesmen to express their views on the incident. There is no use of human rights terminology, even though the mere mentioning of houses demolitions revokes the Palestinian memory and brings back the continuous suffering of many families which are still struggling to realize their basic human rights. One cannot ignore the vague terminology and the fact that the identity of the "injured" in the title was

not defined. The article ignores the unequal power of the city council, the police and the afflicted family. This fact is demonstrated in the comments of the official spokesmen, who talks about criminal activity and breaking the law, and not only with regards to the building of foundations for mobile houses. They accuse the family members of using force and protesting, thus forcing the police to side with the city. The city's action must be explained in the general context of ongoing houses demolitions all over the country, a context which is completely ignored in the article. There is also no use of human rights terminology, which could explain why the law is not justice and riotous policy, but rather oppression against the institutionalization of the principle of equality within the law and outside of it.

The picture sends a similar message to that of the article by showing the family confronting the police as equal forces, even though at the side of the picture we can see the police attacking other family members, but only their legs appear in the picture. This might have been the best available picture, though it still contributes to the reducing the injustice by creating the allusion of equal forces, much like the content itself.

The third article was published in *A-Sinnara* on July 7th, 2011 under the title: "We've dealt with this issue before and we'll do it again" (appendix 5). The title is a quote of Nazareth's mayor, Ramiz Jaraisy, from an interview conducted with him after the appointment of a ministerial committee by the Israeli government to approve a unified list of the names of cities, junctions, roads and historical sites in the country. The title refers to the constant battle of the Palestinian society and its leaders against the attempts to violate their rights by finding Hebrew and Jewish versions for every geographical name (Benvenisti, 2000). The title reflects self-confidence, even though it refers to a responsive act. Although the title is a quotes of an Arab leader, when it comes to the relations between the Arab minority and the state, the article sticks to the common coverage type, which refers to responsive acts as the principle acts made by the Arab leadership. The main role here is played by the state, which challenges the situation and plans to change it and serve its national Jewish interests while imposing alienation and estrangement on the Palestinian population as a whole. The subtitle consists of quotes by civilian leaders from two major and important Arab cities: Jaffa and Acre.

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Nadia Hilo, a former parliament member, says: “We won’t change ‘Yaffa’ [the Arabic name] into ‘Yafo’ [the Hebrew name]” and Ahmad Odeh, a member of Acre city council, says: “They change the names so they can feel at home.” Both quotes are somewhat problematic, not just because they refer to response alone, but also because they reflect a limited power, which in reality is unable to oppose the policy of name changing. Even though it seems it was invented yesterday, the name changing policy is not a new one. Most of the Arab names have already been transformed to Hebrew names, including the names of all the major junctions and historical sites. By quoting the reactions of Arab leaders, the editors create the impression that this policy is a recent development. Prior to the decision of Israel Katz, Minister of Transportation, the government has tried to erase the memory of the Arab villages, ruined in 1948-9, and to change the landmarks and topography to fit the Zionist worldview. By ignoring this background, the article remains partial and disconnected from its context, even though the quotes in the article demonstrate the importance of the Arab cities names as a part of history and the identity, which cannot be compromised. The mere inclusion of the issue in the media agenda is in itself a major statement; yet, as we can see in the subtitle, the terminology remains vague. Another quote says: “we recognize the intentions in this issue, and strongly oppose any attempt to change the historical Arab names of cities and sights. We will use any available mean, including appeals to the Supreme Court for Justice, international institutions like UNESCO, and local and international human rights organizations.” This quote reflects reliance on external sources to help the Arab public, the principle group suffering from the government policies, instead of calling a civil movement to fight these policies. The article doesn’t challenge the leaders’ reliance on external forces, a tactic which was proven futile decades ago.

Nadia Hilo adds: “We must take operational steps to oppose this plan. We must send a letter to the city council of Tel-Aviv Jaffa, protesting against this plan and demanding that the names stay as they are. I believe we will find support there. If there are no results, we’ll have to take other necessary steps, like demonstrations and so on.” This quote reflects a tendency to wait rather than act directly and initiatively, as well as the subconscious naivety of the Arab leaders, who hang hopes on external forces, even when they are

the same ones responsible for the names changing policy, like the Minister of Transportation or the Israeli Supreme Court, which have been authorizing policies which violate the rights of the Palestinian population for many decades and denying the Palestinians' right to belong to the land and its history. The quote of Odeh in the subtitle points to the racist nature of the policy and to the fact that the initiators of the plans do not belong to the land, yet his claim remains lacking, since it's a psychological theoretical analysis which is not based on human rights terminology. Furthermore, the claim that the government cannot change names is nothing but a fantasy, since it has already changed many names without any of the above mentioned reactions. The use of general and naïve terminology, and the disregard of reality and existing policies, undermines the gravity of the issue. A few researches were conducted on the subject of Judaization and Hebraization policies of names, such as the research conducted by Noga Kadman (2008) concerning the destruction of the villages and the erasing of their memory, and the research conducted by Miron Benvenisti (2000) concerning the Hebrew map. According to these researches, the publication of the names changing policy in this day and age is nothing but an epilogue to many decades of the same policy. This decision ignores the past and creates the false impression that Israel Katz, the Minister of Transportation, is the pioneer in this field. The article focuses on the present, ignoring the past and its meanings. This bleaching of the past, as well as the quotes by Arab leaders who are supposedly the most informed members of society, reflect a state of dominance which is not challenged by the article. The power relations between the state and the Palestinian society in Israel is reflected not only in repression, aggression, house demolition and political detentions, but also in creating a dominant discourse which establishes and legitimizes reality, turning it into the only recognized option and limiting the individuals' freedoms. The essential need for freedom of speech is confirmed whenever it's absent, as we can see in Jaraisy's threats to appeal to the High Court or in Hilo's threat to write a letter to the Minister of Transportation, as if compassion will encourage them to do what they didn't do out of sense of justice and commitment to basic human rights principles, like the right for identity and memory.

“I appealed again to a human rights organization to examine the implications

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of the above mentioned government decision and take the necessary steps.” This quote by Jaraisy doesn’t specify the name of the organization, and is vague, like other opinions in this article. Jaraisy’s words expose the continuing unwillingness to fight governmental policies, especially if we remember that he is the head of the Committee of the Heads of Local Arab Councils in Israel, which may be the strongest representational body of the Palestinians in Israel. The article never doubts the opinions of the leaders cited in it; no one asks them whether or not their proposed strategies are effective in evading the danger they recognize; there’s no investigation into the nature of the human rights organization which was approached and no questions asked with regards to the effectiveness of legal activity in this case. There is no reference in the article to the basic human rights of the Arab citizens; if the human right terminology would have been used, these rights could have been presented not just as based on the Israeli law, but also on the international law, which binds Israel as well. The many questions that remain unanswered and the lack of human rights terminology leave the article lacking, albeit the importance of the issue itself.

The fourth article was published in *Hadith A-Nas* on July 7th 2011 under the title: “Ministerial committee to change names of cities, streets and junctions into Hebrew” (appendix 6). Like the previous article, this article also revolves around the ministerial committee appointed to produce a plan for changing names of cities, streets, junctions and historical sites into Hebrew. In addition to the description of the subject, the article refers to the governmental statement regarding the establishment of the ministerial committee and to the linguistic structure of the letter sent by Ramiz Jaraisy, the head of the Committee of Heads of Local Arab Councils in Israel, to the advocate Hasan Jabareen, the Director of Adalah: Legal Center for the Rights of the Arab Minority. The accounted facts confirm the importance of the opposition to the governmental policy, yet the main piece of information concerns the possibility of a cooperation between the Heads’ Committee and Adalah. The article links the negotiations of 2011 with previous attempts to the same extent made during 2009 which, according to the article, had failed eventually. The article claims that the cooperation between the two was considered a success in 2009, without giving any explanation or reason for the changed perspective today. Likewise, there is no mention of the fact

that the Heads' Committee and Adalah were unable to remove this issue completely off the agenda of the various Israeli governments. The narrative styling of the article ignores the possibility that the work of the Heads' Committee and Adalah in 2009 was not sufficient for solving the problem, and in this context, the description of the proposed name changes of sites is nothing but a distraction, pulling away attention from the roles played by the Arab leaders and organizations. The article meticulously specifies the proposed names for cities, streets, junctions and historical sites, as a reflection of the governments' political inclination and Zionist stance. It also points to the important connection between the names changing and the historical narrative and consciousness of the land. Attempting to arouse aggression towards the proposed changes, the article uses examples related to specific cities and geographic location, and therefore has a bigger impact with the masses; the use of these specific examples fills the readers' minds with rage, encouraging them to move against the governmental policy.

Yet, the article lacks any reference to previous related governmental policies. The names changing policy is not a new one; its resurrection is nothing but an attempt to erase history, turning it into an integral part of the dominant knowledge system in Israel, which includes the Arab citizens as well as the Jews. By limiting the discussion to the current situation, the article omits an important aspect of the subject. The major uproar regarding the establishment of the ministerial committee creates the impression that the issue has already been handled, and that its absence from the media agenda proves its lack of political impact; an impression which was proven inaccurate by the uproar over the same issue in 2009. On the bright side, there are no quotes of Arab leaders in the article, apart from the mentioned names of Jaraisy and Hasan Jabareen. Thus, instead of obsessing over equal representation or printing empty and vague bragging which doesn't suggest a plan or strategy to deal with the situation, the article enables a deeper analysis of the information.

By opening the article with information about the letter sent by Jaraisy to Adalah, the article suggests that there are leading institutions which carry full responsibility for the future of the Palestinians in Israel. The article names a leading human rights organization in the Arab society, but there

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is no direct and clear use of human rights terminology. The governmental policy is described as a violation of basic human rights which contradicts international conventions and agreements, but the reaction by the Arab institutions is not phrased in human rights terms. Instead of using human rights terminology for criticism, by pointing to the steps which were taken by Adalah Center in 2009 or 2011, the reference to the governments' statement and the comments on Israel Katz's words are reported as news.

The fifth article was titled "A high school student stormed into the New Elementary School in Kfar Kara and attacked a student", and was published in *Panorama* on May 6th 2011 (appendix 7). The incident reported was an attack of a minor by an adult. In addition to the official comments by the Ministry of Culture and Education, the story was also described from the point of view of the attacked child's father and school principal. The article brings the father's version of the course of events: an adult student attacked a fifth grader who was hospitalized with injuries to his back and to his abdomen. The article is comprised of 290 words which are divided between the head title and the subtitle (50 words) and between the three speakers: the father of the injured child (110 words), the school principle (50 words) and the official spokesman for the Ministry of Culture of Education (80 words).

Two pictures are placed in the article, adding to the descriptive language of the reporter: the injured child lying in the hospital and a smaller picture of his father. There are no comments made by the attacked student or by his attacker. The fact that the only testimonial references are of the father and the school principal, disregarding the testimonies of the student involved, points towards a familiar way of social thinking, one which ignores children and women. This way of thinking is based on the patriarchal family structure, giving the father sole responsibility for the family while completely ignoring the mother. There is a reference to the human right violated in the incident, yet without reference to the human rights principles related to the issue. Since the article has no reference to other violent incidents in the past, the article is also detached from the general background of the spreading violence (as abovementioned). Interesting to note that the same newspaper edition include other, non-related, reports of violence and danger to personal safety. If these articles were all printed in the same section,

it would probably help draw the public's attention to the dangers of the general spreading violence; when printed so far apart, the separated cases can be viewed as sporadic incidents.

The missing testimonies are even more conspicuous when considering the fact that while the father's testimony spread over 110 words, almost half of the article (130 words) is dedicated to comments by official sources: the school principle and the Ministry's spokesman. The structure suggests that the article gives more importance to official sources' response rather than to the incident itself. The school principle and the Ministry's spokesman both condoned the incident; yet, by pointing to the police as responsible, they avoid its personal and social implications. They also ignore all their social, educational or ethical roles. In addition, the descriptive and criminal terminology of the article ignores the human rights and human aspects of the incident.

According to the analysis of the content and context of this article, we can see that the coverage of human rights issues, political or social, is similar in most cases.

Conclusions

1. Assuming that the human rights discourse can be considered a measurement of the self-proclaimed commitment of the Arab private press to the society's interests, the newspapers included in the sample didn't score so high. The general atmosphere in most of the articles is supportive of human rights, yet they express no direct emphasis, active opinions or constructive initiatives made by the newspapers to transform this atmosphere into a general human rights philosophy, aiming towards educating the public, establishing awareness to the violations of basic human rights and encouraging the protection of these rights, turning them into a moral and behavioral compass for society. In addition, the newspapers have no policy aimed towards educating the public with regards to human rights issues by pointing to the connections between various human rights articles or by citing the principles phrased in international conventions and organizations.
2. We also saw that according to the newspapers' view, the mere mentioning of human rights contents is considered to be a sufficient expression of their support, hence they have no need to actively clarify their views. The journalists writing the articles never express opposition to human rights issues, yet they seem to be satisfied with playing a passive role in the process of human rights education and letting the readers figure out on their own the connections between the news content and the human rights issues.
3. We found a difference between the attention given to collective rights versus the attention given to individual rights, sanctioned by the social

structure and the communal traditions and costumes. Individual rights aren't promoted enough. Articles dealing with individual human rights, such as violent incidents, are presented in criminal or social terms, rather than in human rights terms.

4. According to the data collected, the issue of violence seems to occupy a large space in the media agenda. This is a testimony to the growing manifestation of violence in Arab society which results in violations of the rights of specific social groups and mainly of women. Yet there is no special attention given to the connection between human rights issues and the violence described in these cases.
5. Specific groups in society - such as women, children and house demolition victims - endure greater violations of their human rights, yet the majority of human rights related articles tend to discuss the rights of the society as a whole. This preference points to the existence of a collective social framework, in this case the Palestinian minority in Israel, which enables the emergence of a special collective identity, but at the same time creates a general and somewhat vague human rights discourse and therefore reduces its importance. The reference to the identity of specific group raises awareness to the fact that there is no use talking about the society as a homogeneous body when discussing human rights issues, and that pointing out the rights of specific groups which affect others or are affected by them is much better.
6. The quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data suggests that there is no special attention given to human rights content. There is no defined human rights policy, and these issues are reported like any other issue.
7. It seems that the media has no historical memory of human rights contents and should be encouraged to recount historical events or specific people related to the human rights contents of the news.
8. We found that the most prominent human rights in the media agenda are the ones related to the collective social rights of the Arab Palestinians in Israel. In the context of the spreading violence in the Arab society, the right for personal safety and the right for security and Wellbeing are

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the most prominent, while the freedom of speech, the right for equality and the right to adequate housing are the most prominent in the Israeli political context, as a result of its systematic and intended violation of basic human rights of the Arab minority.

9. Most of the human rights articles relate to one human right only, without mentioning the general human rights paradigm.
10. The data suggests that journalists are not yet versed in human rights discourse and principles, and therefore cannot use their knowledge to enhance the importance of the issue in their reports.
11. The data suggests that there are no powerful agents promoting stronger visibility of human rights issues. We might say that the human rights organizations in Arab society have no clear media strategy aimed towards penetrating the media discourse and enhancing the visibility of human rights discourse and terminology. Human rights organizations generate less than 3% of the news articles, and the percentage of articles generated by civil organizations and human rights organizations combined together reach less than 16%. When compared to official sources, which generate almost 25% of the articles, we can say that official sources have greater influence over the media, and that human rights organizations haven't been able to penetrate the media and create a balance in order to embed human rights terminology into the media discourse. Although human rights organizations are not solely responsible for the marginality of human rights discourse, we must draw their attention to the pressing need in developing a media strategy which can change the current situation and promote the importance of human rights in the media discourse and in the general public opinion.

Recommendations

1. Defining an editorial policy to highlight human rights issues, aimed towards promoting human rights education. Defining a clear and obligatory framework for the way in which human rights issues are reported in the news.
2. Linking human rights issues with the international organizations, conventions, principles and norms related to human right.
3. Linking news of human rights violations with strategies aimed to defend these rights, thus educating the public about tools with which to fight human rights violations.
4. Relating incidents of human rights violations to historical related events, thus emphasize the importance of the current situation.
5. Initiating journalistic investigations into human rights issues, especially those of specific groups in society.
6. Briefing Journalists on human rights issues to further their knowledge and enhance their commitment to the subject.

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Appendix 1

Politics and Government

1. Women in political power and decision-making (local, regional, national),
2. Women electoral candidates (local, regional, national),
3. Peace, negotiations, treaties...(local, regional, national),
4. Other domestic politics/government (local, regional, national), elections, speeches, the political process ...
5. Global partnerships (international trade and finance systems, e.g. WTO, IMF, World Bank, debt) ...
6. Foreign/international politics, relations with other countries, negotiations, treaties, UN peacekeeping ...
7. National defence, military spending, military training, military parades, internal security...
8. Other stories on politics and government (specify the subject in “Comments” section of coding sheet).

Economy

9. Economic policies, strategies, models (national, international) ...
10. Economic indicators, statistics, business, trade, stock markets ...
11. Economic crisis, state bailouts of companies, company takeovers and mergers...
12. Poverty, housing, social welfare, aid to those in need ...
13. Women’s participation in economic processes (informal work, paid employment, unemployment, unpaid labour).
14. Other labour issues, strikes, trade unions, negotiations, other employment and unemployment ...
15. Rural economy, agriculture, farming practices, agricultural policy, land rights...
16. Consumer issues, consumer protection, regulation, prices, consumer fraud...
17. Transport, traffic, roads ...

18. Other stories on the economy (specify the subject in “Comments” section of coding sheet).

Science and Health

- 19. Science, technology, research, funding, discoveries, developments...
- 20. Medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS)...
- 21. HIV and AIDS, incidence, policy, treatment, people affected...
- 22. Other epidemics, viruses, contagions, Influenza, BSE, SARS...
- 23. Birth control, fertility, sterilisation, amniocentesis, termination of pregnancy...
- 24. Environment, nature, pollution, global warming, ecology, tourism ...
- 25. Other stories on science or health (specify the subject in “Comments” section of coding sheet).

Social and Legal

- 26. Development issues, sustainability, community development...
- 27. Education, child care, nurseries, pre-school to university, adult education, literacy...
- 28. Family relations, inter-generational conflict, single parents...
- 29. Human rights, women’s rights, children’s rights, gay & lesbian rights, rights of minorities ..
- 30. Religion, culture, tradition, controversies, teachings, celebrations, practices...
- 31. Migration, refugees, asylum seekers, ethnic conflict, integration, racism, xenophobia...
- 32. Women’s movement, activism, events, demonstrations, gender equality advocacy...
- 33. Changing gender relations, roles and relationships of women and men inside and outside the home...
- 34. Family law, family codes, property law, inheritance law and rights ...
- 35. Legal system, judicial system, legislation (apart from family, property & inheritance law)...

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36. Other stories on social or legal issues (specify the subject in “Comments” section of coding sheet).

Crime and Violence

37. Non-violent crime, bribery, theft, drug-dealing, corruption, (including political corruption/malpractice)...

38. Violent crime, murder, abduction, kidnapping, assault, drug-related violence...

39. Gender-based violence, femicide, harassment, domestic violence, rape, trafficking, genital mutilation ...

40. Child abuse, sexual violence against children, trafficking, neglect.

41. War, civil war, terrorism, state-based violence ...

42. Riots, demonstrations, public disorder ...

43. Disaster, accident, famine, earthquake, flood, hurricane, plane crash, car crash...

44. Other stories on crime and violence (specify the subject in “Comments” section of coding sheet).

Celebrity, Arts and Media, Sports

45. Celebrity news, births, marriages, deaths, obituaries, famous people, royalty...

46. Arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books, dance ...

47. Media, including new media (computers, internet), portrayal of women and/or men, pornography ...

48. Beauty contests, models, fashion, beauty aids, cosmetic surgery...

49. Sports, events, players, facilities, training, policies, funding...

50. Other stories on celebrities, arts, media (specify the subject in “Comments” section of coding sheet).

The Girl-child

51. News about the girl child, including, cultural attitudes and practices impinging on girls, education, health, economic exploitation, violence (ONLY WHERE EMPHASIS IS ON THE GIRL CHILD)...

Appendix 2

List of Human Rights

(Encoding guide – based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) and Convention on the Rights of the Child

1. The right to dignity.
2. The right to life.
3. The right to a name.
4. The right to nationality/ citizenship.
5. The right to public service.
6. Freedom of the press.
7. The right to property.
8. The right to freedom of religion.
9. The right to language/speech/ expression.
10. The right to freedom of movement.
11. The right to equality.
12. The right to freedom of assembly and association.
13. The right to freedom of expression.
14. The right to adequate housing.
15. The right to adequate clothing.
16. The right to run for public office.
17. The right to freedom of information.
18. The right to rest and leisure.
19. The right to vote.
20. The right to freedom of conscience.
21. Other.
22. The right to just and favourable remuneration.
23. The right to a fair contract.
24. The right to habeas corpus and to a fair trial.
25. The right to the presumption of innocence.
26. The right to counsel.
27. The right to equality in law.
28. The right to privacy.
29. The right to intellectual property/copyright.
30. Right to personal security / not to be subjected to torture.
31. Other.
32. The right to write and publish freely.
33. The right to an education.
34. The right to family life.
35. The right to food.
36. The right to health.
37. The right to work.
38. The right to humane conditions

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of work.

39. The right to form and join a trade union.

40. The right to free and full consent in marriage and the right to dissolution of marriage.

41. The right to social justice.

42. The right to respect/ dignified life.

43. The right to free choice of employment.

44. Other.

45. The right to a collective identity.

46. The right to preserve cultural heritage and way of life.

47. The right to culture.

48. The right of asylum.

49. The right to self-determination.

50. The right of access to natural resources.

51. The right not to be displaced.

52. Other.

53. The right to life (Convention on the Rights of the Child - CRC).

54. The right to a name (CRC).

55. The right to live with parents or a family that cares (CRC).

56. The right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion (CRC).

57. The right to freedom of expression (CRC).

58. The right to know and think. (CRC).

59. The right to tutelage of parents (CRC).

60. The right to safety from physical or psychological violence (CRC).

61. The right to be cared for by the state (CRC).

62. The right of the disabled child to enjoy a full and decent life (CRC).

63. The right to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health (CRC).

64. The right to peace and enjoy life. (CRC).

65. The right to education (CRC).

66. The right to play and leisure (CRC).

67. The right to be protected from economic exploitation (CRC).

68. The right to be protected from harmful and toxic substances (CRC).

69. The right to be protected from sexual exploitation (CRC).

70. The right to be protected from the risk of violence and child trafficking (CRC).

71. The right to be protected from torture and the right to not be deprived of liberty unlawfully or

arbitrarily (CRC).

72. The right not to be protected from the effects of armed conflict (CRC).

73. The right to personal safety.

74. The right to security and wellbeing.

75. The right to not be held in

slavery or servitude.

76. The right not to be subjected to unlawful attacks on reputation (CRC).

77. (And 78) The right to receive prompt treatment before the courts or relevant authority when liberty deprived (CRC).

Appendix 3

25.3.2011

الجزيرة 12

عقابا للمشاعر وخوفا من الرواية التاريخية

الذكية تتواصل بتشريع الكنيست لقانون يحظر على

المواطنين العرب احياء الذكرى



القائبة حنين زعبي، النائب د. طيبي، د. هالة سبتيولي، النائب مسعود غانيم، النائب محمد بركة، النائب طلب الصانع

علنا، منه. ما يقول الاخامات من هذه القوانين... هل تكونون انكم بحاجة الى هذه القضية؟

وقام النائب طلب الصانع بتزيت قانون مشروع الذكبة من على منبر الكنيست، مؤكدا بان مسود مشروع هذا القانون هو من ذرية التاريخ واصل وجودنا هنا...

ما جرى في العام 1948. كان جريمة سلب ونهب وتهجير شعب من وطنه، واكثر من خمسمائة قرية وبلدة كانت تقع بالبحر الميت من وجه الارض...

مئات كل العرب المتاصرة kull@kull-arab.com اقرب الكنيست قانون الذكبة الذي ينص على منح صلاحية ابرزيز المأبأة...

وتنص على ان الذكبة هي جريمة الخطيئة التي ارتكبها الشعب الفلسطيني وروايته. لان من يصدر عن جف في الحزن على نكبتة هو لا يعترف بحقي في الوجود، ويريد السيطرة على برويك

وتنص على ان الذكبة هي جريمة الخطيئة التي ارتكبها الشعب الفلسطيني وروايته. لان من يصدر عن جف في الحزن على نكبتة هو لا يعترف بحقي في الوجود، ويريد السيطرة على برويك

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زعيبي الذكبة جزء من التاريخ الفلسطيني وجزء من تاريخ اليهود في البلاد

بركة قوانينكم لن تصحو جريمة الذكبة عام 48 واتحاد ضحاياها

اسبانولي لا شرعية للقوانين الفاشية وسفواصل احياء ذكرى الذكبة

الصانع يقوم بتزيت مشروع قانون الذكبة من على منصة الكنيست

الطبيي انكم بحاجة الى عربي ليذكركم بتاريخكم من على هذه المنصة!! ماذا ستفعلون لاحقا بكل هذه الكراهة

ان طردتمونا اقصيتمونا؟

غانيم هذه القوانين مكانها مزابل التاريخ ولن تخفينا عن احياء ذكرى الذكبة والتمسك بحقنا وروايتنا

عدالة قانون الذكبة مسن بالمساواة وحق المواطنين العرب بالحفاظ على تاريخهم

Appendix 4

٢٠١١/٣/٤

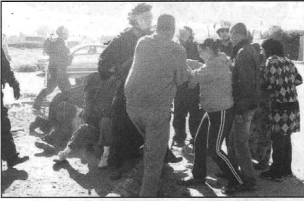
بغداد 32

اصابات ومواجهات خلال هدم اساسات لبيوت متنقلة لعائلة أبو عيد في الـد

العائلة بدأت ببناء اساسات من اجل وضع البيوت المتنقلة ، وهذا الامر غير قانوني ، والم عائلة كانت تعلم ان الاساسات الجديدة ستكون مدمرة ، وهذا ما حصل بصياغة الشرطة ، الا ان بعض افراد العائلة قاموا باستعمال القوة مما دفع الشرطة للتدخل معهم بحسب ما ينص عليه القانون بهذه الحالات .

تعقيب الناطقة بلسان الشرطة

من جانبها ، عثت الناطقة بلسان شرطة اسرائيل للاعلام العربي أبو اسمرعي على اهل الموضع ، قائلة : " لقد قامت قوات من الشرطة بمساعدة بلدية الـد بتفجير أمر عدم اطلاق ابناء غير قانوني ، وخلال ايام الهدم كانت هناك محاولات لاختلال النظام ومع تنفيذ أعمال الهدم على يد بعض الأشخاص الذين قاموا باضمار بعض الخبث ، لقد تم اعتقاله وأجتمعت الشرطة مع مشيخين بشيعة الاخوان النظام ، وتم اتيانهم للتحقيق في مركز شرطة الـد ، أما بالنسبة لكل ابناء من استعمل القوة للعائلة في غير الشرطة ، فسيتم التوجه للمحاكم المختصة ولتحص كل هذه الاعمال "



خلال المواجهات بين السكان والفراد الشرطة

الـد على الموضع ، فتلا : " رئيس البلدية مكي بن شمشان اجمع بممثل العائلة وممثل وزارة الاسكان من اجل ايجاد حل للعائلة ، وتم الاتفاق على ان لا يبنى اي شيء في المنطقة ، وتابع هاروش فتلا : " بالرغم من هذا الاتفاق ، لان

من حسين العبيدة مراسل صحيفة بانوراما
وعقد ضد اول الابناء ، ومواجهات عديدة ، فتمعت من الشرطة وانها عائلة أبو عيد في مدينة الـد وذلك خلال مراقبة الشرطة لتفادي من البنية الذي وصل للتفكيك لتتبع تدبير الاساسات الجديدة فكانت تكتوي جمعة السكان فيها ، بعد ان هدمت واجتمع بيوت العائلة في الشهر . ولكن شهود عيان المرسل صحيفة بانوراما ، ان الشرطة استخدمت القوة ضد ابناء العائلة وتو اعطال عدة الأشخاص ، فيما وصلت الامكان الطواق الجوية التي قدمت للاسكان ارضية للمصالحين ، وتم تقديم مبيدات الاسعاف الى المشتفي لتلقي العلاج .

تعقيب بلدية الـد حول الـدم

من ناحية ، عقب بوراد من هاروش بالنسبة لما نقلت عليه

اعتقال 4 أشخاص من وادي عارة والحبس بشبهة تزويج المخدرات

خلال حملة واسعة لمحاربة تجار مخروحي المخدرات ، قام رجال وحدة الـدم ، خلال ايام الاحد ، بمسح واسعة في وادي عارة واقتلت خلالها 4 أشخاص بشبهة تزويج المخدرات في مركز زحفنا البلاد . وجاء في بيان الشرطة : " خلال المسح للسليل ان اربعة المشتبهين الابناء وهم : شهاب وفاتة تراجيح بن ٢٠ - ٤٠ عام ، عدنان الـد من سكان جنوبي حيفا ، صلاح أسما الشهابين فهم من سكان وادي عارة ، وجغجات أبو ايجا ، شهاب ٢٠ - ٢٥ سنوات ، وخلال تنفيذ لهدم السيارات في حيد ٢٠٠ ثانيا ، من المخدرات في نوع مشتبه بوزن وصل الى ٢٥ كغم بقيمة ٥٠٠ ألف شيقل ، وحفظت الشرطة من المحكمة تمديد اعتقال المشتبهين "

إصابة شاب بطلق الرصاص في حي البرج في طاعمر

من حادثة اصابة حارس صحيفة بانوراما تمديد الشرطة التحقيق بتفاصيل حادثة الاطلاق ، مما ادى الى اصابة شاب في الممرات من عمر ٢٠ ، وقد خرجت الى المكان صباح الاحد حيث تم تبليغ الملاحق بالاطلاق الرصاص ، ومن ثم تم نقله الى مستشفى للدراسة في حي لامتاج العراج .
ثلاثة اخبار وجوارث على موقع الصحافة الدولية في الانترنت :
www.panc.co.il

الإجراج عن أمين عام حركة أبناء البلد محمد كناعنة بعد التحقيق معه بشرطة صفاف

التحقيق جاء بناء على شبهة تهديد كناعنة لمتدربين يهود بعد ان قصودوا قربة عربية لزيارة قبور فيها • كناعنة : " الاساليب المظلمة التي تنتهج في أسوأ الديكتاتوريات في العالم لا تخيفني ولا ترهبنني "



محمد كناعنة

بعد جلسة من الاستفسارات ، كما رفضت التصريح للفصح النشوي ، فتمت تضييق من جهاز اراضي استخباراتي بوروش التعامل معنا باحترام ، بل يتبع اسلوب التوبيخ والاربع والتزجيم ، والتوبيخ وهذا ما رفضت التصريح له والانسابل السلطة التي تنتهج في أسوأ الديكتاتوريات في العالم لا تخيفني ولا ترهبنني .

تعقيب قائد شرطة صفاف

من جانبه ، عقب عوفر وشرر قائد شرطة صفاف على " موضوع التحقيق لم يكن حول مفوض خضير ، وكنا سنحكي سبيل كناعنة غير ان رفض التصوير والمساح بأخذ بصمات بيده ، وفيه لاننا لم نشاء الاستمات

من حادثة اصابة حارس صحيفة بانوراما
اجرت تحت مسكاف صباح امس الخميس من محمد اسعد كناعنة الأمين العام لحركة أبناء البلد ، وذلك اثر اعتقاله قبل اقل من يوم واحد ، بعد رفض التصريح للفصح النشوي (DNR) ، بشأن ان حركة صفاف كانت قد بصمات حسب طلب الشرطة وسوردها كما هو متبع مع المشتبهين الجائزين في حركة اسرائيل ، وكان كناعنة قد استشهدى التحقيق معه في شرطة صفاف ، فوجه تحقيقه بتهديد يهود في " الـد الشمالي ، بعد ان قصودوا قربة عربية لزيارة قبور في القرية " ، وفي حديث صحفي صفاف : " لم يكن من غير التحقيق بشكل استراتيجي ، بل كان من الاطلاق على التهديد بالاطلاق وهذا هو ما جعلني على الاطلاق ان ااعتقل ، فقد اقمست كلمة في المعتال رغم معرفة وضع الشرطة معه قربة هذا الاطلاق الذي لم يمتدحه على الاطلاق ، كما حصل بيدي ورفضت التوقيع على الوثي

عقد راية الصلح في الـد اثر مقتل علا أبو صيام في رهط

• يوسف أبو صيام ، والد المرحومة علا أبو صيام : " نأمل ان يكون هذا الصلح عبرة لكل الاجيال "



الصلح بعد الاحتفاء...

يشكل الترابوي واو بوج ان قدم جميع افراد العائلة ، وتامل ان تقوم جهة الصلح والسلمي ايضا للصلح في قديم القتل الابدية في رهط ، هذا وشانوال الشكرانيين بعقد راية الصلح خلف القدام بطلب الصلح .

رفعت صدى من الناصرة مديرا ليوحدة الكلد في هدا

تم مؤخرا اختيار البروفسور العربي من مدينة الناصرة ، رافع خالد صالدي ، مديرا ليوحدة الكلد في مستشفى هدا ، فادسا كما كان في القدس ، وجاء اختياره بعد ان عمل ككبير في الادارة العامة منذ سنوات ، وابتدأ حياته وجمعا باعرا في امكانياته المهنية في هذا المجال ، مما يستحقه الاعتراف في مستشفى ليوحدة الكلد في هدا ، ويستمع صالدي مهامه العظيمة التي المنصب في شهر اولي القادم ، حسب بيان ومستور المستشفى .



رافع خالد صالدي

إصابة خطيرة لسائق من رهط بعد تعرضه لتلماس كهربائي

من حسين العبيدة مراسل صحيفة بانوراما
علقت صحيفة بانوراما من مصابر الاعساف الكهناكفة الكهربائية نتيجة تلماس كهربائي من عدد ١٧٧ سوروكا في عصر الشكرائي للـد .

Appendix 5

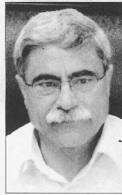
بعد تشكيل لجنة وزارية للتصديق على نص موحد لكتابة أسماء البلدات رئيس بلدية الناصرة رامي جرابسي لـ "الصنارة"

تصدينا لهذا الأمر بالسابق وستصدي له مجددا

- عضو الكنيست السابقة ناديا حلو لـ "الصنارة" لن تسمح بتحويل "يافا" الى "يافو"
- عضو بلدية عكا أحمد عودة لـ "الصنارة" يقومون بتغيير الأسماء كي يشعروا بالانتماء



أحمد عودة



رامي جرابسي



نادية حلو

ولا أسماء النباتات التي تثبت في أرضها.
وأضاف عودة "شفاعم الله من مرضهم العنصري ويكون جدا عنهم لأن وضعهم صعب جدا وكل ما يقومون به يؤكد أنهم غريب عن هذه البلاد لذلك يحاولون تغيير الأسماء عليهم يخبرون بالانتشاء أكثر لهذه البلاد لأنهم بدلتهم بدمون أنهم غريب، هل يمكن لأحد من يتحول في أي بقعة من هذه البلاد دون خريطة أو دليل بينما نحن العرب جميعا حتى الأجيال الجديدة تستطيع فعل ذلك دون أية خرافات.

تابعوا آخر الأخبار على موقع sonara.net "الصنارة نت"

هذه الخطوة ونظب عدم التغيير واتمنى أن نجد آتائاً صاغية وفي حال عدم التجارب سنبحت خطوات احتجاجية أخرى مثل مطاهرة أو أمور أخرى".
أما عضو بلدية عكا عن "الهبة" أحمد عودة فقال: "ليس لفظ إسرائيل بل الأمم المتحدة والجمعية العامة حتى لا يستطيعون أن يغيروا الأسماء، أسم مدينة عكا وسيفي كما مينا فعلا ونحن المقابل سنقوم برد فعل شعبي وجماعي لتثبيت تلك الأسماء العربية وليس كرك فعل بل بشكل دوري سنطلب برنامج ثابت لتذكير الجميع أن هذه الأبداء أسماءها كما تلك اسمها أيضا وغريبا وهكذا وأن هذه الحكومة لا تستطيع أن تغير هذه البلاد ولا جوما

السابقة ابنة مدينة يافا ناديا حلو لـ "الصنارة": "نحن نرفض هذا القرار رفضاً باتاً لأننا لن نسمح بأن يحوّلوا 'يافا' إلى 'يافو'".
وكانت لناديا حلو هذا الموضوع يوم الاثنين مع بعض الزملاء وعملي الأخر في المدينة لكيه التصدي مثل هذا المشروع فيأنتسبة لنا اسم يافا ليس فقط مجرد أحراف بل هذا يعتبر تغييراً متعلق وتاريخ وتراثنا لذلك نطالب مرفوض جملة وتصلباً وللمؤسسات اجتماع لجميع الأخر والمؤسسات اليافية وستشرح الموضوع".
وأضافت حلو: "يجب أن نبدا بخطوات عملية لناخضة هذا المشروع ويجب علينا أن نمث برسالة لسؤارة المواصلات وبلدية تل أبيب يافا ونتمتع على

ويتعتبر مدينة القدس هي الاساس في اقتراح كاتس والتي سوف تحول الى "يروشلايم" وسوف يتم كتابتها بالعربية والانجليزية والعبرية، وسيتم الغاء الكتابة بالعربية "اورشليم القدس" الى "يروشلايم" وكذلك JERUSALEM وسيتم كتابة بدلًا منها بالانجليزية YERUSHALAYIM وسيتشغل هذا التغيير العديد من المواقع مثل البحر الميت، طبريا وغيرها من المواقع والتي يبرها كاتس بالاختلاف في المعنى بين العربية والعبرية والانجليزية، واحيانا بعض الكلمات التي لا يوجد لها في معني كما حاول التوير في اسم البحر الميت، حيث

وتعتبر مدينة القدس هي الاساس في اقتراح كاتس والتي سوف تحول الى "يروشلايم" وسوف يتم كتابتها بالعربية والانجليزية والعبرية، وسيتم الغاء الكتابة بالعربية "اورشليم القدس" الى "يروشلايم" وكذلك JERUSALEM وسيتم كتابة بدلًا منها بالانجليزية YERUSHALAYIM وسيتشغل هذا التغيير العديد من المواقع مثل البحر الميت، طبريا وغيرها من المواقع والتي يبرها كاتس بالاختلاف في المعنى بين العربية والعبرية والانجليزية، واحيانا بعض الكلمات التي لا يوجد لها في معني كما حاول التوير في اسم البحر الميت، حيث

أمن ابو جبل
بعث الحكومة الإسرائيلية في جلستها الاسبوعية يوم الأحد هدفها التصديق على نص موحد لكتابة أسماء البلدات، مغارن الطرق والمواقع التاريخية في البلاد ومنها مناطق عربية. بعد اقتراحها من قبل لجنة الأسماء العام الماضي، التي شكلها وزير المواصلات يسرائيل كاتس، ويحسب ما نشر فإن هذا تحت مبرر وزير المواصلات بطوروة شرحة هذه الأسماء، بحيث سيتم تغيير الأسماء التي العبرية في الوقت الذي تشمل أسماء مختلفة عربية وانجليزية".



وأضاف جرابسي: "نحن نردك التوايالمبية في هذا الشأن وسيتم التصدي مجدداً لأية محاولة لتغيير الأسماء التاريخية للبلدات والمواقع العربية وبكل الوسائل، بما في ذلك التوجه المحكمة العدل العليا والمؤسسات الدولية ومنها اليونسكو ومؤسسات حقوق الإنسان المحلية والدولية".
وقال جرابسي: "توجد مجدداً المؤسسة حقوقية لدراسة أبعاد قرار الحكومة المذكور واتخاذ الإجراءات المترتبة عليه".
ومن جهتها قالت عضو الكنيست

Appendix 6

حديث الناس

هل تقدمم "عدالة" واقتضية اتماسا؟

لجنة وزارية لعبيرة أسماء البلديات والشوارع والمبارك



مستقبل الناس



رامن عزيزي

رامن عزيزي، وزير العدل، يشرح في مقابلة مع "عالم" كيفية تشكيل لجنة وزارية لتغيير أسماء الشوارع والبلدات والمبارك في فلسطين. اللجنة ستدرس اقتراحات المواطنين وتقدم توصياتها للحكومة. كما ناقش وزير العدل دور القضاء في حماية الحقوق الدستورية للمواطنين في اختيار أسماء الأماكن العامة.



رامن عزيزي، وزير العدل، يشرح في مقابلة مع "عالم" كيفية تشكيل لجنة وزارية لتغيير أسماء الشوارع والبلدات والمبارك في فلسطين.

انتقادات لتجارة إسرائيل بالجنات

لقد تم تجديد القرار بحرق 84 ممتلكة فلسطينية كبيرة سنوية في الضفة الغربية المحتلة. هذا القرار يثير انتقادات واسعة من المجتمع الفلسطيني والعربي. يُنظر إلى هذه الممتلكات على أنها جزء من التراث الثقافي والتاريخي للشعب الفلسطيني، والحرق يمثل انتهاكاً لحقوقه الأساسية.

حماص فتح
وكان من المفيد اننا لم نكن نعلم ان هذا هو حال ممتلكاتنا الفلسطينية التي تم حرقها في الضفة الغربية المحتلة. هذا القرار يثير غضباً واسعاً في صفوف الفلسطينيين.

تحضر غيب
القرار الإسرائيلي بالاحتفاظ بالجنات الموقرة في الضفة الغربية المحتلة يثير انتقادات واسعة من المجتمع الفلسطيني والعربي. هذا القرار يثير غضباً واسعاً في صفوف الفلسطينيين.

حسن نية
من بين أهدافه الرئيسية للقرار الإسرائيلي بالاحتفاظ بالجنات الموقرة في الضفة الغربية المحتلة هو تعزيز الحوار والتفاهل بين الجانبين. هذا القرار يثير انتقادات واسعة من المجتمع الفلسطيني والعربي.

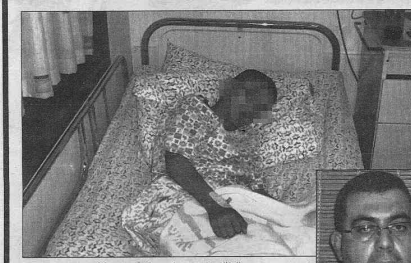
Appendix 7

٢٠١١/٥/٦

10 دياربدا

طالب مدرسة ثانوية يقتحم المدرسة الابتدائية المتحددة في كفرقرع ويعتدي على طالب فيها

● رياض عزيزي، والد الطالب المعتدى عليه : "أطالب المسؤولين والهيئة التدريسية ولجنة أولياء أمور الطلاب باتخاذ خطوات فورية لحماية الطلاب" ● الناطق بلسان وزارة المعارف : "وزارة التربية والتعليم تستنكر بشدة ما حدث وتأسف لوقوع هذا الحادث"



الطالب المعتدى عليه يبرق في المستشفى

مركز عائلة باتماس بالمحكمة العليا: "تطالب بالغاء" قانون النكبة"
● المحامية سوسن زهر: "هذا قانون ابيديولوجي يمس طمس هوية المواطنين العرب القومية وذاكرتهم الجماعية"
قدم مركز عائلة باتماس جمعة حقوق المواطنة، امين الاول الاعوام، التماساً مستعجلاً للمحكمة العليا بطلب إلغاء "قانون النكبة" وإلزام حكومة دولة فلسطين ببيان عمه حول الموضوع. ان القانون النكبة يمسح ابرز الاعمال التي تعرض المواطنين على تهديدات وتعدواها اليه. كالتكليس والجماعات المسلحة الخفية. انما قامت بتطبيق برنامج بشارتها الي "يوم الاستقلال" او يوم قيام دولة اسرائيل. كجور حداد، ان تقوم بتطبيق سياسات تطهير عرقي في دولة اسرائيل كجور يهودا وبنسور في دولة اسرائيل. وقيل عن حكومة في بلنيت ان "القانوني الذي يمسح كل من رابطة عرقيية كتيبة العربية الانزوكسية، التي تمسح العديد من المنظمات الجماهيرية التربوية في حين انكبة سوسنا منظمات حول النكبة وحول تعريف الدولة كتيبة".
● محاميات: التي تنظم الانشطة التربوية لتكري النكبة بسراويل و يوم الاستقلال، والتمسح الانكابي برافيسور ارون زورنر، مستشار من محكمة من جزيون، الذي اقدم بتوجيه التقد عريف الدولة الحالي، كجور يهودا وبنسور في دولة اسرائيل. عرابتها الانكابي، وايضا شارك مستشارا حقوق الانسان برونج الاتنابي سند، "قانون النكبة" العليا واما مركز عائلة باتماس حقوق المواطنة.

أخطر ما في القانون هو نصه الضبابي
أكد مدير مركز "عالم" ان قانون النكبة يمسح في عسلة القانون العرقي من اثنان وإلزام الدولة النكبة الانكابي، واضطر ما في القانون هو نصه الضبابي. فيمكن تعريف المواطنة على المؤسسة في حال تنفيذها لتفاهل تفكير إسرائيل. فكيف تكون النكبة الفلسطينية التي تفتت فيها يهودا وبنسور في دولة اسرائيل، وايضا ما في يوم النكبة، كما يرض القانون عن غرامات على المؤسسة التي تنتقد تعريف دولة

من عماد عابد من اسل صحيفة بانوراما
أدى رياض عزيزي من كفرقرع مدرسة مما أسماها "مدرسة المتحددة في كفر قرع، والاتجاه على انه الذي تعلم في الصف الخامس الابتدائي، واضاف عزيزي لمراسل صحيفة بانوراما قائلا: "في أعقاب هذا الحادث، اصعب اني يجوز نقل طلمي من مدرسة الصف الخامس الى الصف الرابع، حيث تعرض لتركيب خطفي بعد اصابته بعمية عموية عميقة في منطقة البطن الظهر، واستغرق عزيزي قناترا... هذا عمل جبان، لا سيما ان الحادث يهود من طائفة الصف الخامس، وانا اطلب المسؤولين والهيئة التدريسية ولجنة اولياء أمور الطلاب اتخاذ خطوات فورية لحماية الطلاب" واضاف عزيزي
الناطق بلسان وزارة المعارف، عقب المناقش بلسان وزارة