

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Description of Research Data

1. History of the Palestine-Israel Conflict

The conflict between Palestine and Israel is one of the most complex and protracted in modern history. Dating back to the late 19th century, it has involved various political, social and religious elements, and has had a significant impact on the geopolitical map of the Middle East. The conflict is not just a territorial dispute, but also a struggle for identity, national aspirations and the right to self-determination.

The different views and interests between the two sides have created episodes of tension and violence, from the Ottoman rule, the British mandate, to the establishment of the state of Israel and the Palestinian resistance (Filiu, 2014). Each stage in the history of this conflict has left a deep imprint, shaping the dynamics and perceptions that exist today.

Understanding the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict requires an in-depth examination of the key events that have influenced the development of this conflict. From the Balfour Declaration, to the major wars, to the often-failed peace efforts, these are all important parts in shaping a complex and nuanced historical narrative.

This study will outline the historical journey of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, highlighting the various contributing factors, as well as the resulting impact on both sides. By understanding the roots and development of this conflict, it is hoped that we can formulate a more comprehensive and sustainable solution for a more peaceful future in the region.

Table 4. 1 Palestine-Israel Conflict History

Year	Event	Cause	Effect
1917	Balfour Declaration	Britain supports the establishment of a "national home" for the Jewish people in Palestine	Increased Jewish immigration to Palestine; strong rejection from the local Arab community (Cronin, 2017).
1947	UN Resolution 181	The UN proposes the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states	Rejected by Arab countries; conflict escalates; establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 (Morris, 2008).
1948-1949	Arab-Israeli War	Declaration of Israel's independence (May 14, 1948); rejection by Arab countries	Israel expands its territory; hundreds of thousands of Palestinians are displaced, known as the <i>Nakba</i> ("Catastrophe") (Morris, 2008)
1967	Six-Day War	Tensions between Israel and neighboring countries, particularly Egypt	Israel captures the West Bank, Gaza, the Golan Heights, and Sinai; UN Resolution 242 demands Israel's withdrawal (Segev, 2008).

1987-1993	First Intifada	Palestinian dissatisfaction with Israeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza	Ends with the 1993 Oslo Accords; establishment of the Palestinian Authority (PA) (Rejwan, 2006).
2000-2005	Second Intifada	Failure of the Oslo Accords and Ariel Sharon's provocative visit to the Al-Aqsa compound	Escalated conflict; thousands of casualties on both sides; Israel builds a separation wall (Baroud dkk., 2006)
2006	Hamas victory in Palestinian legislative elections (CEC, 2006)	Palestinian dissatisfaction with Fatah's governance	Power division between Fatah in the West Bank and Hamas in Gaza
2008-2009	Gaza War (Cast Lead Operation)	Rocket fire from Hamas in Gaza towards Israel; Gaza blockade	Major Israeli offensive in Gaza; hundreds of casualties and infrastructure destruction (Filiu, 2014)
2014	Gaza War (Protective Edge Operation)	Escalating violence between Hamas and Israel after the abduction of three Israeli teens	Ceasefire after 50 days; severe destruction in Gaza; over 2,000 Palestinian casualties (Filiu, 2014).

2018	“Great March of Return” protests in Gaza	Palestinians' demand to return to their lands taken by Israel since 1948	Harsh crackdown by Israeli forces; hundreds killed and thousands injured (B’Tselem, 2021).
2021	Sheikh Jarrah Conflict and 2021 Gaza War	Forced eviction of Palestinian residents in Sheikh Jarrah, clashes at the Al-Aqsa mosque	Israeli airstrikes on Gaza; over 250 Palestinian casualties; ceasefire agreed upon (Kingsley dkk., 2021).
2023	October 7 Attack “Al-Aqsa Flood”	Escalation of violence at Al-Aqsa, rocket fire, and militant actions from Gaza	Hostage-taking of Israeli civilians by Hamas; hundreds of Palestinian casualties; Israeli counter-attacks on Gaza (Dominic, 2023)

The table above provides a brief overview of the major events in the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the contributing factors and outcomes of each. The ongoing conflict reflects deep tensions over land, identity, citizens' rights and international politics. Despite numerous peace efforts, such as the Oslo accords and periodic ceasefire agreements, the underlying root causes of the conflict remain unresolved. Key issues such as the status of Jerusalem, final borders, the right of Palestinian refugees to return, and the existence of illegal Israeli settlements in the West Bank remain the biggest stumbling blocks in any negotiations.

More than just a territorial conflict, the dispute also includes debates over human rights, international law, and historical justice. Each new escalation, such as rocket attacks from Gaza and Israeli airstrikes, only deepens the wounds and

prolongs the suffering of both sides, especially civilians who are always the main victims. The issue of Israeli occupation of internationally recognized Palestinian territories, as well as the prolonged blockade of the Gaza Strip, further complicates the socio-economic conditions for Palestinians, who live under constant pressure and lack of resources.

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is not only rooted in a long history of territorial feuds and nationalism, but also influenced by global political dynamics, international interventions, and geopolitical changes taking place in the Middle East. Meanwhile, the Palestinian people continue to struggle for the recognition of their basic rights, such as freedom of movement, sovereignty, and the right to return to their land. On the other hand, Israel's national security remains a top priority for its government. Without a significant change in the approach of international diplomacy and a real effort to bring justice to all parties involved, this conflict will most likely continue, creating an endless cycle of violence and suffering.

B. Discussion of Research Results

1. Israel Media Hegemony

yet it has a broader and more complex definition. Generally, propaganda can be defined as a deliberate attempt to influence people's thoughts, feelings, and actions for a specific purpose. This is achieved through the dissemination of specially crafted messages, often utilizing mass media or other communication platforms.

Propaganda differs from regular information or persuasion in several key ways. Information is typically neutral and objective, aiming to convey facts or data without attempting to influence or change people's views. Information serves as a knowledge base that individuals can use to make decisions based on accurate understanding (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012b).

Persuasion, meanwhile, is an effort to influence others to accept or agree with a certain idea, opinion, or action but is conducted in a more transparent and honest

manner. Persuasion usually involves logical arguments and evidence supporting a specific viewpoint, allowing the audience to make decisions based on their own judgment (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012b).

In contrast, propaganda often manipulates or simplifies facts to direct public opinion according to a particular agenda. It can employ emotional techniques, such as evoking fear, pride, or anger, to influence thoughts and actions. Propaganda may also involve spreading misleading or even false information to strengthen specific objectives.

Additionally, propaganda tends to be one-sided, presenting only one perspective on an issue while ignoring or hiding information that may harm its goals. This contrasts with persuasion, which, although aimed at influencing, typically leaves room for the audience to consider alternative views and make rational decisions (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012b).

In the political context, propaganda is frequently employed by governments or certain groups to shape public opinion on crucial issues, such as foreign policy, national security, or elections. The media utilized can vary widely, ranging from posters, radio broadcasts, and television, to social media and the internet in today's digital era.

The evolution of media technology in the spread of propaganda introduces new challenges and opportunities. On one hand, the ability to disseminate information rapidly and widely can serve positive purposes, such as raising awareness on social and environmental issues. However, on the other hand, advancements in technology also increase the risk of spreading false or misleading information, which can divide societies and threaten social stability.

The term *hegemony* originally referred to the domination of one country over another. Antonio Gramsci later developed and expanded this theory from its initial meaning to signify the dominance of one social class over another through cultural hegemony (Gramsci & Utomo, 2013). Media hegemony is a perceived process whereby certain values and ways of thinking, disseminated through mass media, become dominant within society (Altheide, 1984).

In the protracted conflict between Israel and Palestine, propaganda and framing have become powerful tools in influencing global public perceptions. Israeli media often uses framing techniques to distort facts, crafting narratives that portray Israel favorably on the international stage. One method involves portraying Palestinian groups, such as Hamas, as the primary aggressors of violence, despite evidence on the ground often showing that this violence is triggered by Israeli military actions. This propaganda effectively alters perceptions of who is responsible for instigating or exacerbating the conflict.

In this conflict, Israel and its media pursue a strategy to attain media hegemony. Here are the findings and explanations of the strategies employed:

a. Framing and Propaganda

According to Eriyanto, framing is a method for analyzing how the media presents an event or occurrence (Eriyanto, 2002). Framing is a powerful technique in media because it can shape how people understand an issue without necessarily presenting falsehoods directly. In this context, Israeli media frequently highlights Palestinian acts of resistance as unjustified aggression, while downplaying or minimizing the impact of Israeli military attacks, which are often significantly more destructive. By controlling this narrative, they can steer global opinion to view Israel as merely defending itself, while framing Palestinians as persistently violent aggressors.

One common framing technique involves depicting Israel as the victim of Hamas rocket attacks. For example, on October 7, the American Jewish Committee (AJC) released a statement on its website describing Israel as a target of unprovoked aggression.

“On October 7, Hamas terrorists waged the deadliest attack on Jews since the Holocaust — slaughtering babies, raping women, burning whole families alive, and taking hundreds of innocent civilians hostage. Since October 7, more than 1,200

Israelis have been killed. Terrorists are still holding over 100 men, women, and children in captivity.”

Without full context on the blockade, forced evictions, or Israeli military actions that often trigger resistance, Palestinians are framed as the primary perpetrators of violence, while Israel's retaliatory actions are labeled as "defensive measures." This type of portrayal, consistently present in pro-Israel media, aims to frame and justify Israel's disproportionate military force against Palestinians and to sustain international support for Israel's policies.

Furthermore, this propaganda extends beyond misleading information, as it also leverages pre-existing biases in Western media. Many international media outlets tend to adopt narratives from Israeli media without conducting in-depth fact-checking or considering Palestinian perspectives. This strengthens the framing of the propaganda and makes it increasingly difficult to challenge on the global stage, as Palestinian voices and narratives are often drowned out in a flow of information controlled by more dominant actors.

Below, the researcher will include an image and describe how Western media often exhibits bias, frequently adopting narratives from Israeli sources. One reason Western media is considered biased toward one side of the conflict is that news anchors often begin coverage with statements like "Israeli spokesperson said...," which is common practice among Western outlets like CNN, BBC, and VoA when reporting on current situations in the region. This approach demonstrates that these media channels frequently adopt narratives from only one side (Belle, 2023).

The image described illustrates a discussion segment on TalkTV with Piers Morgan, where he repeatedly poses the question, "Do you condemn Hamas?" to various pro-Palestinian guests, including comedian Bassem Youssef and Palestinian Ambassador Husam Zomlot, amid rising tensions in the Middle East. In the video, Morgan's focus centers on challenging guests to clarify their stance on Hamas and the Israeli conflict, highlighting the role of violence on both sides. Several guests, however, resist directly condemning Hamas' actions on October 7, instead redirecting the conversation toward underlying issues, such as occupation,

forced displacement, and broader systemic injustices faced by Palestinians (TalkTv, 2023).



Figure 4. 1 "Do You CONDEMN Hamas?" Every Time Piers Morgan Challenged A Guest. Source (Channel Youtube TalkTV)

At the beginning, Morgan directs the question toward Youssef, who swiftly counters by asking, "Do you condemn what the IDF does?" With this response, Youssef skillfully reframes the narrative, emphasizing that moral accountability should not rest solely with one party. Youssef argues that condemning any one side, without context, amounts to a mere "morality check" rather than fostering real understanding. He critiques Western media's portrayal of the conflict, pointing out that discussions often begin "from zero," overlooking the deeper roots of the conflict, including historical occupation and human rights violations. Youssef argues that this lack of historical perspective skews the narrative, failing to address the prolonged conditions that drive the conflict.

In a similar video clip, Palestinian Ambassador Husam Zomlot also engages in a charged exchange with Morgan, where he refrains from explicitly condemning Hamas, instead focusing on the root causes of the violence in Gaza. Zomlot underscores that the violence is not a one-sided reaction but part of a larger narrative

involving decades of occupation, forced evictions, and the ongoing blockade of Gaza by Israel. His response stresses the need to address the fundamental injustices fueling the conflict, arguing that fixating solely on recent acts of violence detracts from understanding the broader humanitarian and historical context. He highlights that without addressing these root causes, discussions on accountability will not yield a sustainable or peaceful resolution (TalkTv, 2023).

From the 34-minute video, the researcher concludes that Western media bias toward Israel is evident in the frequent portrayal of Israel as a party acting in self-defense, while Hamas or Palestinians are often highlighted as the primary perpetrators of violence. By focusing narrowly on attacks and reactions involving Hamas, Western media tends to overlook or downplay the underlying causes of the conflict, such as Israel's long-standing occupation and the effects of the Gaza blockade. This narrative shapes public opinion in the West, presenting Israel as a legitimate victim and Palestinians as unjust aggressors, without giving a fair platform to address the suffering of the Palestinian people and their struggle for human rights.

The image above shows a video clip uploaded via social media Twitter by Hagari (2023), an IDF spokesperson who is in a room wearing a complete military uniform and helmet. He points to the wall where there is a list or document that is barely visible due to the reflection of light from a flashlight or other light source. In the video, Hagari is explaining or showing that what is posted on the wall is a list of Hamas members stationed at Rantisi Hospital, Gaza. From the video, it appears that the IDF is trying to justify military operations inside the hospital on the grounds that Hamas uses Rantisi Hospital as one of the places where Hamas conducts and plans its military operations and also where hostages are kept. This video clearly shows that Israel is trying to frame Palestine and justify the military operation at the hospital.



Figure 4. 2 IDF Spokesperson, Daniel Hagari Pointing to a Writing on the Wall Allegedly a List of Hamas Members' Names

It can be concluded that the Western media's bias in covering the Israel-Palestine conflict often leads to framing that is more favorable to Israel. Western media tends to highlight narratives that portray Israel as a country defending itself from attacks, while the struggle of the Palestinian people is more often depicted as a form of terrorism. (Belle, 2023). This perspective narrows the range of views available to the audience, ignoring the historical context of the occupation and the suffering of the Palestinian people. In much of the coverage, the complexity of this conflict is not discussed in depth, creating a more superficial understanding of the underlying causes of the ongoing tensions.

The role of Hasbara, which is a form of public diplomacy and Israeli propaganda, is crucial in building the hegemony of the pro-Israel narrative in international media. Hasbara works by shaping public opinion through the dissemination of information that is favorable to Israel and suppressing criticism of the country's policies. This includes the use of social media, diplomatic campaigns, as well as collaboration with foreign governments and media to frame the conflict positively for Israel. This strategy effectively limits opposing viewpoints, creating a hegemony that makes it difficult for the international community to consider alternative perspectives on this conflict.

Israeli media supported by Hasbara can be understood as an effort to control and direct the global consensus regarding the Israel-Palestine conflict. Gramsci argued that hegemony is domination that is not only achieved through violence or coercion but also through cultural and ideological control (Gramsci, 2013). In this case, Israel uses the media to create a widely accepted narrative, which normalizes its actions and weakens critical arguments against its policies towards Palestine. In this way, Hasbara becomes an important tool in maintaining Israel's ideological dominance on the international stage, in accordance with Gramsci's concept of hegemony.

Whereas in the perspective of the media hegemony theory developed by David Altheide, the main focus lies on how media is used as a tool to shape public perception through symbolic manipulation and narrative (Altheide, 1984). In the context of Israeli media hegemony supported by Hasbara strategy, Altheide's approach helps explain how Israel uses media to create "narrative control." In this way, Hasbara functions as a tool of symbolic domination that helps shape the public's understanding of the Israel-Palestine conflict. As Altheide explained, the media can frame an event or crisis in a certain way, creating an "agenda" and normalizing the dominant perspective.

b. Use of Social Media

In its pursuit of media hegemony, Israel employs Hasbara, a public relations program utilized by the Israeli government and its supporters to disseminate positive information about Israel worldwide. The term "Hasbara," meaning "explanation" in Hebrew, serves as a euphemism for propaganda. Hasbara's purpose is to clarify Israeli government policies, promote Israel amidst negative media coverage, and counter perceived delegitimization of Israel globally. According to Chas (2012) article, *"Hasbara and the Control of Narrative as an Element of Strategy,"* published on the Middle East Policy Council website, Hasbara employs several methods to advance its strategy:

1. Use of Traditional and Social Media:

Hasbara uses various methods, including traditional and social media, to spread positive information about Israel. This includes creating PowerPoint presentations, seminars, invitations for congressional members, and election campaigns.

2. Use of Digital Technology:

In the digital era, Hasbara has evolved into "Hasbara 2.0," which utilizes web 2.0 technologies such as social media (Twitter, Facebook, YouTube), browser functions, and search engine algorithms to disseminate information and influence public opinion.

3. Use of Propaganda Applications:

Israel also uses applications such as Act.IL and HasbaraApp to promote Israel and counter delegitimization. These applications allow users to participate in pro-Israeli missions on social media, such as spreading positive content and confronting critics.

4. Use of Manipulation Strategies:

Hasbara also involves information manipulation strategies to change public perception. This includes the use of labels that favor or disparage information and its sources, making the public more likely to accept certain information and reject others.

5. The Use of Social Media Algorithms:

Algorithms on social media platforms like Twitter and Facebook can be utilized to influence what users see and read. This allows Hasbara to promote pro-Israeli content and reduce access to opposing content.

Social media plays an important role in Israel's efforts to achieve media hegemony, particularly through a communication strategy known as Hasbara. Here

are some of the main uses of social media for Israel in creating and maintaining media hegemony:

1. Dissemination of Pro-Israel Narratives

In the context of the Israel-Palestine conflict, social media has become an important strategic tool for Israel in shaping international public opinion. Platforms like Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube allow Israel to disseminate narratives that support their policies quickly and targetedly. This narrative often emphasizes Israel's self-defense aspects and categorizes attacks from groups like Hamas as acts of terrorism. Thus, Israel can position itself as a victim entitled to carry out military actions to protect its citizens from external threats.

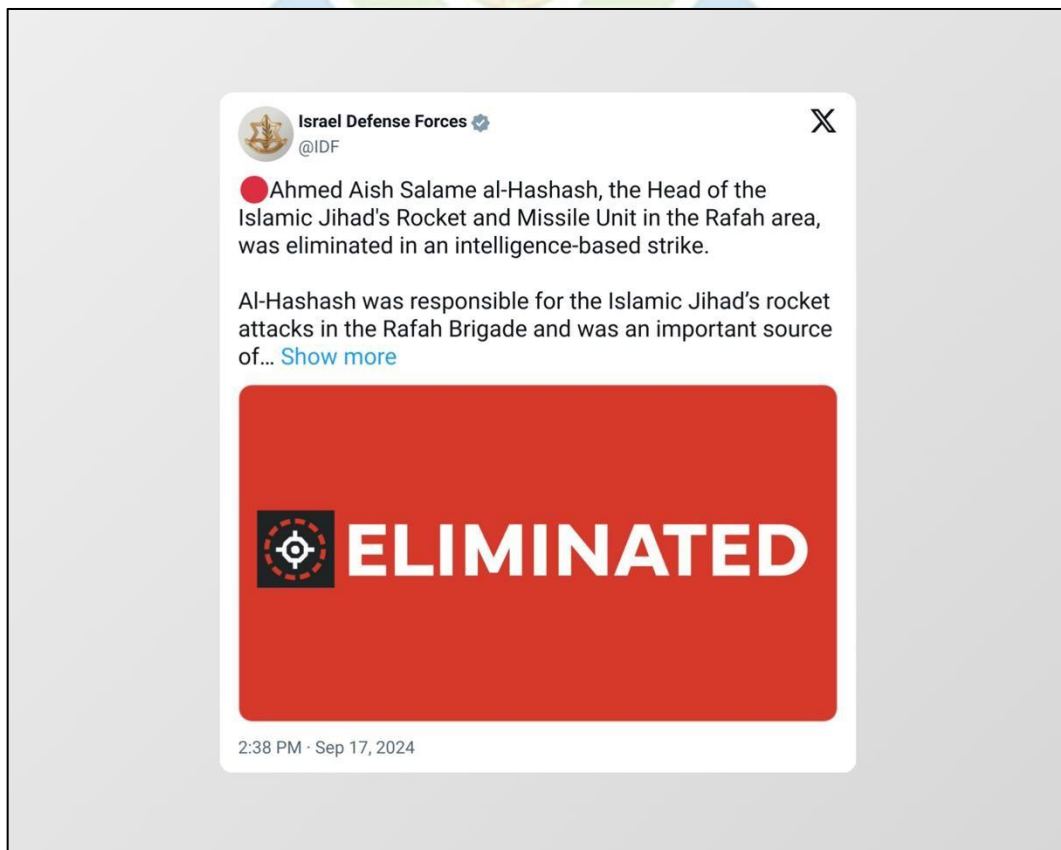


Figure 4. 3 IDF Tweet Reporting on Its Military Operation

The Israeli government and the IDF military routinely use their official accounts to convey coordinated messages, highlight the successes of military operations, and impress upon a global audience that their actions are legitimate and necessary to maintain national security. For example, as seen in **image 4.4** and the image below, they often share videos or information explaining the success of their military operations that have killed high-ranking officials from rocket attacks from Gaza, accompanied by claims that they are trying to avoid civilian casualties, even though the impact on the Palestinian population is very significant. Here, Israel plays an active role in creating a narrative that reduces Palestinian suffering.

Hasbara, which is Israel's public diplomacy, also plays a significant role in shaping this perception (Chas, 2012). Through this program, Israel invites civil society and influencers to spread pro-Israel messages on social media. They often collaborate with individuals or groups who have significant influence to strengthen their views. This campaign not only aims to control the narrative abroad but also serves as a form of soft power, where Israel seeks to elicit sympathy from the international community and justify its military actions.



Figure 4. 4 Tweet with the Hashtag #IsraelUnderAttack

On the other hand, the use of hashtags and coordinated campaigns on social media, such as #IsraelUnderAttack, allows this narrative to spread more widely in a matter of seconds. In this case, social media becomes an important tool that facilitates the spread of pro-Israel messages among the global community, including Western countries that have traditionally been more supportive of Israel. However, this narrative often obscures or downplays the reality of the conflict on the ground, especially the suffering of Palestinian civilians who frequently do not receive a fair share of media coverage.

In the image above, the author provides an example of how Israeli social media and pro-Israel communities often use emotional language to depict Israel as a victim of attacks. For instance, as shown in the image above, they frequently use "emotional language" on social media to portray Israel as a victim of attacks more

than Palestine. Words like "murdered" and "babies" are used to describe the victims of Hamas attacks.



Figure 4. 5 Headline from Metro Newspaper

The image above shows the headline of the Metro newspaper on October 11, 2023, with the title "40 Babies Killed by Hamas" and a bold subheadline stating, "Children beheaded as families slaughtered, says Israel." (Ben, 2023). The newspaper's headline was posted on the official Twitter account @MetroUK, reflecting how Western media often report on the Israel-Palestine conflict with a pro-Israel bias. This dramatic headline highlights Hamas's atrocities without providing further context regarding the broader situation or the impact on the Palestinian people. Such reporting often reinforces a narrative that corner Hamas and Palestine, while Israel's controversial actions are less covered in a balanced

manner. This sensational headline is an example of how Western media often focus the narrative on threats to Israel, thereby strengthening Israel's position in the eyes of the Western public. This bias can be seen as part of a media hegemony effort that prioritizes a pro-Israel narrative, supported by Hasbara campaigns, which aim to control global perceptions and justify Israel's policies towards Palestine.

Next, in image 4.8, there is a satirical cartoon uploaded by @remiroum (2023) depicting a man, presumed to be a representative of Hamas, using children and women as human shields. The man appears to be wrapping a rope around the bodies of several small children, and the speech bubble in the image states, "How dare Israel attack civilians...", which ironically criticizes that Hamas places children in dangerous situations yet still condemns Israel's attacks on civilians.

The cartoon seems to aim to show that Hamas uses Palestinian civilians, including children, as shields in the armed conflict with Israel, a narrative often raised by pro-Israel media. This cartoon implies that Hamas, while shielding itself with civilians, accuses Israel of attacking innocent people, creating a strong moral irony. However, @remiroum seems to criticize The Washington Post for spreading an image that is considered racist.



Figure 4. 6 Cartoon Depicting Hamas Using Humans as Shields

Content like this is often used as part of the Hasbara strategy as a form of Israeli public diplomacy to influence global opinion and reinforce the narrative that Israel acts in self-defense against threats posed by organizations like Hamas and to justify what is happening in Palestine. In this case, the cartoon helps create the impression that Israel is not entirely to blame for the conflict that causes civilian casualties, but rather Hamas is to blame for involving them in the violence.

Cartoons and visuals like this often become part of media framing that supports Israel, which can reinforce Western media bias in portraying Israel as the party that must fight terrorism, while victims in Palestine are depicted as indirect consequences of Hamas's strategic decisions.

1. Manipulation through Fake Accounts and Bots

In the digital era, the use of technology to disseminate information and propaganda has become a powerful strategy in winning public opinion. One of the methods used by Israel in the conflict with Palestine is to utilize fake accounts and bots on social media. This strategy not only expands the reach of pro-Israel messages but also creates the impression that there is massive public support for the country's policies, while simultaneously silencing criticism (Ali dkk., 2024).

Fake accounts, which often appear to be genuine users, are used to spread messages supporting the Israeli government's policies. These accounts play a role in flooding social media platforms with pro-Israel content and reinforcing the narrative about Israel's right to self-defense. These accounts are active during major crises, such as the conflict in Gaza, where a quick response is crucial. Hundreds to thousands of accounts can interact in online conversation spaces, increasing the number of interactions on posts that support Israel and giving the impression that this view is widely accepted by the international community.

For example, in 2020, a network of pro-Israel bot and fake accounts was revealed to be operating to strengthen the government's narrative, especially during the heightened tensions in Gaza. According to The Guardian, these bots spread messages that steer public opinion in favor of Israel, while simultaneously attacking activists who support Palestine or oppose Israeli policies (Robins-Early, 2024).

In addition to fake accounts, automated bots also play a significant role in increasing the number of interactions and the visibility of pro-Israel content. These bots can post and respond to content automatically in large volumes, allowing Israeli messages to spread quickly and reach a wider audience. They often exploit

trending hashtags to ensure their posts appear on more timelines, especially during peak conflict times.

A report from PBS News mentioned that this bot network is capable of shaping narratives that emphasize Israel's right to self-defense in attacks against Hamas, or highlight military actions as defensive measures against "terrorism." On the other hand, these bots are also used to attack pro-Palestinian activists by sending hate messages or trying to undermine their credibility in the digital space.

The use of bots and fake accounts creates a false perception that there is strong global support for Israel's policies. This operation aims to create an environment where the same ideas are continuously repeated without any resistance. As a result, social media users may believe that pro-Israel views are far more dominant than they actually are.

Additionally, pro-Palestinian content often becomes the target of mass reporting by networks of pro-Israel accounts, resulting in many posts supporting Palestine or criticizing Israel being removed by platforms like Facebook or Instagram. According to Al-Jazeera, these posts are often deemed to violate platform policies, especially during major crises when content moderation is stricter. This phenomenon adds to the injustice in representation on social media, where Palestinian voices are often marginalized or silenced. For example, Tamer Almisshal, a presenter for Al-Jazeera, whose Facebook account suddenly disappeared after he expressed his criticism of Israel (Al-Jazeera Staf, 2023).

The propaganda and media hegemony strategy implemented by Israel through Hasbara and social media algorithm manipulation has successfully created a narrative that dominates the international discourse on the Israel-Palestine conflict. By harnessing the power of digital platforms, Israel not only strengthens its position in public opinion but also successfully limits access and visibility of opposing views, particularly support for Palestine. This ultimately aligns with Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony, where Israel's media hegemony, supported by Hasbara, can be understood as an effort to control and direct the global consensus regarding the Israel-Palestine conflict. Gramsci argued that hegemony is domination that is not only carried out through violence or coercion but also through cultural and

ideological control (Patria, 2013). In this case, Israel uses the media to create a widely accepted narrative, which normalizes its actions and weakens critical arguments against its policies towards Palestine. In this way, Hasbara becomes an important tool in maintaining Israel's ideological dominance on the international stage, in accordance with the hegemony concept proposed by Gramsci. And provides evidence for Altheide's media hegemony theory, which states that media hegemony occurs when journalists tend to report news that supports their own country and is negative towards foreign countries in global communication (Altheide, 1984).

2. Palestinian Strategies Against Israeli Media Hegemony

In the long-standing conflict between Israel and Palestine, the power of the media has become a weapon just as important as physical weapons on the battlefield. The media is not just a tool for disseminating information, but also a battleground for ideology and influence. In the midst of the Israeli media's dominance, which often controls the global narrative about this conflict, Palestine struggles to present its own voice and reality. The hegemony of Israeli media, supported by major countries and international mainstream media, often corners Palestine with unfair and detrimental framing, reinforcing stereotypes and justifying Israeli actions. In this condition, Palestine is not only fighting on the ground but also in the information space with various strategies aimed at challenging the dominant narrative and fighting for justice.

According to Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony, the domination of the ruling class is not only achieved through force or physical violence but also through cultural and ideological dominance, which then shapes consensus and societal thinking. (Gramsci, 2013). In this case, Israel's media hegemony can be understood as an effort to impose certain narratives and views about the conflict on the global community, with the aim of shaping opinions that benefit their political interests. Researchers highlight the importance of "positional warfare" in Gramsci's theory of hegemony, where subordinate groups must struggle not only through physical

resistance but also by attempting to shift ideological hegemony through media, education, and culture. This is reflected in the Palestinian efforts to undermine Israeli media dominance by utilizing alternative media and creating their own narratives.

Besides Gramsci, the media hegemony theory proposed by David L. Altheide also reinforces the understanding of how media can be used to control public perception. Altheide states that media has great power in directing attention and shaping how an event is understood by the audience (Altheide, 1984). Mainstream media that support the Israeli narrative, for example, often use framing that presents Israel as the party defending itself, while Palestinians are labeled as the aggressive or terrorist side using civilians as shields. This framing creates a distortion that reinforces Israel's hegemony on the international stage, making the Palestinian narrative difficult to accept or believe in the eyes of the world. In their resistance, Palestine tries to break this framing by disseminating information from a different perspective, depicting the suffering and injustice they experience due to the occupation.

To understand how the Palestinian strategy in countering media hegemony, various approaches used will be elaborated in detail in the discussion below. The researchers found a number of concrete steps taken by the Palestinian side. This discussion will provide a broader picture of the tactics used in the effort to challenge the dominance of the Israeli narrative on the international media stage.

1) Social Media dan Citizen Journalism

In an effort to combat the hegemony of Israeli media, the use of social media and citizen journalism has become one of the most vital strategies for Palestine. In the digital era, platforms like Twitter, Instagram, and TikTok allow Palestinians and international activists to voice their experiences directly without the filter of mainstream media, which often leans towards Israeli interests. Through these platforms, alternative narratives highlighting the suffering of Palestinians under

Israeli occupation can spread more quickly and widely, reaching a global audience in seconds.

Quoting www.britannica.com, citizen journalism is a form of journalism where ordinary people, not professional journalists, take an active role in gathering, reporting, and disseminating information about specific events or issues (Sonny, 2024). Through citizen journalism, individuals can become direct reporters of an event without relying on traditional media. This includes actions such as recording videos, writing articles, uploading photos, and providing event analyses, which are then shared with the public, usually through the internet or social media.

Citizen journalism emerged as a response to the limitations of mainstream media, whether due to bias, lack of access, or editorial control. With the advancement of technology and the internet, especially with the development of social media platforms like Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, and TikTok, citizen journalism has become increasingly accessible. Anyone with a smartphone or simple device can report and share information in real-time.

By utilizing social media and citizen journalism, the researchers found that Palestine has implemented effective strategies to counter the dominance of narratives controlled by pro-Israel mainstream media. The use of platforms such as Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, YouTube, and TikTok has enabled the Palestinian people to communicate their experiences directly to the world without the filter of traditional media, which often leans towards the narratives of certain interest group (Elok, 2023). These findings show that the use of social media as a communication tool is crucial in breaking down the barriers created by international media, which often depict the Palestinian-Israeli conflict from a biased perspective.

Through strategies that leverage this digital technology, Palestinians have been able to disseminate alternative narratives that more accurately depict life under occupation. Citizen journalism, where ordinary people document events directly from the field, has proven to be an effective force in providing strong visual evidence, countering misinformation, and mobilizing global support. As for the details of the strategy for using social media and citizen journalism, they can be further elaborated as follows:

1. Spreading Alternative Narratives and Countering Misinformation

In July 2023, Israeli forces launched a massive military operation in the city of Jenin, West Bank, involving helicopters and hundreds of soldiers. International media reported on this incident with a focus on Israel's efforts to "stop armed groups." (Yolande & David, 2023).

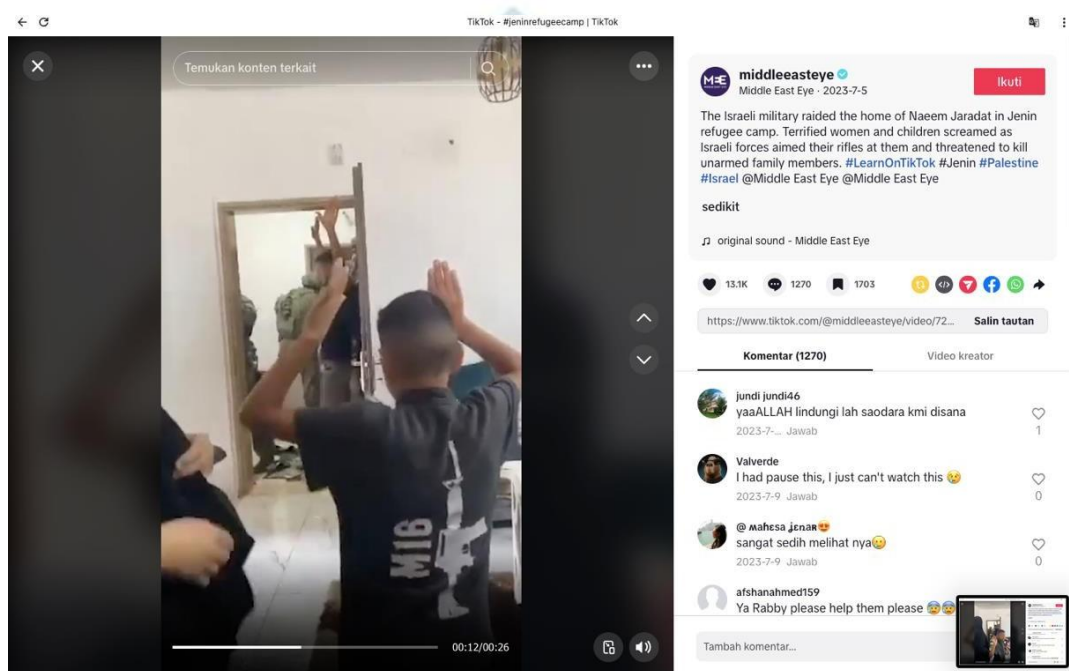


Figure 4. 7 Video Clip of the Attack in Jenin City 2023

However, videos and photos uploaded by Palestinians in Jenin show widespread destruction, including houses flattened to the ground and destroyed infrastructure. In **Image 4.9**, the researcher includes a clip from an amateur video that went viral on Twitter and TikTok, showing Israeli soldiers searching Palestinian homes, causing the entire household to appear terrified. The video, which was later uploaded through the Middle East Eye TikTok account, quickly went viral, drawing global attention to the suffering of civilians and urging mainstream media to cover the impact of the attacks on Palestinian society, not just focusing on the military aspect.



Figure 4. 8 Clip of Muna El-Kurd Confronting a Jewish Settler in Sheikh Jarrah (source: YouTube Channel AJ+ *'Israeli Settlers Took Half Her Home, Now They Want More'*)

One of the famous Palestinian citizen journalists is Muna El-Kurd. Muna El-Kurd is a Palestinian activist and citizen journalist who has become one of the most recognized faces in the struggle against the forced eviction of Palestinians from the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood in East Jerusalem. In 2021, Muna, along with her twin brother Mohammed El-Kurd, gained global attention for their role in utilizing social media to raise awareness about the situation faced by Palestinians in Sheikh Jarrah. (B. Tom, 2021).

In the video clip above, Muna El-Kurd shows her bravery by confronting the Jewish settler, saying, "You are stealing my house," to which the settler responds, "If I don't steal it, someone else will." The settler's words left netizens astonished. The top comment written by @ricardojmartins89 quoted the man's words in the video, " 'If I don't steal it someone else is gonna steal it.' this is ridiculous."

Due to her viral video, Muna El-Kurd used social media, especially Instagram, to document the forced eviction efforts carried out by Israeli authorities in the

Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood. By sharing videos, photos, and stories directly from the field (B. Tom, 2021) she successfully brought international attention to the issue. Hashtags like #SaveSheikhJarrah went viral, and this campaign garnered sympathy and global support from activists, celebrities, and politicians.

In November 2023, an official Arabic account run by the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs reposted a video depicting "evidence that Hamas uses hospitals as centers for 'terrorism' operations." The video, originally posted by the account @EdyCohen, went viral with views reaching 16.8 million. In the video, a woman claiming to be a nurse from Al-Shifa Hospital, Gaza, narrates that Hamas has taken over the hospital. This statement reinforces the claim that Hamas is using civilians as human shields, a narrative that continues to circulate among the public. In addition, the woman in the video also appears to be warning the people of Gaza to leave Al-Shifa Hospital immediately (N. Tom, 2023).



Figure 4. 9 Hannah Abutbul, Actress Allegedly a Nurse at Al-Shifa Hospital

Many people believe in the truth of the video and spread it further, while others are skeptical about the authenticity of the content. As a result, netizens collectively conducted an investigation to uncover the truth behind the video.

The investigation by netizens began with suspicion regarding the woman's accent in the video. In the video, the voice of the woman claiming to be a nurse at Al-Shifa Hospital does not sound like a Palestinian, nor even like an Arab. The content of the video is also in line with the Israeli military's narrative, which claims that Hamas has taken all the fuel from the hospital. Finally, netizens discovered a content creator named Hannah Abutbul, who visually and vocally resembles the actress in the video. This suspicion grew stronger after the post related to the nurse was deleted from the Twitter account of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs. According to Newsweek.com, Hannah Abutbul denied her involvement in the video (N. Tom, 2023). Namun, Younis Tirawi melalui akun Twitter @ytirawi menyatakan bahwa setelah berbicara dengan dokter dan suster di Rumah Sakit Al-Shifa, tidak ada yang mengenali perempuan yang tampil dalam video itu.



Figure 4. 10 Screenshot of Younis Tirawi's Account

Then the IDF (Israel Defense Force) claimed that Hamas used Hospital as a weapons depot and a place for holding captives, but independent media companies found it very difficult to verify the IDF's claims (Chantal dkk., 2023).

In November 2023, IDF spokesperson Daniel Hagari posted a video, excerpts of which are shown in **figure 4.2**. Hagari claims that the basement of the hospital was used for Hamas military operations. The discovery of a pack of baby diapers and a baby bottle convinced Hagari that the place was used as an operations base

and a hostage detention site. However, netizens found it strange when Hagari narrated that he found a list of Hamas personnel names stuck to the wall. He confidently said, "Here is a list titled 'We are at war with Israel,' and at the bottom is a list of Hamas members on duty, starting from October 7." Additionally, the post was reshared by accounts that are indeed pro-Israel narratives, one of which is shown in the image below.



Figure 4. 11 Retweet by @AvivaKlompas, Twitter User

Most people who do not speak Arabic immediately blame Hamas for using hospitals as their base to operate against Israel. Until finally, someone from Arab countries appeared in the comments section of @AvivaKlompas, claiming that the

IDF spokesperson could not speak Arabic because they read their writing from left to right, whereas Arabic is read from right to left. One of the comments in the comment section made a remark like the one in the picture below. Then it quickly spread, and even a media outlet in France confirmed that what the IDF claimed to be the "List of Hamas members" was actually a calendar in Arabic (France 24 English, 2023).



Figure 4. 12 Response by @eid_alislam in the Comments Section of @AvivaKlompas

The conclusion of this discussion on Palestine shows that social media and citizen journalism play a very important role in countering propaganda and dominant narratives that often support Israeli interests. Social media has become a very effective tool for Palestinians to convey the reality of their lives under occupation, which is often not fairly covered by mainstream media. Citizen journalism, whether conducted by those within or outside the conflict zone, plays a crucial role in spreading alternative narratives and countering misinformation, especially through social media. In the Israel-Palestine conflict, citizen journalists utilize global platforms to document and disseminate realities that are often overlooked by mainstream media, thereby providing a more diverse and fair perspective. (Aini, 2023). Global community participation, both through information verification and content distribution, strengthens Palestinian counter-

propaganda efforts against the dominant narrative often controlled by Israel, thereby allowing the voices of the Palestinian people to be heard on the international stage.

The rapid spread of information through social media has become a crucial tool in countering dominant narratives, such as claims by Israel that " Hamas uses civilians as human shields " or portrays the Palestinian people as aggressors. By distributing alternative perspectives directly and widely, Palestinian citizens and activists have been able to present a more balanced viewpoint to the international community, enhancing global solidarity with their struggle. Through powerful visual content and viral campaigns, citizen journalism has mobilized international public opinion, drawing attention to the injustices faced by Palestinians.

Despite challenges like misinformation and censorship, social media use by Palestinians has become a pivotal instrument in resisting dominant narratives, aiding in securing international support, and countering disinformation that undermines their cause. Citizen journalism and social media not only serve as channels for information but also as essential tools for political, cultural, and identity-based advocacy in the digital age (Horoub, 2023).

1. Leveraging Algorithms and Mobilizing Global Solidarity

Hashtags have become an important element in social media campaigns, serving as tools to mobilize global solidarity and direct attention to specific issues. In the context of the Israel-Palestine conflict, the use of hashtags such as #FreePalestine, #SaveSheikhJarrah, and #AllEyesOnRafah has formed a global digital movement that not only informs but also mobilizes international support. Hashtags allow messages shared by ordinary citizens, activists, and citizen journalists to reach a much wider audience in a short period of time.

With consistent use and involvement from many users, hashtags can increase the visibility of issues, making them international trends on various social media platforms such as Twitter, Instagram, and TikTok. When a hashtag becomes trending, the uploaded content can attract the attention of mainstream media,

policymakers, and the general public, forcing the issue to become part of the global discourse (Chang & Iyer, 2012).

For example, #SaveSheikhJarrah became a global trend in 2021 during the forced evictions in the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood of East Jerusalem. Palestinians, including Palestinian activists Muna El-Kurd and her brother Mohammed El-Kurd, used this hashtag to share videos, photos, and real-time information from the field, which then went viral and sparked solidarity actions in various countries. This caused international media, which initially did not provide extensive coverage, to be compelled to report on the incident, demonstrating how hashtags can shape the global narrative. (Nicolas dkk., 2022).

In addition, hashtags are also used to challenge misinformation and propaganda. When the pro-Israel narrative dominates mainstream media coverage, Palestinian activists and their supporters use hashtags like #FreePalestine to spread alternative information and highlight the human rights violations occurring. The effective use of hashtags helps unite global voices under one message, making it stronger and more organized, even in the vast digital space.

In a cultural context, hashtags like #FreePalestine are not just political symbols; they also reflect cultural solidarity with the Palestinian people's struggle. By utilizing visualization and emotional elements in their campaigns, activists can build a stronger connection with the audience, thereby strengthening support for the movement. (Chamil dkk., 2024).

Therefore, hashtags not only serve as communication tools but also as symbols of digital resistance. They provide structure and connectivity in solidarity campaigns, binding individuals from various countries and backgrounds under a common goal to support the rights of the Palestinian people. This creates a snowball effect, where the more people get involved in this movement, the greater the social and political impact that can be generated from the social media campaign. (Darwell, 2023).

Social media and citizen journalism show that both play an important role in strengthening alternative narratives and advocating for social justice, particularly in

the context of the Israel-Palestine conflict. Through platforms like Twitter, TikTok, and Instagram, ordinary citizens can upload and share information directly from the field, which often differs from mainstream media narratives. Citizen journalism, supported by social media, allows the global community to witness important events firsthand and form their opinions based on broader and more in-depth information.

2) Collaboration with Alternative Media

Downing (2001) defines alternative media as media that express different views on hegemonic policies, priorities, and perspectives. In the increasingly developing digital era, collaboration between Palestine and alternative media has become an important strategy in countering the hegemony of narratives constructed by Israeli media. Through this media, the Palestinian people are not only able to voice their experiences and struggles but also build strong global solidarity. Alternative media provides a space for marginalized voices to be raised and heard (Downing, 2001), creating a bridge between Palestinian society and the outside world. By leveraging technology and creativity, this collaboration serves as a tool to educate, inform, and mobilize real action in support of the rights of the Palestinian people.

Palestine has forged collaborations with various alternative media to strengthen their narrative and counter the often biased information hegemony of Israeli media. One of the main examples is Al-Jazeera, which has become an important voice in covering this conflict. Al-Jazeera not only provides live reports from the field but also offers a platform for Palestinian journalists to tell their stories without censorship. In addition to Al-Jazeera, other alternative media such as France24, AJ+, Wafa News Agency, Ma'an News Agency, TRT World, and Middle East Eye also play a role in providing a more balanced perspective on this conflict. These media outlets strive to reach a global audience by presenting news in various languages, including English, French, and Spanish, thereby increasing the visibility of Palestinian issues worldwide.

One example of cooperation between alternative media and Palestine is the highlighting of the Palestinian perspective during the Israeli occupation. Interviews with related activists bring marginalized and unknown voices, which are biased against by the media, to a more balanced representation and present a new perspective (Downing, 2001).



Figure 4. 13 Interview with Ahmed Tamimi, Palestinian Activist in the Video Titled “ ‘They Could Kill Me At Any Time’: Life Under Israeli Occupation”

The photo above is the thumbnail of the video titled ‘They Could Kill Me At Any Time’: Life Under Israeli Occupation by Takruri (2022). In the 8-minute video, Dena Takruri, AJ+ Journalist, interviews Palestinian activist Ahed Tamimi, who became a prominent figure in the Palestinian resistance due to her viral video confronting and slapping an Israeli soldier in 2017. Ahed's confrontation with the soldiers resulted in her arrest by Israel, and she was sentenced to prison on charges of assault, incitement, and obstructing the soldiers' duties. Her detention attracted international media attention and made her a symbol of Palestinian resistance

In the video, Dena Takruri asks Ahed Tamimi:

Dena Takruri (1:32): "Do you and other Palestinian children feel like you have lost your childhood?"

Ahed Tamimi (1:35): "Living under occupation, even without going to prison, we have already lost our childhood, our youth, and our entire lives." It's not just those who are imprisoned who suffer and feel pain. Let me tell you, even if I have all the blessings of this world but still live under occupation, I still feel the loss of those things. (Takruri, 2022).

Dena Takruri and Ahed Tamimi showcase the reality of daily life in Palestine through their conversation in a very personal and direct manner. Dena, as a journalist, asked fundamental questions about the experiences of Palestinian children under occupation, prompting Ahed to share her perspective emotionally. Through narratives like this, Dena and Ahed succeeded in presenting the individual and collective experiences of Palestinians, which are often overlooked in mainstream media coverage. Ahed, as a symbol of the Palestinian people's resistance, explains that life under occupation is not only measured by major events such as arrests or violence, but also in the daily loss of basic rights.

In addition to interviews with Palestinian activists, interviews with Palestinian fighters provide a more direct perspective on their struggles and motivations. These fighters might share personal stories about their experiences in the conflict, as well as the reasons behind their decision to engage in the resistance. One of them is an

interview with Abu Aseel (not his real name), a fighter from the Jenin battalion, West Bank, which will be explained below.



Figure 4. 14 Interview with Abu Aseel, Palestinian Fighter in the Video Titled “My life as a Palestinian fighter | Close Up”

In a 7-minute video, Al-Jazeera (2023a) memberikan perspektif pejuang palestina dalam usahanya untuk menjaga dan membebaskan tanah air mereka. Dalam video tersebut unsur-unsur emosional ditunjukkan oleh Abu Aseel dengan mengunjungi makam rekan seperjuangannya dan menceritakan bagaimana mereka “*Syahid*”.

Abu Aseel (4:02): "All the photos you see here, they are the people who fought alongside us. Some of them became martyrs beside us. We visit this cemetery almost every day, or bury our friends who have become martyrs."

The words spoken by Abu Aseel, accompanied by photos of fallen Palestinian fighters, create an emotional impression that highlights the "humanity" possessed by these fighters. A few minutes earlier, Al-Jazeera (2023a) asked Abu Aseel:

Al-Jazeera (3:05): "Israel says they are ramping up their operations because people like you are considered terrorists."

Abu Aseel (3:14): "They come and invade our camps and homes and want to kill us all, this is an act of oppression by an enemy that can only be understood by the 'language of bullets' and will not be understood by any negotiation. Any negotiation only leads to greater loss, whether it be our land or our people. The independence that people around the world feel today, we cannot feel it, we don't even know what independence is. They come and invade our camps and homes, we can't travel between cities, because the borders are like we are in a prison."

From the video uploaded by Al-Jazeera (2023a) it illustrates why they are fighting even though Israeli and Western media often frame them as terrorists and use Palestinians as human shields. The reason they resort to violence is that they feel negotiations alone are not enough to achieve the independence they desire.

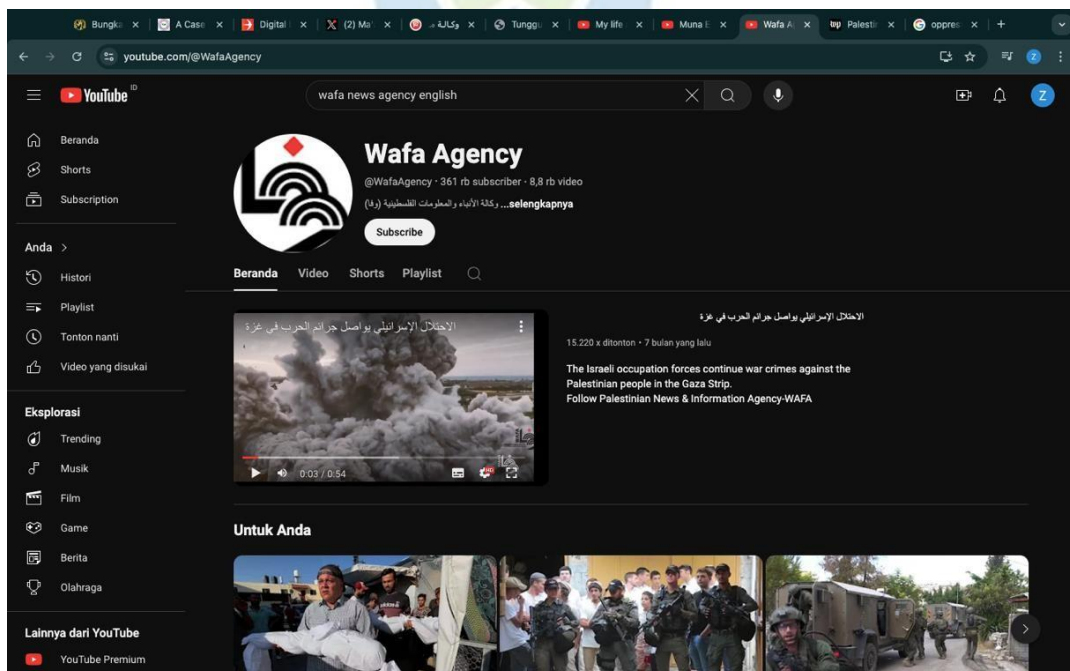


Figure 4. 15 Wafa News Agency YouTube Profile

Next, Wafa News Agency, a Palestinian news agency based in Ramallah, West Bank. Wafa News Agency provides news about Palestine in Arabic, Hebrew, and English. Wafa News Agency provides a variety of alternative narratives and often covers the daily lives of Palestinians who are being displaced by Israel and the funerals of those who have died due to the violence of the Israeli army. The news coverage on its YouTube account tends to be brief, lasting only 3 minutes or even less.

In addition to posting about life in Palestine under Israeli occupation, Wafa News Agency also conducts counter-propaganda against media outlets that spread misinformation. One of them is the news photo displayed below, which was uploaded in English. In the photo above, there are two photo comparisons, namely, a photo of a dog and a photo that, according to the narrative of Israel and Western media, is one of the babies burned alive by Hamas. Wafa in the news quoted the President of the United States, Joe Biden, who felt "chills" upon seeing the photo. (Yasmeen, 2023) However, it turned out that the photo was fake; the original photo was of a small dog rescue. The White House then acknowledged that Biden had actually never seen the photo.

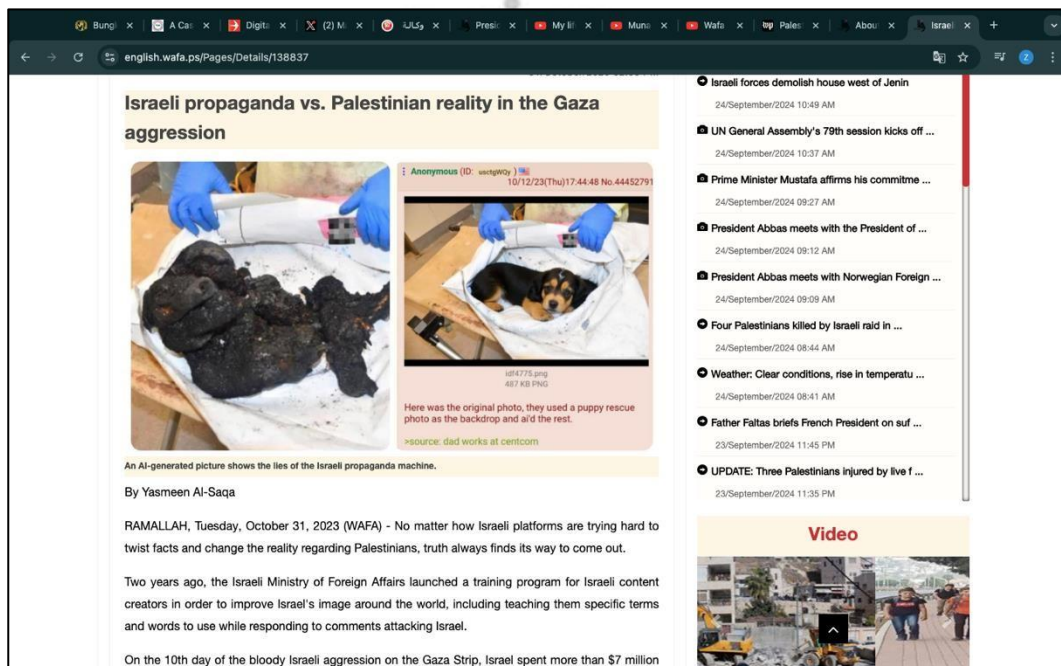


Figure 4. 16 Counter-Propaganda by Wafa News Agency

This misinformation does not happen once or twice. Israel often engages in misinformation and always uses their perspective on an event, which then leads to doubts about Israel's credibility in highlighting those news stories (Smith, 2023).

Palestinian collaboration with alternative media such as Al Jazeera, Wafa News Agency, and AJ+ has played an important role in advocating for the rights and international awareness of the Palestinian people. By providing direct and diverse information from reliable sources, these media outlets help raise global awareness about the Palestine-Israel conflict. They also play a role in reflecting the voices of the Palestinian people, showing the direct impact of Israeli attacks and policies, and promoting international solidarity. Thus, these alternative media not only provide information but also serve as a powerful platform for shaping public opinion and influencing international policies, helping to advocate for the rights and justice of the Palestinian people.

3) Global Campaign Through the BDS Movement (Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions)

The BDS movement (Boycott, Divestment, Sanction) is a non-violent movement aimed at pressuring Israel by isolating the country's economy and culture (Javier, 2023).

BDS was officially founded in 2005, when 170 Palestinian civil society organizations united to launch a global call. This coalition consists of various groups representing diverse segments of Palestinian society, including labor unions, women's organizations, refugee networks, and professional associations. This movement was born out of deep frustration with Israeli policies in the occupied Palestinian territories, as well as the failure of the international community to uphold international law and human rights for the Palestinian people. In its declaration, BDS demands three main things: the end of the occupation and colonization of all Arab lands occupied since 1967, recognition of the basic rights of Palestinians in Israel, and the right of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes,

in accordance with UN Resolution 194, which establishes the principles for achieving a final settlement and returning Palestinian refugees to their homes (Tripp, 2023).

The BDS movement (Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions) operates using three main methods aimed at pressuring Israel regarding its policies towards Palestine. Products targeted for boycott encompass various sectors, especially from companies located in the occupied territories such as the West Bank and international companies that openly support Israel. Some examples of products targeted by the BDS movement include:

1. McDonald's

The boycott against McDonald's by the BDS (Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions) movement arose because the company is considered to have an indirect relationship with support for Israel. McDonald's itself does not operate directly in the occupied territories of Palestine or Israel, but the suspicion of donations or support from some local McDonald's franchises in Israel towards Israeli military interests is the basis for this boycott. The losses experienced by McDonald's after this boycott amounted to approximately 7 billion USD (Jordan News, 2024). Although some people believe that this boycott is ineffective because McDonald's is one of the largest companies in the world, the CEO of McDonald's acknowledged that this boycott caused losses for the company (Shannon, 2024).

2. Hewlett-Packard (HP)

Companies with the HP trademark provide and operate technology used by Israel to maintain the apartheid system, occupation, and settler colonialism against the Palestinian people. HP's violations of Palestinian human rights have been well-documented. In addition to providing services and technology to the Israeli military and police who maintain Israel's illegal occupation and blockade of Gaza, HP also supplies exclusive Itanium servers for the Aviv System owned by the Israeli Population and Immigration Authority. This system enables the Israeli government to control and implement a system of racial segregation and apartheid against

Palestinians living in Israel. HP is also directly involved in Israeli settler colonialism through the Yesha database (Israeli population data), which collects information about Israelis in illegal settlements in the occupied West Bank.

The impact of this boycott action is that, in April 2019, 32 Christian churches in the US declared themselves as "HP-free" churches and pledged not to purchase HP products. The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) implemented human rights screenings for all investments in 2016, which led to divestment from the HP-branded company. The Unitarian Universalist Association took similar steps in 2015, which also triggered divestment from HP. The United Church of Christ in the US decided to divest from HP in 2015, while the Presbyterian Church (USA) divested from HP in 2014. Additionally, Friends Fiduciary Corporation, a socially responsible investment firm serving over 300 Quaker institutions in the United States, divested from HP in 2012.(BDS, 2023e).

3. AXA

In 2016, the "Stop AXA Assistance to Israeli Apartheid" campaign was launched to target the French multinational insurance company, AXA, due to its investments in Israeli banks involved in illegal settlement projects in the occupied Palestinian territories. AXA also became a target due to its investments in Elbit Systems, an Israeli weapons manufacturer linked to Israeli war crimes against Palestinians, as well as Israeli banks involved in the illegal settlements.

At that time, AXA held shares in three Israeli banks involved, namely Bank Hapoalim, Bank Leumi, and Mizrahi Tefahot. Additionally, through its subsidiary, AXA Investment Managers (AXA IM), and its 64% stake in AXA Equitable Holdings (AXA EHQ), AXA also invested in the five major Israeli banks, namely Bank Hapoalim, Bank Leumi, First International Bank of Israel, Israel Discount Bank, and Mizrahi Tefahot Bank (BDS, 2023c).

As a result of the BDS movement, in 2020, the UN Human Rights Council included all five Israeli banks in the UN database of companies involved in illegal Israeli settlements. AXA has made several decisions regarding investments and divestments. In 2018, AXA sold all its shares in Elbit Systems. In 2021, AXA also

sold almost all its shares in Equitable Holdings, leaving only a small portion of 0.07%, which caused Equitable Holdings to exit AXA's parent group and revert to its original name, EHQ (BDS, 2023c).

4. Puma

The global sportswear manufacturer Puma is involved in violations of international law and human rights. Puma is the main sponsor of the Israel Football Association (IFA), which includes teams based in illegal Israeli settlements on occupied Palestinian land. Additionally, both current and former exclusive licensees of Puma in Israel operate in these illegal settlements. The Israeli military occupation has evicted Palestinian families, including children, from their homes to make way for these settlements.



Figure 4. 17 Call for Puma Boycott by Palestinian Athletes

More than 200 Palestinian sports clubs have called on Puma to end its sponsorship deal and stop supporting Israel's illegal land appropriation. Puma markets itself as a company that cares about equality, yet continues to fund the apartheid supported by the IFA. In July 2018, on the other hand, Adidas no longer

sponsored the IFA after an international campaign and the collection of over 16,000 signatures submitted to Adidas headquarters. In a meeting, a Puma lawyer admitted to a Palestinian rights supporter that the principled calls from human rights groups and sports associations to stop supporting illegal Israeli settlements made their lives "miserable." (BDS, 2023d).



Figure 4. 18 Roger Waters at the West Bank Separation Wall

In addition to boycotting certain products, the cultural boycott carried out by the BDS (Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions) movement is one of the important aspects in pressuring international support for Israel. This movement calls on artists, musicians, writers, and various cultural workers to refuse to perform or collaborate with cultural institutions linked to Israel, as a form of solidarity with the Palestinian struggle. One of them is the famous English musician Roger Waters, who has vocally expressed his support for Palestine and refused to perform at festivals in Israel (BDS, 2023b).

In addition to economic and cultural boycotts, this movement has also initiated an academic boycott. Universities in Israel play an important role in supporting the regime of occupation, colonialism, and apartheid in the country. They are involved in the development of weapon systems and military doctrines used in Israel's war crimes in Lebanon and Gaza. In addition, these universities also justify the

colonization of Palestinian land, the gradual ethnic cleansing of the native Palestinian population, provide moral legitimacy for extrajudicial killings, and systematically discriminate against non-Jewish students, which constitutes a violation of human rights and international law. As a form of rejection of this involvement, Palestinian civil society is calling for an academic boycott of Israeli academic institutions. Many academic associations, student governments, and thousands of international academics now support this boycott as a form of resistance against normalized oppression.



Figure 4. 19 Call for Boycott at the University

As a result of this movement, since 2011, the Senate of the University of Johannesburg (UJ) has decided to terminate formal relations with Ben-Gurion University (BGU) in Israel, following a call signed by 400 academics from universities across South Africa, including 9 university leaders. Support for this academic boycott also comes from trade unions in the country, such as COSATU and NEHAWU. This boycott is backed by various academic associations worldwide, including the American Studies Association, National Women's

Studies Association, African Literature Association, and others. Additionally, teachers' unions in Ireland, the Francophone Student Federation in Belgium (FEF), the National Union of Students (NUS) in the UK, the Qatar University Student Representative Council (QUSRB), as well as graduate student worker unions at New York University and the University of Massachusetts Amherst have also expressed their support for the academic boycott against Israel (BDS, 2023a).

The Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement against Israel has become one of the efforts in advocating for the rights of the Palestinian people and opposing the apartheid policies implemented by that country. Since its launch in 2005, BDS has successfully attracted global attention by demanding the end of the occupation, recognition of Palestinian rights, and respect for the right of return for refugees. Despite facing criticism and challenges, this movement has shown real impact through the decline in foreign investment in Israel and support from various international circles, including artists and academics. With a non-violent approach, BDS not only serves as a tool to economically and politically pressure Israel, but also as a platform to raise global awareness about the issues faced by the Palestinian people, thereby strengthening international solidarity in their struggle for justice and freedom.

With these efforts, Palestine effectively utilizes social media and citizen journalism to counter the dominant narrative that often supports Israel's position. Through the use of platforms such as Twitter, TikTok, and Instagram, Palestinians can upload real-time visual content that shows the conditions on the ground, which often contradicts mainstream media reports. Additionally, the use of hashtags like #FreePalestine has successfully attracted international attention and created global solidarity, especially among the younger generation. Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) also play an important role in pressuring entities that support Israel economically, politically, and culturally, which strengthens the resistance against Israeli media hegemony on the international stage. This strategy overall helps to expand international support for Palestine and elevate alternative narratives that are often overlooked by mainstream media.

The strategy used by Palestine in countering the hegemony of Israeli media reflects the concept of counter-propaganda proposed by Herbert Romerstein, which is a carefully prepared response to false propaganda aimed at denying misinformation and weakening the propagandists (Romerstein, 2008). Through the use of citizen journalism and social media, Palestine is able to disseminate alternative narratives that often do not appear in mainstream media, thereby revealing facts that undermine the credibility of pro-Israel propaganda. Collaboration with alternative media also becomes an effective way to convey more objective information that is not influenced by major political interests, in line with the principles of counter-propaganda in refuting the distortion of information by the opposing side. Additionally, the BDS (Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions) movement serves as a powerful tool to change global public opinion by highlighting the injustices and human rights violations experienced by the Palestinian people. These three strategies demonstrate how Palestine uses counter-propaganda to challenge Israel's dominant narrative and advocate for a more balanced perspective on the international stage.

