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Evaluation of the Promotion Strategies Used in Directing the Palestinian Politics: Case Study on the PNA Dynamism for the Detainees Question

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نتيجة الحكم على أطروحة ماجستير

بناءً على موافقة شئون البحث العلمي والدراسات العليا بالجامعة الإسلامية بغزة على تشكيل لجنة الحكم على أطروحة الباحث/ معاذ محمد سلمان الحاج أحمد لنيل درجة الماجستير في كلية *التجارة/* قسم إدارة الأعمال/إدارة موارد بشرية وموضوعها:

تقييم الاستراتيجيات الترويجية المستخدمة في توجيه السياسات الفلسطينية: دراسة حالة لديناميكية السلطة في معالجة قضية الأسرى

Evaluation of the Promotion Strategies Used in Directing the Palestinian Politics: Case Study on the PNA Dynamism for the Detainees Question

وبعد المناقشة التي تمت اليوم السبت 07 جمادى الأولى1437هـ، الموافق 2016/02/27م الساعة الواحدة ظهراً، اجتمعت لجنة الحكم على الأطروحة والمكونة من:

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وبعد المداولة أوصت اللجنة بمنح الباحث درجة الماجستير في كلية *التجارة/* قسم إدارة الأعمال/إدارة موارد بشرية.

واللجنة إذ تمنحه هذه الدرجة فإنها توصيه بتقوى الله ولزوم طاعته وأن يسخر علمه في خدمة دينه ووطنه.

والله ولي التوفيق ،،،

نائب الرئيس لشئون البحث العلمي والدراسات العليا

أ.د. عبدالرؤوف علي المناعمة

Declaration

The work provided in this thesis, "**Evaluation of the Promotion Strategies Used in Directing the Palestinian Politics: Case Study on the PNA Dynamism for the Detainees Question**" unless otherwise referenced, is the researcher's own work, and has not been submitted by others elsewhere for any other degree or qualification. I understand the nature of plagiarism, and I am aware of the University's policy on this.

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Dedication

To commence with, this thesis is dedicated to my honorable father, my beloved mother, my generous brothers and my cute sisters who have inspired me with patience, attention and supplication. They sacrificed blood and treasure to get me this far. Their words of encouragement and push for tenacity ring in my ears to have a front seat among the key players in the society. They have never left my side during my course for my adventurous journey to the solid truth.

I also dedicate this thesis to my uncle Ahmed in Saudi Arabia who has been residing for half a century in diaspora. His impressive nostalgia and profound homesickness have provoked my critical fervor and evoked my imaginative thinking in many ways. Likewise, I consecrate this marketing product to my gentle uncle Mahmoud who currently resides in Syria. His sacred positions and revolutionary orientations have aggravated my urge and drive to seek this path despite of its enormous milestones.

Equally, I devote this thesis to my relatives, friends and colleagues in compass who got on contact with me and kept my moral higher. They share me knowledge, advice and wisdom to catch my intended target.

More fundamentally, I dedicate this masterpiece to the martyrs of my beloved Palestine who have watered the precious sole with their pure blood. They have sacrificed the prime of their age in order to liberate the first shrine and the third holy mosque from the Israeli colonialization. Never could we have our say resounding apart from the gigantic list of the Palestinian martyrs.

Significantly, too, I dedicate this thesis to the wounded people who have burdened the risk and grievances to maintain decent life for the upcoming generations. Although many of them have lost their body parts, they feel proud and gratified in their noble wheel shares.

Lastly, I devote this making to the Palestinian detainees in the Israeli jails. They have stood firmly to encounter the Israeli victimizer. Their torture, electrocution, ill-treatment and harsh sentencing will be the propeller that drives the Palestinian struggle to its ultimate triumph.

May Allah Lead Us To The Best For Our Nation

Acknowledgement

Arabic Abstract

موضوع الدراسة:

تتناول الدراسة الاستراتيجيات الترويجية المستخدمة في توجيه السياسات الفلسطينية، وتتخذ الدراسة من قضية الأسرى الفلسطينيين ميدانا للتتبع والبحث؛ للوصول الى صورة واضحة يتجلى من خلالها المسار الحركي– الديناميكي الذي يحكم أداء السلطة الوطنية الفلسطينية، للدفع بهذه القضية العادلة الى واجهة الأحداث.

أهداف الدراسة:

- تهدف الدراسة الى تحديد الاستراتيجيات الترويجية الراهنة التي يتبناها الساسة الفلسطينيين لرسم صورة الأسرى في الوسط الدولي.

- ترمي الدراسة الى بيان خانات القوة والضعف في الاستراتيجيات الترويجية المستخدمة في تسويق قضية الأسرى؛ بغية توليد استراتيجية تسويقية غير تقليدية ملائمة وموازية لاستراتيجية الكفاح المسلح.

- تسعى الدراسة كذلك الى تطوير خطاب ترويجي قادر على احداث اختراق سياسي لمواجهة السياسة الغربية التي تبدي انحيازها الواضح للرواية الرسمية الاسرائيلية.

- وختاما تقدم الدراسة المقترحات اللازمة التي تعود بالنفع والفائدة على الساسة الفلسطينيين، وقادة الأحزاب السياسية، ومراكز البحث العلمي، والباحثين في هذا المجال.

منهجية الدراسة:

تتخذ هذه الدراسة المنهج الوصفي الكمي القائم على معالجات كمية احصائية تحليلية من أجل تقوية وتعزيز دقة النتائج التي يرمي الباحث للوصول اليها، وبناء على ذلك قام الباحث بتصميم واعداد استبانة ومن ثم توزيعها على (160) أسير محرر من سجون الاحتلال الاسرائيلي في قطاع غزة، وقد تم توزيع الاستبانات بنسب متساوية (40) على الأحزاب السياسية الأربع الرئيسية (حماس، فتح، الجهاد الاسلامي، الجبهة الشعبية)، بغية الحصول على نتائج أكثر مصداقية وثبات، كذلك تم توزيع الاستبانة على (40) ناشط سياسي من المنخرطين في العمل والفعاليات والبرامج المساندة لقضية الأسرى من أجل الوصول الى نتائج أكثر موضوعية وشمولية، وقد تم معالجة وتحليل البيانات باستخدام برنامج التحليل الاحصائي (SPSS 22.)، حيث قام الباحث بإجراء الاختبارات التالية:

- ➤ **Kolmogorov–Smirnov لمعرفة توزيع البيانات (طبيعي – غير طبيعي أو مشتتة).**
- ➤ **Pearson Correlation Coefficient لفحص مستوى مصداقية العينة.**
- ➤ **Cronbach's Alpha لمعاينة مستوى ثبات العينة وغيرها من الاختبارات.**

نتائج الدراسة:

✓ أفضت الدراسة الى أن استراتيجية الترويج المتبعة من قبل السلطة الفلسطينية تعاني من أزمة واضحة لاعتبارات بنائية ذات صلة بالنظام البيروقراطي الفلسطيني، وأخرى ذات علاقة بالجغرافيا السياسية المحيطة، وثالثة تتصل مباشرة بالعامل الدولي المتواطئ مع اسرائيل.

✓ كما أظهرت الدراسة أنه ليست لدى السلطة الفلسطينية رؤيا مرحلية واستراتيجية متكاملة وواضحة المعالم بما يتعلق بقضية الأسرى في سجون الاحتلال.

✓ وأشارت الدراسة الى أن الساسة الفلسطينيين لا يبذلون جهود مرضية في التواصل مع المؤسسات الدولية ذات الصلة بقضية الأسرى للضغط على الاحتلال لتخفيف معاناتهم.

✓ وأبرزت النتائج أن السلطة الفلسطينية لا تقوم بتسويق قضية الأسرى في البيئة المحلية من خلال خلق برامج وفعاليات تتناسب مع تضحياتهم الجليلة.

توصيات الدراسة:

– يوصي الباحث السلطة الفلسطينية بضرورة تطوير استراتيجية ترويجية فلسطينية تتناسب مع محنة الأسر القاسية والمتغيرات الاقليمية والدولية.

– كذلك يرى الباحث أنه من المفيد أن يكون لدى السلطة رؤيا مرحلية واستراتيجية خاصة بالأسرى توازن بين الاحتياجات الآنية المرحلية الملحة للأسير والهدف الاستراتيجي بتحريره من سجون الاحتلال.

– توصي الدراسة السلطة بسرعة الانضمام الى محكمة الجنايات الدولية لملاحقة قادة الاحتلال المتورطين في قتل وتصفية الأسرى وفضح الممارسات الاسرائيلية داخل السجون.

– ويحث الباحث السلطة على اشراك جميع الأحزاب السياسية والتنسيق الكامل معها من أجل رفع كفاءة الأداء الفلسطيني العام خاصة بما يتعلق بقضية الأسرى.

– ويعتقد الباحث أنه من الحيوي اثراء المناهج الدراسية بموضوعات تتناول قضية الأسرى في السجون الاسرائيلية لتعريف الطالب عن قرب بمعاناتهم وحقهم الأصيل في الحرية والكرامة.

– يوجه الباحث عناية السلطة الى ضرورة مخاطبة المؤسسات الصحية الدولية المعنية للقيام بدورها في متابعة الأوضاع الصحية للأسرى داخل السجون وتقديم الرعاية الطبية المناسبة لهم.

– وأخيرا ينوه الباحث الى أهمية تفعيل دور السفارات، والممثليات، والبعثات الدبلوماسية في الخارج من أجل تسويق قضية الأسرى في المحيط الدولي.

Abstract

This study investigates the effectiveness of the promotion strategies used in directing the Palestinian politics. It takes the detainees matter as an area of inquiry in attempt to assess the performance of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) in marketing their narrative to stimulate the international public.

The study seeks to determine the current strategy adopted by the Palestinian officials to draw the detainees image at the international milieu. It also detects the areas of strength and weakness in the Palestinian promotion performance in order to generate a decent and unconventional marketing strategy parallel to the Palestinian classical-armed struggle. The study also aspires to develop a penetrative promotional jargon to encounter the salient western policy that shows high sympathy to the Israeli political discourse.

The study uses the positivist approach which is constructed upon an analytical quantitative methodology to reinforce the accuracy of the scientific rigor of the issue under investigation. Accordingly, a questionnaire is prepared and distributed to a non- random sample comprised of 160 X-detainees released from the Israeli jails and currently live in the Gaza strip. The questionnaires have been distributed in equal portions among the four principle parties including: Hamas, Fatah, the Islamic Jihad and the Popular Front in an attempt to obtain more credible and reliable outcomes. Moreover, the questionnaires have been distributed to 40 political activists who are mostly engaged in detainees question to solidify the validity of the results and to explore any gap of misrepresentation.

The given data have been analyzed and processed by the statistical package (SPSS 22). Throughout applying various tests including: Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test of Normality, Pearson Correlation Coefficient for Validity, Cronbach's Alpha for Reliability Statistics and so like.

The study finds that the Palestinian promotional strategies suffer a noticeable shortcoming due to structural, geopolitical and international factors which are heavy-handed in reshaping the Palestinian political dynamism. The results also unfold that the Palestinian Authority does not have an effective transitional and strategic vision in handling the detainees question. They also point out that the Palestinian decision makers are not contacting the international organization in reference in a satisfactory mode to mitigate the detainees ordeal. More importantly, the Palestinian Authority is not paying an adequate attention to the local Palestinian market to promulgate the detainees question throughout sophisticated promotional programs.

Thus, the research recommends the Palestinian authority to develop a decent promotion strategy that matches the detainees narrative in view of the territorial and international variables. Furthermore, the study suggests that the Palestinian authority

should construct an apparent transitional and strategic vision in regard to the detainees matter that strikes a balance between the urgent necessity of the detainees and the long-lasting goal of their release. It also recommends the Palestinian Authority to be more serious to join the International Criminal Court (ICC) to prosecute the Israeli war criminals who are accountable for the notorious human rights abuse against the Palestinian detainees. The study proposes that the PNA should engage the political parties in a more dynamic mode in an attempt to upgrade the Palestinian public performance concerning the detainees case. More expressively, the researcher also advises the Palestinian Authority to orchestrate an adequate presentation of the detainees issue in the Palestinian national learning curriculum to familiarize the students with their struggle. The researcher thinks that the PNA should communicate with the international health institutions to conduct constant checking for the Israeli jails to observe in close the health status of the Palestinian detainees. At last, the researcher advises the Palestinian decision makers to activate the rule of the embassies, the representation offices and the diplomatic missions to market the detainees cause in the Western milieu.

Table of Contents

XI

XIII

List of Tables

List of Figures

XVI

Definitions of Terms

Term	Definition
Acclaiming Strategy	"This strategy seeks to reinforce the image of the speaker. It also stimulates the citizens to hold comparisons, formulate, insights and make initial judgment", (Benoit, W. & et al. 2003).
Active Public	"This group of the population members share a common problem, recognize it and engage actively to deal with it and contain its consequences", (Grunig, J. & Repper, F. 1992).
Advertising	"Any paid form of non-personal presentation and promotion of an offer by an identified sponsor through a formal communication medium", (Andreasen, A. & Kotler, Ph. 2008: p300).
Articles	"Articles are a piece of literary form that has distinctive features, uses, values and sometimes different target groups. They frequently tackle one single idea that writers feel that it is worthy to be zoomed in to the public", (Baines, P., Egan, J. & Jefkins, F. 2004).
Attacking Strategy	"The strategy of launching a harsh or benign criticism against the political leader either (president, government official, parliamentarian, judicial icon, candidate runner) to discredit his image, profile, experience, charisma, public agenda and so forth", (The Researcher Definition).
Aware Public	"This group of population share a common and recognized problem, but they are not involved to solve it", (Grunig, J. & Repper, F. 1992).
Campaign	"A campaign is a series of events all designed to communicate to an audience and garner support from that audience. It's used by a wide range of actors, both commercial and political, and are designed to win over the audience through a range of increasingly sophisticated techniques", (Lilleker, D. 2006: p58).
Celebrities	"Celebrity refers to political, business, social, art and intellectual icons that have massive popularity, reputation and admiration among the mass", (The Researcher Definition).
Conferences	"A conference is composed of a large audience with platform speakers that it's designed to bring people to debate issues relevant to their mutual concern", (Baines, P., Egan, J. & Jefkins, F. 2004).
Contrast Advertising	"It seeks to highlight the differences between two or more candidates running in an election. It attempts to reveals the precious merits that this politician obtains in comparison with his rival", (Dickinson, A. 2012: p17).
Defending Strategy	"A typology of image repair which involves persuasive defense, apologia, accounts, or image repair discourse", (Benoit, W. 2001a).

Term	Definition
Detainees	"Members of organized resistance movements, civilian members responsible for the welfare of the resistance persons, non-resistance members who show no engagement in the conflict or inhabitance of a non-occupied territory who spontaneously take up arms to resist the invading force without having time to form themselves", (Geneva Convention: Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, 1949).
Facility Visit	"Facility visit usually means taking a person or a group of people by some form of transport. They are actually formed from politicians, experts and journalists who wish to cover the visit activities and procedures", (Baines, P., Egan, J. & Jefkins, F. 2004).
Hypermedia Campaign	"The capacity of the political organizations for innovatively adopting digital technologies to express political purposes and its capacity for innovatively adapting its organizational structure to conform to new communicative practices", (Howard, P. 2006: p2).
Israeli Lobby	"The loose coalition of individuals and organizations that actively work to shape U.S. foreign policy in a pro-Israel direction", (Mearsheimer, J. & Walt, S. 2007: p112).
Latent Public	"The members of this population share a common problem, but they failed to recognize it to the moment. Thus, they are not involved or show active engagement in solving it because no prior realization is available", (Grunig, J. & Repper, F. 1992).
Learning: Opinionating	"Learning involves change in voters' knowledge of the candidates' positions", (Simon, A. 2004: p55).
Lobbying	"Persuasive activity to change public policy in favor of an organization by groups of people who are not directly involved in the political process", (Moloney, K. 1997: p169).
Lobbying the Grassroots	"Grassroots lobbying refers to that form of lobbying and pressure directed to general mass to respond to a public concern or attract the attention of the society", (The Researcher Definition).
Lobbying the Judicial Layer	"Communicating the judicial bodies, recruiting advocates, filing lawsuits and contacting the attorney general to influence certain decisions and government's policies", (The Researcher Definition).
Lobbying the Legislative Layer	"Contacting legislative figures and parliamentary icons to push forward a desired bill, to pressure against a government's policy or to show their urge in favor of a government's program or grand strategy", (The Researcher Definition).
Lobbying the Executive Layer	"It's a kind of lobbying directed towards the executive government including the president, the prime minister, the ministers, some public agencies and other bureaucracies in the country", (The Researcher Definition).
Negative Advertising	"A negative advertisement acts to attack the rival, distort his image, demean his record, deny his policies, refuse his agenda and so like", (The Researcher Definition).

Term	Definition
Non-Public	"This group of population do not have a common or joint problem that mingles them with the other public. They also do not recognize that the problem is existed and they are not organized to do or exert any effort to solve it", (Grunig, J. & Repper, F. 1992).
Persuasion	"Psychologists generally define persuasion as: any message-induced change in attitudes or beliefs", (Petty, R. & Cacioppo, J. 1986).
Political Advertising	"The purchase and use of advertising space, paid for at commercial rates, in order to transmit political messages to a mass audience. It works to reshape their attitude and behavior towards certain political ideas and concepts", (McNair, B. 2003: p96).
Political Consumer	"Political consumers are not only concerned about whom to vote for but they also have a different attitude towards politicians, they want to be more involved and consulted, question authority and they scrutinize outcomes", (Lees-Marshment, J. 2009: p9).
Political Market	"The political market is made of voters who are willing to trade their votes in return for a value or a promise", (O'Cass, A. 1996).
Political Marketing	"Political marketing is about political parties adapting business concepts and techniques to help them achieve their goals", Lees-Marshment, J. 2001a).
Political Organization	"A political organization refers to those entities which are trying to win a position of some kind through public elections", (Butler, P. & Collins, N. 1994).
Political Organization Amateurs	"Political organization amateurs are small groups of party politicians and activists who receive the party training and indoctrination", (Kaskeala, A. 2010: p21).
Political Product	"A political product can be a political party, national figure, public policy, or an ideology and faith. It involves the leader power, image, reputation, experience, character, support/appeal, relationship with the rest of the party organization (advisers, cabinet, members, MPs), media relationship and so like", (Lees-Marshment, J. 2009: p23).
Political Public Relations	"The management process by which an organization or individual actor for political purposes, through purposeful communication and action, seeks to influence and to establish, build, and maintain beneficial relationships and reputations with its key publics to help support its mission and achieve its goals", (Strömbäck, J. & Kiousis, S. 2011: p8).
Political Stakeholders	"Political stakeholders include all those interested and with an investment in the party or candidate such as members or volunteers within a political party or campaign, other politicians, lobbyists, interest groups, donors, the media, professional associations or unions, electoral commission and party or government staff", (Lees-Marshment, J. 2009: p22).

Term	Definition
Press Agentry/Publicity Model	"It's a model that concentrates on running a good and decent publicity and propaganda to the public to reinforce the status of the institutions throughout maximizing the positive image of the organization and reducing to the minimum the drop backs/negative images that could encounter the institutions", (Grunig, J. & Hunt, T. 1984).
Press Conference	"Press conferences are the most common tool to convey information to the public and reflect our feedback and perspectives concerning debatable issues and the new updates. It may be conducted on regular basis or when the government or the political leaders feel significant", (Baines, P., Egan, J. & Jefkins, F. 2004).
Press Release	"Press releases reflect in the broader sense an intimate relationship between public relations and media by paying considerations to the language used, the culture presented and the audience intended", (Baines, P., Egan, J. & Jefkins, F. 2004).
Priming	"The weighting of considerations in a given decision", (Iyengar, Sh. and Kinder, D. 1987).
Prisoners of War	"Members of the armed forces of a party to the conflict, members of regular armed forces who profess allegiance to a government or an authority not recognized by the detaining power as well as members of militias or volunteer corps forming part of such armed forces including members of other volunteers in or outside their own territory", (Geneva Convention: Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, 1949).
Promotion	"Promotion is that part of communication that consists of company messages designed to stimulate awareness of, interest in, and purchase of its various products and services", (Kotler, Ph. 2003: P38).
Promotion Advertising	"It's primarily designed to endorse a candidate by presenting biographical information of the person or describing the candidate's position on an issue", (Dickinson, A. 2012: p17).
Public Information Model	"It's a one-way communication model created to disseminate objective information to the public without using persuasion strategies and tactics. It presupposes one-way communication from organizations to their publics, and there is no much room for interest in feedback", (Grunig, J. & Hunt, T. 1984).
Public Relations	"Public relations is a strategic communication process that builds mutually beneficial relationships between organizations and their publics", (PRSA Website, 2012).
Pull Approach	"Pull approach targets the end-user customers to increase the levels of awareness, change or reinforce attitudes and stimulate demand to obtain the product distribution", (Lamb, C. & et al. 2009: p413).
Push Approach	"Push approach seeks to encourage trade channel organizations. The producers try to convince the trade channel buyers to stock and sell their products. Then, the trade channel buyers must push the products through retailers, and the retailers push the products to the end-user customers", (Lamb, C. & et al, 2009: p413).

Term	Definition
Reports	"Reports refer to certain publications issued from governments, organizations, institutions, unions and so forth that document definitive phenomenon or reveal an area of violation in a country", (The Researcher Definition).
Seminars	"A Seminar is a smaller gathering shorter than a conference, and confined to an evening, half a day or at most a whole day. It can be held in a medium-size room with specialists or experienced professionals", (Baines, P., Egan, J. & Jefkins, F. 2004).
Serials	"The mechanism by which a vital subject matter, disputed idea or historical figure are depicted, filmed and narrated to the audience throughout sophisticated fictional programs", (The Researcher Definition).
Slogans	"Slogans are primarily defined as: a word, a phrase or a sentence can function as a constant", (Sutherland, M. & Sylvester, A. 2008: p242).
Social Media	"Social media refers to activities, practices and behaviors among communities of people who gather online to share information, knowledge, and opinions using conversational media", (Safko, L. & Brake, D. 2009).
Symbols	"symbols are one form of constant that can act as a powerful branding device in the total style mix", (Sutherland, M. & Sylvester, A. 2008: p242).
Think Tanks	"Think tanks are intellectual organizations responsible for distributing brief and easily digested policy memorandums to legislators and other government officials; organize seminars, working breakfasts; and briefings for officials and their staffs; and encourage their own analysts to publish op-eds and other visible forms of commentary, all with the goal of shaping the prevailing climate of ideas", (Mearsheimer, J. & Walt, S. 2007: p175).
Two-Way Asymmetric Model	"It's a persuasive communication model, in which the relationship between the institutions and the publics is bilateral that involves engagement and feedback", (Grunig, J. & Hunt, T. 1984).
Two-Way Symmetrical Model	"It's a distinctive and superior model, in which the relationship between the organization and the general public shows extra development and harmony. It seeks to establish a mutually-understandable relationship situated on self-realization and joint interests", (Grunig, J. & Hunt, T. 1984).

Chapter One
The Research Framework

1.1. General Insight

1.2. Problem Statement

1.3. Research Hypotheses

1.4. Research Variables

1.5. Research Significance

1.6. Research Purpose

1.7. Research Objectives

1.8. Research Scope and limitations

1.1. General Insight

"Throughout the relentless aggressions of the Israeli occupation, more than 850000 of the total Palestinian population have been arrested in the Israeli jails since the break of the 1967 war opening the window for extra Israeli violation and torture against the armless citizens", (Ferwana, A. 2015). In fact, this milestone is an antecedent to the appearance of the occupation and its arbitrary procedures that have targeted the whole. The detainees are subject to adverse forms of neglect, humiliation in addition to physical and spiritual abuse. It is worthy to state that "the number of detainees in the Israeli jails to the moment is approximate to 6800 detainees among them elderly, chronically ill, underage and women", (Palestine Detainees Center for Studies, 2015).

Although the Oslo accord and the declaration of principles and the scores of agreements or initiatives in advance and lately-based on Madrid conference for peace have been stipulated on the release of detainees, yet the vast majority is still in jails especially those with high detention charge. The Israeli jails are loaded with detainees from the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, Jerusalem and the 1948 occupied land. Although many Arab countries have signed peace accords with Israel, such as, Egypt and Jordan, and others have followed their steps, yet they have not succeeded to end up the tribulation of their detainees. Increasingly, the number of detainees is subject to alteration and radical increase depending on the ongoing clashes and incidence; ironically, the world attention to them sounds on diminish. "The recent reports show that around 1000 detainees are under administrative detention; half of them are minor children which contradicts with the whole norms and conventions of the international law", (Commission of Detainees and X-Detainees Affairs, 2015).

Despite the calls from some international organizations for Israel to draw an end for such acts, the occupation keeps the detainees without judicial sentencing or meeting with their families for longer durations. The children are not apart from these conditions in which the occupation holds many of them - below 18 - behind bars. They are isolated from their families and sometimes their advocates which is deemed outrageous to the primary principles of human rights. The detainees are also deprived of their decent life and having good education opportunities equivalent to the people of the whole world.

Moreover, the Palestinian woman is not distant from the Israeli violations which keep the international laws as mere dead letters. "41 female detainees are left behind bars after the recent escalation and clashes between the Israeli forces and the Palestinian resistance", (Commission of Detainees and X-Detainees Affairs, 2015). They have tasted all sorts of punishment and extortion and encountered immoral and inhuman detention conditions. Many of them gave birth inside the prison. The occupation authorities isolate

the woman from her neonate to exert extra psychological and spiritual pressure on her in an attempt to eradicate her will.

The occupation jails have many detainees who are suffering serious illnesses and chronicle ailments such as cancer, diabetes, kidney failure, high blood pressure, and the like. The human rights associations, research centers and the political activists have documented scores of detainees who passed away due to the lack of medical care and attention. Although the history records reveal there is a noticeable success in which the Palestinian released hundreds and sometimes thousands of detainees against the occupation well, more than 6800 are still behind bars and the questions that keep rising: when and how shall we clear the jails? We wonder!

1.2. Problem Statement

Increasingly, the Palestinian detainees are caught in the trap of the international ignorance in which we are so pessimistic of a potential intervention to alleviate their suffering. It has become the cornerstone and principle dilemma at the heart of the Palestinian Israeli conflict and the urge that drives the course of the political sphere. The world organizations are not engaged seriously in this humanitarian and moral issue. Similarly, the majority of the world countries are not concerned about the issue in spite of the severity of the ordeal. Ironically, the whole world had interacted and intervened to release the Israeli soldier, Gilad Shalit, who had been caught in Gaza during the Dissipated Fantasy Operation in June 25, 2006.

Although the Israeli soldier is nothing compared to the 6800 Palestinian detainees, the scale sounds in favor of the occupation. The Israeli soldier arrest captured the attention of newspapers, mass media and the world decision makers particularly in the west. It is noticeable that the world fervor and sentiment is not in solidarity with the Palestinians and hardly could adopt an initiative to guarantee a sufficient humanitarian detention conditions at minimum. Thus, this thesis attempts to find an answer for the principle questions:

- Does The Palestinian Authority promote the detainees question effectively and adequately at the domestic, territorial and international arena?

- Is the international bias the whole story, or is there certainly something overlooked?

It sounds obvious that we do not have clear-cut answer for such inquiry as well as an apparent information about the extent to which the Palestinians follow some adequate promotional strategies to advocate their politics and the case of detainees in definite. It is also significant that no researcher has handled this topic in prior and even the concept is not subject to the recognition and investigation in the Palestinian academia.

1.3. Research Hypotheses

The research will test the principle hypothesis and the sub-hypotheses in order to give us precise outcomes concerning the promotion strategies used by the Palestinian politicians.

❖ Principle Hypothesis

1. The promotion strategies used by the PNA in directing the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question are effective.

2. There are statistically significant differences in the evaluation of the effectiveness of promotion strategies used by the PNA in directing the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question ascribed to personal information: (place of birth, age, health status, education level, political affiliation, sentence duration, actual duration of detention, date of detention, times of detention and cause of release) at a level of statistical significance ($\alpha \leq 0.05$).

❖ Sub-Hypotheses

1. There is an effective rule less than 0.05 of advertising on the PNA direction of the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question.

2. There is an effective rule less than 0.05 of campaigns on the PNA direction of the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question.

3. There is an effective rule less than 0.05 of public relations on the PNA direction of the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question.

4. There is an effective rule less than 0.05 of lobbying on the PNA direction of the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question.

1.4. Research Variables

Here are the dependent and independent variables that will be investigated throughout the research.

1. **Dependent Variable:** The PNA direction of the Palestinian politics

2. **Independent Variables:** The promotion strategies:

a. Advertising

b. Campaign

c. Public relations

d. Lobbying

Figure (1): Research Variables
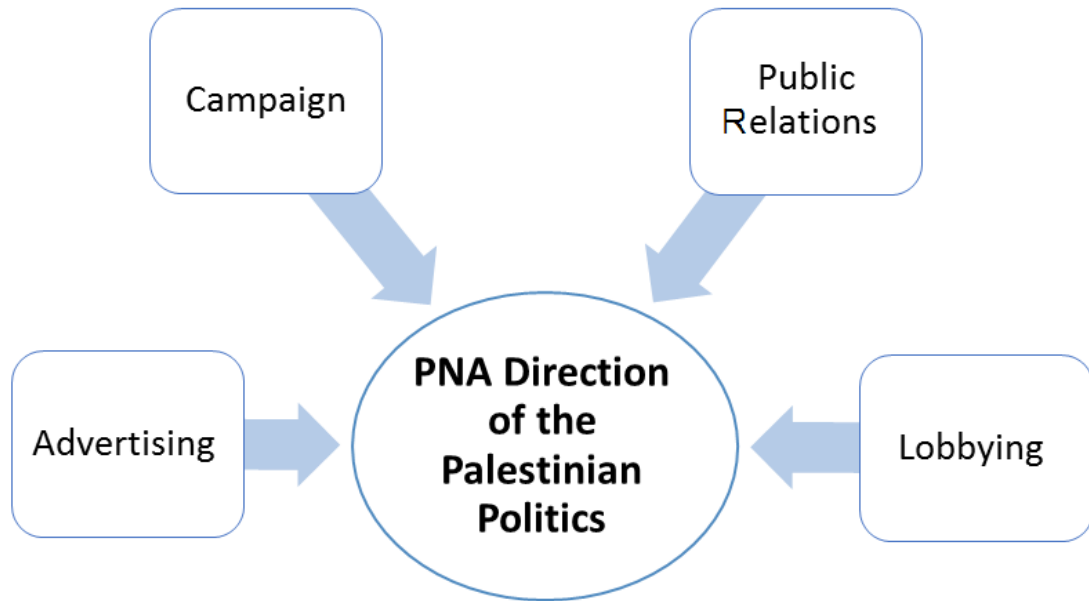
Source: conceptualized by the researcher, 2016

1.5. Research Significance

Undoubtedly, this thesis is so important and vital to be tackled due to its immediate connection with the Palestinian fundamental and crucial issues. It firstly and fore mostly ushers new trend and orientation to promote the detainees case among the world continents and capture extra sentiments and sympathy in favor of our cause. Consequently, the significance of the research and its validity are briefed in the following lines:

1. Creating unconventional methods to promote the Palestinian vision to the world in parallel with the Palestinian arm struggle.

2. Taking the advantage of marketing and promotion to contact a wider spectrum of people, key officials, notable figures and decision makers across the universe.

3. Giving high concern to the detainees case in an attempt to have their voice reached and their suffering realized by the western communities.

4. Recently, many countries and governments pay much attention to marketing and campaigning for their ideas and programs in order to build their national agenda.

5. Even though the subject is vital for the Palestinian policy makers, the detainees question is beyond the interest of the Palestinian researchers.

6. Setting the foundations and strategies for promoting the political product since it is one of the primary features of a good government or leadership of any state.

7. Encouraging researchers, authors and concerned parties to address these topics and put it under thorough investigation and attention in their later researches.

8. Formulating radically influencing rules in promoting the political products of interests groups, political parties and government officials.

9. Paying an obvious concerned to the political Palestinian market since it is not isolated from the business market in which both politicians and business can sell and buy their products.

10. Handling the most humanitarian and ethical problem in the Palestinian Israeli conflict which sounds overlooked by the international organizations.

11. Supplying the political market with a unique term of reference that could be relied on by the concerned authorities in the Palestinian political arena.

1.6. Research Purpose

The aim of this study is to examine the effectiveness of the promotion strategies used by the PNA in directing the Palestinian politics in desire for mobilizing the world attention and effort to the detainees question.

1.7. Research Objectives

1. Assess the validity of the current promotion strategies adopted by the Palestinian Authority to draw the world attention to the detainees ordeal.

2. Detect the areas of strength and weakness in the Palestinian promotion performance in relation to the detainees matter.

3. Develop counter Israeli-promotion strategies that could be adequate to attract large audience in the western markets.

4. Generate decent and unconventional marketing strategies parallel to the Palestinian classical-armed struggle.

5. Propose the necessary recommendations that could be of higher value to the decision makers, concerned factions and political leaders.

1.8. Research Scope and limitations

The study concentrates on the promotion strategies used to direct the Palestinian politics definitely the promotion strategies adopted by the Palestinian authority to promulgate the detainees ordeal and scandalize the Israeli occupation. The study is limited within the geopolitical boundaries of the Gaza strip due to the fragmentation and the

splitting of the political territories by the occupation. Accordingly, there is no space to communicate and interact with the detainees in the west bank who represent a significant part of the detainees struggle. However, the west bank and Jerusalem detainees who are exiled to Gaza after the implementation of the detainees exchange deal in 2011 are given the opportunity to participate in the research. Another dominator is that the study is confined with the four principle political parties including Hamas, Fatah, the Islamic Jihad and the Popular Front and does not go forward to the new or the small-size parties who sound countless or hard to communicate with. The study focuses on the detainees who spent three years and more in the Israeli jails because they are more likely exposed to experience and may give more genuine insight concerning the researched matter. Moreover, the study also focuses on the detainees and the political activists who are mostly engaged in promoting and promulgating the detainees narrative in order to get more deliberate outcomes.

Chapter Two
Political Marketing: Definition, Function and Theory

2.1. Introduction

2.2. Political Marketing Merits

2.3. Political Marketing Definition

2.4. Political Marketing Marriage

2.5. Political Marketing Stakeholders

2.6. Political Marketing Concepts

2.7. Political Marketing and Political Consumer

2.8. Generic Functions of Political Marketing

2.9. Political Marketing Techniques

2.10. Political Marketing Paradigm

2.11. Political Marketing Theory- CPM

2.12. Political Marketing Process

2.13. Political Marketing: The Dialectic Tension

2.1. Introduction

"Political marketing is a new discipline that has emerged from the joining of political science and marketing. Since the field is still in its infancy academics are trying to establish research areas in the subject", (de Malmanche, B. 2014: p17).

However, it has increasingly become a vital discipline that invaded the marketing discourse. Politicians, national liberation figures, parliamentarians and governments leaders make use of this newly adopted science to boost their positions in the political environment. Politicians rely on political marketing to persuade their voters and consumers that they are acting in favor of their cause and principles. National liberation figures mobilize their promotional tactics and political campaigns to reach the international market. They attempt to stigmatize the occupation and display the suffering of their people. Legislative members perceive political marketing literature in a variant sense. They should be in direct and close contact with the voters after the elections and make sure that their policies are fulfilled and their promises are delivered. Government officials use political marketing to guarantee a good governance and stay in response to the voters' wants and needs.

Henneberg, S., 2004 investigates not only the application of marketing techniques, tools and concepts to politics but also the integral range of social theory that informs the study of post-industrial consumer society. It sounds a progressive trend since the classical dialectic tension revolves around the marketing tools and the nature of the political science as well as the adaptation of political issues to have a relative matching with the marketing environment.

"The studies in this disciplines show that the core of political marketing is communication and communication is the resultant of different target groups located in different arenas or markets, such as party members in an internal arena, journalists and editors in a media arena, members of parliament in a parliamentary arena and voters in an electoral arena", (Strömbäck, J. 2007b). It is presumably convenient to state that the more the candidate approaches the voters throughout sophisticated promotional mechanism, the more he scores in the ballot boxes. Political marketing takes advantage of the marketing discipline in adapting, developing and applying its items. "Since the research area is so new, there are many different labels that the discipline is tailoring to formulate its concepts. It has also been called 'political management', 'packaged politics', 'promotional politics' or more broadly 'modern political communications", (Scammell, M. 1999: pp.718-739).

Although this science sounds at its infancy, it is widely usable in the elections to promote the political brands. A number of political marketing theories have tried to conceptualize party organization in the same manner we understand the commercial firms.

"They seek to investigate whether political parties deal with the voter in the same mechanism that firms deal with consumer in the business context", (Lilleker, D. 2005 & Needham, C. 2006).

Political parties allocate resources, mobilize the activists and recruit powerbrokers. They deliberately classify and design their agenda to create good voter-candidate orientation. Media revolution has made this science more presentable and reachable in which we can reach variant segments of voters with the adequate time and pace. Thus, this chapter will give an overview of the general principles of political marketing. What it is? What concepts it involves? Precisely, political marketing definition, approaches, theory, functions and paradigm. The primary aim is to familiarize the reader with the notion of political marketing. In addition, this chapter will set the foundations for the thesis and lay the ground for the Palestinian political promotion argument that controls the national liberation struggle in the upcoming chapters.

2.2. Political Marketing Merits

In the status quo, many countries, governments, parties and individual candidates give political marketing high credit. They perceive the discipline vital for the promulgation of their ideas, programs and agenda. The merit is not strictly confined within the framework of obtaining the voters satisfaction. Rather, it becomes the mechanism for sustaining a healthy and long-term relationship with all aspects in the political life. Thus, it may be deemed convenient to state some of these merits of this field of academia:

a) Spreading the demands of the national liberation movements to encounter the occupation.

b) Maintaining a sustainable relationship with the voters that is not only confined with the Election Day.

c) Enabling the political customers to have enough information about the parties in order to make their decisions.

d) Creating loyal customers who are ready to side by the government at the time of crises.

e) Creating harmony within the structure of the political party regardless of their age, education and social status.

f) Creating public understanding for complex policies and hard decisions.

g) Passing the necessary legislations that enhance the political party positions and achieve its promises.

h) Stimulating the world attention for vital issues, such as, colonialism and occupation.

i) Insuring that the political products and party promotions have reached all segments in the society.

j) Changing certain attitude in the society and supporting the noble values.

k) Gaining support from new segments in the society throughout persuasion and communication.

l) Increasing the number of affiliates in the political party by attracting new members.

m) Managing the expectations of political leaders.

2.3. Political Marketing Definition

Political marketing as an academic discipline is vigorously developing and there is a wide academic debate about its formation, utilization and integration. The essence of the political marketing revolves around adapting the marketing definitions, concepts, theories and models to be used in the political promotion of parties, parliaments and the government in large. However, the concept had gone under a radical transformation in order to be more appropriate in the political arena. The conventional thoughts of political marketing present it as a reciprocal relationship between a voter and candidate. By the time, we had witnessed a tremendous shift that broaden the scope to more vital phenomena. On equal footing, satisfaction is principally encouraged by the scholars of this field to guarantee mass supports and the consumer's loyalty and readiness to cast his or her vote.

The first attempts to define political marketing can be traced back to (Shama, A. 1976: p766). He states, "Political marketing is the process by which political candidates and ideas are directed at the voters in order to satisfy their political needs and thus gain their support for the candidate and ideas in question." It sounds that his understanding of political marketing to a great extent is equivalent to the idea of commercial marketing. According to his definition, political marketing is a matter of exchanging goods and services to satisfy our needs and wants. He perceives elections, idea promotion and political campaigning equal to a business transaction run in the market place. The early thought of this subject is that candidate and voter are equivalent to producer and customer in business organization.

In a substantial development in this subject, (Newman, B. 1999) had succeeded to broad the usage of the political marketing to all aspects and areas of politics. Political marketing is no longer confined in elections and promoting candidates. It penetrates the government, the parliament as well as embassies of the state. Newman states that Political marketing is, "The application of marketing principles and procedures in political campaigns by various individuals and organizations. The procedures involve the analysis, development, execution, and management of strategic campaigns by candidates, political

parties, governments, lobbyists and interest groups that seek to drive public opinion, advance their own ideologies, win elections, and pass legislation and referenda in response to the needs and wants of selected people and groups in a society", (Newman, B. 1999). In this definition, the main focus is on the application of such marketing principles and procedures in political marketing. Thereby, it is a perspective on marketing as an activity and process, rather than an attempt to adapt certain elements of commercial marketing to political context. According to Newman, political marketing can be carried out not only by political candidates and parties, but also by governments, lobbyists and interest groups, and all these activities should be performed in response to the needs and wants of target groups of a political campaign.

(Lees-Marshment, J. 2001a) presents political marketing as, "political marketing is about political parties adapting business concepts and techniques to help them achieve their goals." Thus, this definition concentrates on adapting the marketing tools, functions and strategies to the political products, organizations and markets. It gives high consideration to the prospective objectives of the political party, organization and national groups.

In an outstanding shift of political marketing thinking, (Henneberg, S. 2002: p103) states, "Political marketing seeks to establish, maintain and enhance long-term political relationships at a profit for society, so that the objectives of the individual political actors and organizations involved are met. This is done by mutual exchange and fulfillment of promises." Political marketing presents itself as a bargain between political actors and the general well-being of the voters. Both parties are attached by contractual promises that manage the reciprocal interest between the candidate and organization. The candidate should attach him/herself deeply within the political customers to obtain their satisfaction and acceptance. Any deviation from these guidelines will be against the interest of the politicians. The voter has some expectations to be fulfilled in exchanges for his adherence for any political program. The researcher thinks that the candidate promises as well as the customer orientation should not be conflicted, but harmonized in a great sense.

(Strömbäck, J. & Kiousis, S. 2011: p157) say, "Political marketing is viewed as the strategic importation of theories, concepts, and tools by political organizations in response to a range of social trends." This definition goes through the cornerstones that shape the political marketing literature. It unfolds the primary triggers that drive the course of political marketing development which has been referred to as "The social trends" that vary relatively from one political regime to another.

In a new orientation to the political marketing discipline, (Lees-Marshment, J. 2009: p21) defines it as, "Political marketing is about how political elites use marketing tools and concepts to understand, respond to, involve and communicate with their political market in order to achieve their goals." The author drives to the scene the term "political elite" which

signifies the political parties' leaders, government officials, presidents and parliament runners. They should understand their voters' demands for policies and programs. The political elites should react to the political audience and interact with their aspirations and dreams. Engagement and communication are vital in order to create customer loyalty and persuasion to their message. "Political elites include candidates, politicians, leaders, parties, governments, government departments and programs, NGOs and interest groups. Their political marketing goals, market, product, tools and approaches are wide-ranging", (Lees-Marshment, J. 2009: p21).

2.4. Political Marketing Marriage

Political marketing derives its name from marketing and political science. It shows a blend between two independent fields in an integral mode. (Lees-Marshment, J. 2009: p:26) delivers it as, "a status of a marriage between two main disciplines in social sciences, which is marketing and politics. It is created by applying marketing concepts from business to politics, but not by simply imposing one over the other." Although marketing has its own theories and concepts that guide business transactions and organization activities and political science has its own theories that direct the political organizations, government officials and international bodies, political marketing emerged in an adaptive mechanism of marketing and political science theories and concepts.

Hence, not only can an abundant of different marketing theories be used, but political science (and related) theories and concepts can also be juxtaposed, integrated or compared. Accordingly, "political marketing concepts and theories depend on borrowing and adaptation of existing theories of both marketing and political science", (Scammell, M. 1999 & Newman, B. 2002a). This triangulation seems healthy, in which this process is convenient to increase theory-building creativity by searching out friction points in theories for theoretical and conceptual exploration and investigation.

2.5. Political Marketing Stakeholders

"In the business life, corporations interact with abundant stakeholders to exchange interest or values. Some of those stakeholders are direct beneficiaries and in other times they are secondary ones", (Lees-Marshment, J. 2009: p22). Equally, the political market is also more complex than just voters are. The relationship between the candidate and voter is more intricate and involves many variables that direct the attitude of the public and shape their behavior. Political stakeholders include, "all those interested and with an investment in the party or candidate such as members or volunteers within a political party or campaign, other politicians, lobbyists, interest groups, donors, the media, professional associations or unions, electoral commission and party or government staff", (Lees-Marshment, J. 2009: p22).

13

2.6. Political Marketing Concepts

Before moving ahead in our discussion, it is more convenient to zoom on the significant concepts that establish this literature. These concepts are political product, organization and market. They constitute the pillars of the political marketing cycle which starts from the political candidate to the organization and the market.

Political Product

"A political product can be a political party, national figure, public policy, or an ideology and faith. It involves the leader power, image, reputation, experience, character, support/appeal, relationship with the rest of the party organization (advisers, cabinet, members, MPs), media relationship and so like", (Lees-Marshment, J. 2009: p23).

According to (Butler, P. & Collins, N. 1994), "The political product is built up of three different dimensions. These dimensions are the product's multi-component nature, the importance of customer or voter loyalty, and its adaptability. The multi-component nature of the political product refers to how it is formed of different components; the political candidate, party, and the ideology." The political consumers may feel satisfied with certain political products such as candidates, policies and programs and votes for it. In other instances, the political audience may discredit the party policy and topples it down in the general elections. In some situations, the voter is adhered to the political party's principles and orientation. However, he/she has some conservations and even sometimes poor confidence to enjoy public massing.

Another special feature of the political product is the extent of loyalty that it creates. Some political products generate strong-voter loyalty and motivate customers to participate heavily in the election. On the other hand, we find political products enjoy relative fervor and third ones may perceive poor motivation and participation.

The third feature specific to the political product is its adaptable nature. In classical products, "it is not easy to be adapted and recreated again. Meanwhile, political products are adaptable and can be reconstructed. For example, political parties can be liaised with another party after the election", (Butler, P. & Collins, N. 1994). Although the party may abandon some of his promises and persuasions, it keeps identity and its inconvertible beliefs.

Political Organization

"A political organization refers to those entities which are trying to win a position of some kind through public elections", (Butler, P. & Collins, N. 1994). A political organization is basically a party, alliance, union or a federation that exercise some sort of political activities in the society. The political organization sides by the candidate to obtain

victory in the elections. It initiates advertising campaigns, public relation waves and lobbying activities to maintain and persuade large voters. Such organizations are very common in the West particularly in America where we find many political institutions, research centers and national newspapers act for the interest of politicians.

(Butler, P. & Collins, N. 1994) have determined three significant features of a political organization, "amateur-like nature of the organization, its traditionally negative perception of marketing, and its dependency on volunteer workers." These key features are not limited to a particular political organization in the world. That's to say, these characteristics could be applicable to one political organization and not applicable for another depending on definitive stick yards such as history of the political party, ideology, culture, commitment and so on. It should be made clear that "political organization amateurs are small groups of party politicians and activists who receive the party training and indoctrination", (Kaskeala, A. 2010: p21).

Political Market

In the marketing sense, buyers and consumers exchange goods and services for a prospective value. Therefore, "The political market is made of voters who are willing to trade their votes in return for a value or a promise", (O'Cass, A. 1996). Similarly, political institutions and parties offer their goods for the voters to obtain their confidence and loyalty. In the political market, competition between candidates, political brands and parties are complex and each team seeks the best results against its opponent. It should be noted, "The exchange process is extended to longer period of time in which the candidate has to fulfill his promises after the election", (Butler, P. & Collins, N. 1994). This electoral obligation requires the candidate to keep in touch with the voter and responds to his demands. The political market has three features that constitute the foundations of the political marketing place. "These features include: the counter-consumption, social affirmation, and the ideological charge of the market", (Butler, P. & Collins, N. 1994). They are relatively vibrant in any society that have political parties, freedom of choice and democratic political system.

2.7. Political Marketing and Political Consumer

"The rise of political marketing in recent decades has cleared the way for the emergence of the political consumer in the parties literature. The primary face of political consumption is represented throughout voting", (Dermody, J. & Scullion, R. 2001). It reflects in its essential orientation a certain degree of propensity to consume a definitive political program and to adhere to a certain public agenda. Strictly speaking, "Political marketing is underpinned by a theoretical conceptualization of the voter as a consumer; an individualistic and rational entity that makes voter choices based on economic equations. A

phenomenon referred to in the United States as pocketbook voting, the voter as consumer", (Strömbäck, J. & Kiousis, S. 2011: p157).

However, the classical structure of the political parties in general has experienced many switchers due to the introduction of mass marketing. "That might explain why alternative means of political action (e.g. demonstrations, petitions, online protest), or social movements (e.g. single issue groups) are attracting so many supporters who want to make a difference", (Moufahim, M. 2007: p14).

Voters are political consumers who have their preferences and choices. "Political consumers are not only concerned about whom to vote for but they also have a different attitude towards politicians, they want to be more involved and consulted, question authority and they scrutinize outcomes", (Lees-Marshment, J. 2009: p9). Consumerism has impacted the political structure, culture and value. "Voters want tangible products, instant delivery, pragmatic moral principles, conveying politicians capability and realistic political promises", (Lees-Marshment, J. 2009: p10).

2.8. Generic Functions of Political Marketing

Political marketing has some unique functions that set the tone of the organizational behavior in the political market. These generic functions can identify definitely the limitations and dimensions of any activity. It is evident to state that all of the functions are derived from the practical and theoretical conception of the discipline. In the following discussion, we shall spot light on some of these functions and their impact on the political party. These lines explain the functions of Political Marketing identified by (Henneberg, S. 2003).

Product Function

"The product function is the cornerstone of provision of an offering and is a strategic management of a tradeoff process among elements of leading or following, voters preferences, balancing the inflexible (e.g. ideology), the flexible (i.e. political agenda) and the semi flexible elements (e.g. certain characteristics of candidate)", (Henneberg, S. 2003). Product function is constructed upon certain promises that will be attained by the implementation of certain policies or the triumph of political figureheads in the elections race. The deviation or the poor conceptualization of the promise may cause fatal damage to the political product and the party in general. It is worthily notable that the essence of the product may vary from one party or candidate to another. The product might be an ideology, promised attributes, national liberation, economic boom and so like. In the Palestinian context, the political products and promise should be situated around self-determination and the liberation of the occupied land. If the national figureheads seek

16

otherwise, they will encounter abundant internal challenges in association with the legitimacy of their political representation.

Distribution Function

The political products need to be distributed and promoted in the political marketing place. This comes via some instruments and tools that target the heart and mind of voters. The instruments may be a rally, a political debate, distributing leaflets and holding meetings with the potential voters. The distribution function deals with the promotional strategies and tactics of the offered promises that target the end political consumer. "This function has two aspects, namely the campaign delivery and the offering delivery", (Henneberg, S. 2002).

The campaign delivery function provides the primary exchange partner, the electorate, with access to all relevant elements of the political product. This includes, for example, the dissemination of information, choosing the adequate channel, collecting the right media and addressing the voters sentiments and orientation. Meanwhile, "The offering delivery aspect of the distribution function refers to the implementation and fulfillment of political promises made by the candidates", (Palmer, J. 2002). This political behavior reinforces the image and the credibility of the political party and pushes its scores forward.

Cost Function

According to (Henneberg, S. 2002), "cost function deals with the management of attitudinal and behavioral constraints of constituency members through carefully designed campaign strategies. All the information regarding the political products should be available to the voters without spending a penny." However, this function appears problematic and tricky for the general crowd of political marketing theorists. Although sacrifice is the cornerstone of cost in marketing, the story varies widely when we talk about political marketing. Some scholars in this discipline claimed that the concept is merely psychological and not material. Others suggests that it is the amount of national feelings evoked and large commitment to nation's ideology. It seems that this team of scholars perceives cost as a dogmatic persuasion and commitment that shape our behaviors and attitudes. It should be made apparent that fake and illusive promises usually skyrocket the psychological cost of the political consumers.

Communication Function

"In political marketing, communication function involves communicating the internal political party members with the voters and the political stakeholders about the political products and their availability in the market place", (O' Cass, A. 2001 & Harris, P. 2001).

This function argues that voters should be informed and receive information in a regular and professional mechanism. The communication instruments should also match the voter's taste and preference. Young voters may need some tools that go in harmony with their age. Likewise, elderly people demand some tactics that fit their expectations. Political image, brand and ideology are at the core of political marketing campaigning and need to be communicated through out a good and decent communication devices.

News Management Function

According to (Henneberg, S. 2002), "News management involves utilization of distribution channels with inherently high credibility levels. However, the communication could not be controlled; it can only be influenced for its better management." The main exchange partners and parties involved in the news management are mostly journalists, activists, lobbyists and opinion leaders. They mobilize their efforts and passion to influence the public in favor of a definitive cause. News-management should involve authenticity and high degree of transparency as well as credibility in order to appeal to the voter's mind and sentiment as well as enjoying long-term survival.

Fund Raising Function

"Fundraising in the commercial world is integral to the price/cost function. Within the framework of a noneconomic primary exchange process in the political sphere, no reciprocal pecuniary revenue arrangement exists", (Henneberg, S. 2003). This function deals with a collection of funds for political activities. The performance of other functions also depends on availability of funds. In order to capacitate the political party and its programs a distinct fund-raising function needs to be addressed. "Political candidates and parties depend to a varying extent on the nature of the political system such as membership fees, donations, free services, etc.", (Henneberg, S. 2003). Some parties resort to have some financial investments in order to finance their political activities and the promotion of their agenda worldwide.

Parallel Campaign Management Function

According to (Henneberg, S. 2003), "This function focuses on the co-ordination of campaign activities of the political party with those organizations who have overlapping or similar point on their agenda." Parallel campaign may involve unions, federations, green associations, health organizations and so on. Organized and synergetic use of coordination activities allow a more efficient deployment of campaign resources. Furthermore, the use of parallel campaigns and the endorsement by other organizations can increase the perceived trustworthiness of the political messages. It should be evident that such act function assists political parties to recruit talents and skills that share the party the same agenda.

Internal Cohesion Management Functions

"This function is concerned with managing the relationships with party members and party activists as well as all the 'touch-point' agents of the party. It is also the mirror that reflects the image of the political party to the consumer and the voters assessment of candidates", (Henneberg, S. 2003). Thus, the members in the party should not be fragmented and having conflicting views and perspectives. Dynamism should be maintained and generation gap should be healthy. Differences should be managed within the framework of the party ideology, structure and the new developments. Strictly speaking, internal cohesion is the pillar for the stability of the political party as well as the shield from any possible split that encounters the political party throughout its lifecycle.

2.9. Political Marketing Techniques

Political marketing utilizes several techniques to make good reach to the political spectators. These techniques vary from one campaign to another depending on talents used, fund allocated and the consumer's tastes and orientations. "Parties and candidates rely primarily on common devices such as: focus groups, surveys and polls", (Lees-Marshment, J. 2003: p11).

These techniques are used to test and explore voters attitudes toward the products offered in the market place. Focus group research is constructed of a limited number of experts and specialists who are discussing a political idea in a room. Exit polls are conducted by political institutions, newspapers and information centers to explore the voters' trends and the principle factors that control the consumer's behavior. "Political marketing also uses opinion research to manufacture and advance a competitive offering which will not only meet organizational aims, but also anticipate and satisfy the requirements of political consumers", (Lilleker, D. 2007: p7). "Political marketing stimulates consumers via technological devices including: computerized databases, direct emails, telemarketing as well as social networks on the web", (Gibson, R. & Roemmele, A. 2009).

On the other hand, national liberation movements may organize rallies and strikes, orchestrate boycotts and make good use of the conventions and declarations of the international organizations. Increasingly, many policy makers and candidate reinforce their position throughout maintaining strong ties with newspapers, research centers, journalists, community leaders, unions and so forth. These groups and think tanks have helped many politicians to pass the elections and gain considerable votes.

2.10. Political Marketing Paradigm

Political marketing has dominated the academic arena in the recent years. The discipline suggests a mixture between marketing and politics that has to be performed in a professional manner. However, a thorough investigation reveals a more complex image of this new genre. "The definition of political marketing can be broken down into three distinct segments in its most basic form: communications, management, and political science", (Scammell, M. 1999). However, recent scholars claim that public relations cannot be disassociated from this new discipline. We can easily notice the infiltration of many disciplines to occupy this approach and become a vital part of political marketing. Thus, the discipline is a complex and heterogeneous paradigm that involves and integrates many fields. Politics, marketing, communication and public relations are the principle narrative of the story but not even the whole of it.

2.11. Political Marketing Theory- CPM

In addition to the political marketing functions, techniques and models, the discipline has developed an outstanding theory. This theory outlines the dimensions of this new science in terms of practice and application. (Lees-Marshment, J. 2001b: p.701; 2010: p23-28) reveals the three-stage orientation of the political parties in their association with their political consumers. Significantly, too, the discipline reveals that this theory has historical back roots of notable and pioneering scholars. "Modeling of party behavior first emerged in the 1970s. by Abrahim Shama in (1976) who conceptualized political parties as production, sales, or market oriented and linked to each of these models different modes of communication", (Strömbäck, J. & Kiousis, S. 2011: p157).

The theory creates tendency of the political parties towards their political customers and the readiness to satisfy their demands. It also sheds the light on the nature as well as the scope of communication used in each approach adopted by the political party. The comprehensive political marketing CPM is pillared upon five essential principles. These principles set the foundations and the limitations of this discipline as well as the operational and theoretical boundaries with other fields of academia. These principles are:

1. Comprehensive political marketing is not limited only to the political communication.

2. Political marketing applies the whole concepts and practice of marketing in political organizational behavior.

3. CPM uses not only marketing concepts (the product, sales and marketing orientation) but also techniques (market intelligence, product design and promotion).

4. The CPM integrates political science literature into the analysis.

5. CPM adapts marketing theory to suit the differing nature of politics.

The Comprehensive Political Marketing Concept by Lees Marshment had been elaborated in the recent years by a group of scholars in political marketing providing new additions and contributions to this newly born discipline. In addition, CPM theory perceives three types of political orientations derived from business organizations. In the business environment, the organization may be covered under one of these three labels: product-oriented business, a sale-oriented business and a market-oriented business. Equally, Lees-Marshment has theorized three kinds of party orientation: product-oriented party, sales-oriented party and market-oriented party.

Product-Oriented Party (POP)

"A POP is the most traditional approach to party behavior and as such attracts less attention. The main difference between a sale- and a product-oriented party is that it is devoid of awareness and utilization of communication techniques and market intelligence", (Lees-Marshment, J. 2001b: p696). This approach suggests that political marketing is not merely communication. The political product is vital to create effectiveness. Some academics and practitioners argue that strategy or the actual product is more important in determining vitality and the desired gain. "The total assumption goes around the notion that voters will realize that their ideas are the rightest ones and therefore vote for it. This type of parties refuses to change its ideas or product even if it fails to gain electoral or membership support", (Marshment, J. 2001b: p696). This classical orientation escapes the fact that marketing intelligence is essential to realize the direction of the public opinion throughout the polls that have been conducted prior and after electing the candidates or governments leaders. Exit polls enable the policy makers to listen to their voters and make the best resolutions in favor of their country. On the other hand, we find that, as it will be explained later, market-oriented approaches are more transactional in focus. Let us know what you want, and we will offer it to you, and then you can vote for it.

Sale-Oriented Party (SOP)

"The sale-oriented party focuses on selling its arguments to voters − it does not change its behavior or product to suit what people want, but tries to make people want what it offers", (Lees-Marshment, J. 2001b: p696). This approach calls for exploiting the marketing intelligence and researching to test the validity and feasibility of the message, medium and the product offered to the political customers. In this approach, the marketing intelligence and researching is used primarily after the product has been developed. Thus, it does not affect the decision of the political marketing practitioners or create product modification or alternation. "Political marketing communication is essential in terms of practice and researching", (Lees-Marshment, J. 2001b: p696). The approach suggests that the party should maintain long-term relationship with the customers and keep persuading them with their policies, programs, strategies and political figures. Communication should

target those who do not come in grips with our political products and we should cross our fingers to create new realization that could change their acts and views.

Market-Oriented Party (MOP)

In the recent years, political marketing has witnessed a significant trend. The discipline has moved to a more relational strategy. It focuses on establishing a long-term relationship with the political customer in the market place. It makes sense if we claim that political marketing sustainability became the primary cause of this science. "The basic essence of a Market-Oriented Party is one that will use various tools to understand and then respond to voter demands, but in a way that integrates the need to attend to members' needs, ideas from politicians and experts and the realities of governing", (Lees-Marshment, J. 2001b: p696). Politicians are interested and concerned with the voters throughout their political life career to guarantee their satisfaction. This approach helps political actors in time of economic failure, political instability and government split. It also enables politicians to enact more transformational and strategic decisions. "Political marketing is used to understand the public, rather than manipulate it. Parties may use their ideology as a means to create effective solutions to public demands, but party elites try to respond to market demand, rather than trying to influence their opinion", (Lees-Marshment, J. 2001b: p696).

2.12. Political Marketing Process

According to (Lees-Marshment, J. 2001a), the political marketing process passes through multiple transformations and stages to approach to the political consumer. The process commences with market intelligence, followed by product design, product adjustment, implementation, communication, campaign, election and the delivery of the product. These stages are interdependent, in which the nature and the intensity of each stage is relatively influencing the later one.

Stage One: Market Intelligence

Lees-Marshment thinks that at stage one, politicians use marketing intelligence to monitor the public response to the product offered in the market. They attempt to explore the political consumers' attitudes toward certain concepts or phenomenon. Information and data collection are the primary mechanism to understand our consumers and appeal to their taste. Without data gathering, politicians and government leaders cannot take any decision or carry out any initiative. Marketing intelligence is vital for voters who require some communication. Without information, it is hard to classify our target spectators in order to deliver the best value for them. Parties should form policy groups to talk to the public, understand their needs and design the product that matches their aspirations and

expectations. It uses quantitative research (electoral results, public opinion polls and privately commissioned studies) and qualitative research such as a focus group.

Stage Two: Product Design

Lees-Marshment proceeds that after we conduct marketing intelligence, policy makers, candidates and government leaders start formulating their products. The primary purpose is to create a sufficient product that goes in harmony with the political consumers' priorities and references. Any failure in the data collected creates political marketing confusion known as Myopia. In this situation, the product designed does not match the mood of the public or does not achieve customers satisfaction and adherence.

Stage Three: Product Adjustment

According to Lees-Marshment, the product usually goes under some modifications in order to fit the promises made, programs designed and strategies adopted. These modifications aim at certain goals associated with the political party after the elections. Sometimes, parties need to modify their products to encourage the public to support their programs and mobilize more proponents. Governments also make certain changes in order to fulfill the obligations made during the electoral contest. Although ideological change may sound hard and impossible, some parties go under radical transformations to overcome challenges and encounter millstones.

Stage Four: Implementation

After conducting the three stages mentioned in prior, Lees-Marshment believes that parties should implement it and offer the product to the public. The majority needs to accept the new behavior and complies with it. If the new product is refused, the party image will be distorted. It is advisable to make some negotiations and discussions before implementing the new product in order to insure that the proposed product enjoys wider approval among the voters.

Stage Five: Communication

In this stage, Lees-Marshment assumes that after the product is implemented, politicians need to communicate it to the political consumers. They should make good use of all communication channels to insure that the product is reachable. Communication is not limited to the leader of the party. Instead, all the party members should participate in promulgating the product adopted. Attempts are made to ensure all communication helps to achieve electoral success, and to influence others in the communication process. The mechanism used is clear and effective; it uses selling techniques to convey the message rather than changing voters' demands. Permanent marketing campaigns are initiated to persuade our customers not only during the elections but also after conducting it.

Stage Six: Campaign

In this stage, Lees-Marshment states that politicians should start campaigning for their products. The campaign takes many forms and techniques in order to recruit many affiliates. Political marketing campaign is conducted before the Election Day. Parties hold meetings, conduct debates, make press releases and deliver televised speeches via media. Intense marketing communication is required depending on sophisticated experts, talented minds and adequate resources.

Stage Seven: Election

In the election, Lees-Marshment points out that voters go to the polling stations to choose their candidates and representatives for the next parliamentary or presidential term. Although elections have some in common in many countries, some countries vary in their legal and procedural norms. Any violation of the generally accepted legislations may be deemed inconsistent and inappropriate.

Stage Eight: Delivery

After the elections, Lees-Marshment concludes that the political party will deliver his product in the government. We in fact find some new legislations or policy modifications to suit the new product. Politicians' promises should be at the core of any change or orientation of the government. If the policy leaders extricate themselves from what they had initially vowed, their reputation may be in question.

2.13. Political Marketing: The Dialectic Tension

Marketing and politics present a debatable jargon in the field of academia that hardly could be resolved, settled without extensive investigation, and researching. Since the field is at its infancy, scholars are acting effortlessly to establish a research area that could set a clear yardstick for the new discipline. "The transplantation between marketing and politics has created a dialectical tension in the new discipline and displayed its literature in an ongoing criticism and debating", (Henneberg, S. 2004b). Politicians and marketing specialists have relatively variant lenses in their recognition and orientation to political marketing.

In addition, each subject has its own independent identity and field of study to cover. According to the political marketing researcher (de Malmanche, B. 2014: p24), "Political science and marketing were two separate academic disciplines that had very little in common. Marketing is science, which tends to focus on the goals, the organization and the techniques of commercial businesses. Political science looks at areas such as party development, the structure of parties as well as elections, interest groups, government structures, leadership, political theory and so like." This unprecedented notion provoked a

great deal of debating and controversy among scholars who argued that such orientation is paradoxical to the integrity and consistency of marketing.

In his 2004 article, Henneberg unfolds the shortcoming of political marketing. He claims, "Political marketing has transformed politics into being obsessed with spin and packaging." According to the critics, political marketing is concerned with image creation and spinning that leads to a hallow-out party and media-manipulated candidate. Strömbäck, J. & Kiousis, S. 2011: p157 went on to assume, "Marketing, it can be argued, provides the tools that may fill the engagement and loyalty gap left by the weakening of ideological attachments to parties." However, (Strömbäck, J.; Mitrook, M. & Kiousis, S. 2010) "suggest that the discipline suffers from a lack of detailed understanding of other relevant subjects". This dialectical tension and conflicted perception between marketing and other intimate disciplines have presented a chaotic presentation in the theoretical dimension more than the practical one. (Moloney, K. 2006) states, "Political parties and candidates when they go for election. They usually borrow marketing tactics, tools and techniques which are applicable and best-matching to business than politics." This status of poor adaptation of some marketing concepts to politics has pushed some scholars to criticize political marketing of being static and incompetent. In short, marketing cannot be held to blame for all the ills of politics and vice versa, as there are many drivers that have the upper hand in influencing the whole context.

Chapter Three

Promotion Strategies Used in Directing the Palestinian Politics

Section One: Promotion Strategies

3.1.1. Promotion Perspective

3.1.2. Promotion Definition

3.1.3. Promotion Tasks

3.1.4. Promotion Approaches

3.1.5. Promotion Strategies

3.1.1. Promotion Perspective

Among the most vital skills in marketing is promotion. It is the most essential component in the marketing mix. It primarily involves many tools, means, aspects and functions that reinforce the organization's image and reputation. The Latin root of the word is "*promovere,*" which is roughly translated into move ahead. Promotion is a common practice among all business institutions, corporations and even political centers. Many candidates rely on promotion to make closer reach with the public and appeal to their sentiments. However, this activity has variant descriptions depending on the textbook used and the author. Hence, promotion is increasingly penetrating the market with new strategies, approaches and tactics that wish to persuade larger crowd. Kotler, Ph. and Armstrong, G. 2006: p435 hold, "Promotion includes activities that communicate products or services and their merits to target customers and persuade them to buy." Corporation, governments and political parties are relying on promotion to communicate with their potential customers. Fill, C. 2011: p10 notes, "The ultimate role of promotion is to engage audiences. Engagement helps connect brands or organizations with target audiences and create mutual values for both participants." What is so indispensable is that "promotion works to achieve the following tasks: informing, persuading, reinforcing, reminding and differentiating", (Fill, C. 2011: p9-11). The primary objective of promotion is to tighten the gap of information and recognition between the intended consumer and the corporation that orchestrates the promotional program.

On equal footing, promotion is not confined within the classical boundaries of business and corporations. Politicians give high concern to promotion in communicating with their audience and consumers. In this section, we wish to adapt some of the promotional strategies to the political sphere. We made some manipulations in relation to the promotional strategies handled in order to accommodate ourselves with the nature of politics and the issue investigated. We would apply advertising, public relations, campaigns and lobbying to the detainees issue to create better political context for the Palestinian leaders, officials and decision makers to promote their vital matters.

3.1.2. Promotion Definition

To understand promotion in the proper mode, you should dive within the dimensional scope that this new discipline works in. Many scholars have handled promotion with some illustrations and discussions and worked on putting some definitions that could broaden our recognition. According to (Blythe, J. 2005: p240), "Promotion is all about getting the message across to the customer (and the consumer) in the most effective way, and the choice of method will depend on the message, the receiver and the desired effect." This definition is constructed on an interactive and reciprocal message between the producer and the target market. The message should be designed effectively in order to

attract larger audience and appeal to their sentiments. The definition unfolds that the selection of the message should match the nature of the target consumers and the desired effect that the producer wishes to create. Ferrel, O. & Hartline, M. 2002; Kotler, Ph. & et al, 2008 have defined promotion as "the activities undertaken to communicate the attributes and benefits of a product to the consumers." The definition highlights that the prime concentration of promotion is to communicate the target market with the distinctive qualities, features and form of the product or service. Moreover, the communication channels should be efficient, interactive and presentable to accomplish the intended objectives. In an earlier definition, (Kotler, Ph. 2003: P38) states that: "Promotion is that part of communication that consists of company messages designed to stimulate awareness of, interest in, and purchase of its various products and services." The author is approaching the promotion tasks that aims at providing the public with information and knowledge about the brand and creating interest to persuade them to make the desired purchasing decision.

3.1.3. Promotion Tasks

Fill, C. 2011: p9-11 has identified definitive tasks for the promotion activities in order to produce positive outcomes and affect the consumer behavior at any sector. The success and the achievability of the promotion strategy is subject to the sophistication and experience in handling these tasks, which include the following:

- Informing: the buyers have to inform the target audience of their products and services offered in the market place. It is mainly an informational process in which the audience are bombarded with knowledge about the brand, its distinctive features and its unique quality. Equally, in the political milieu, politicians inform the citizens about the government program, its grand strategies and the plan of alliance formation. The more the government players are acting in a transparent and undisputed informing manner, the more they will enjoy clear image among the public.

- Persuading: nothing is more vital than persuasion and seducing the consumers to make their choice in favor of the products. However, the persuasion tactics and strategies should match the orientation, education and the nature of living. The primary purpose of persuasion is to create value among the customers and motivate them to buy. In a relative mode, politicians have to cross their figures to get into the mind and passion of the political spectators. The failure to seduce the public to go for the program is detrimental to the political leader and in some instances leads to party or government collapse.

- Reinforcing: companies are reinforcing their products and services by reminding the customers of the former experiences and the bright benefits that the consumer gains throughout using the product. Thus, the ad should be screened repeatedly to the audience

in order to make sure that his/her memory is fresh to absorb it. It is worthy to document personal experiences of former users to create confidence and courage among the citizens. In the same manner, politicians should keep their people reminded of the messages that they wish to convey. It is beneficial to state that the American jargon of "terror" has resulted in "manipulated political addiction" among the international community and created hostility to definitive regimes due to the guided reinforcement of the concept.

- Differentiating: in order to gain strong footing among competitors, the company should differentiate its products throughout adding new quality, unusual feature, unprecedented design or attractive style. Product designers are so many. However, professional and genius product designers are approximately rare. Thus, product differentiation is the cornerstone behind its survival in the market place. By contemplating the political sphere, we find out many rivals, many programs, and so many agenda. Each one is fighting to survive and win the political consumers satisfaction and attention. It is worthy to note that across history, the political parties succeeded to differentiate their policies, programs and agendas are the ones that have the capacity to obtain the public votes. However, policy differentiation should not be tactical, but strategically oriented in order to keep the image among the public unblemished.

3.1.4. Promotion Approaches

- Pull approach "targets the end-user customers to increase the levels of awareness, change or reinforce attitudes and stimulate demand to obtain the product distribution", (Lamb, C. & et al. 2009: p413). The corporation works on influencing the orientation, creating new tastes and changing persuasion. By these efforts, the consumers will be motivated to take some purchasing decisions throughout the various distribution channels. Clearly, pull strategy attempts to create customer's demands so that they can pull the corporation products and consume the services. Similarly, many governments, political parties, interest groups, and political and national figures concentrate on seducing the political consumers and move their fervor to vote for a definitive party, program or policy more than crediting the political channels used to reach them. The prime significance is directed toward creating values, handling the political demands, altering some cultural beliefs and encouraging new behaviors rather than paying much attention to push the political interaction and communication channels.

- On the contrary, "push approach seeks to encourage trade channel organizations. The producers try to convince the trade channel buyers to stock and sell their products. Then, the trade channel buyers must push the products through retailers, and the retailers push the products to the end-user customers", (Lamb, C. & et al, 2009: p413). This approach concentrates on the trade channels, intermediaries, retailers, distribution offices and

agencies and so like. In his turn, the producers should persuade the various channels to make their exchanges with the company throughout incentives and some promotional tactics. In politics, we use this approach by pushing many think tanks, research centers, lobbying offices, interests groups to adopt our voice and distribute our agenda to the political consumers. This approach is highly prevalent in the modern day politics due to the increasing number of citizens, the revolution of mass media, the emergence of marketing and promotion agencies and the growing rule of political experts. Consequently, policy leaders should maintain sophisticated lobbying channels to promote politics and create many proponents in the political environment.

3.1.5. Promotion Strategies

Due to the political nature of the promoted product, the thesis will adapt the four promotion strategies to match the issue investigated. The thesis perceives advertising, campaign, public relations and lobbying in a non-business context in order to explore the detainees case throughout deliberate zooming. These strategies will form at last a relative judgment on the performance of the Palestinian national authority (PNA) concerning the national liberation millstones in general and the detainees situation in definitive toning. Although this science is at its infancy, it is deemed worthy to build some ground for more illustrative researching on abundant Palestinian issues in association with the occupation, liberation and resistance.

Advertising

In its commercial context, "advertising concerns any paid transmission of company messages through impersonal media", (Mühlbacher, H. & et al, 2006). This includes media such as television, radio, magazines, newspapers, direct mail, outdoor displays, the Internet and mobile devices. Advertising is sometimes designed to attract and influence a certain segment of the public. However, other advertising strategies are directed towards the mass population. In many situations, the nature of brand, the maximum reach intended and the nature of population play a significant role in the selection of the advertising strategy. Either in politics or business, advertising is highly prevalent. Nevertheless, in the upcoming sections, we shall handle advertising in a political context, which in turn requires some adaptations and accommodations.

Campaign

"A campaign is a series of events all designed to communicate to an audience and garner support from that audience", (Lilleker, D. 2006: p58). It aims at influencing the public mood throughout organizing a set of activities, such as, holding political debating, delivering speeches, mobilizing larger crowds and using symbols. It also relies on the social media, carrying slogans contacting celebrities and so like. Campaigns also take either direct

style in which the political leaders communicate with the crowd without intermediary, or indirect manner in which the policy leaders rely on the agents or what we wish to call "the third party interference." Campaigns adopt diverse faces. Sometimes, it is used to praise the political leaders. In other contexts, it is tailored to attack the opponent or defend an issue. Thus, the idea of campaigning and political campaigns will be dealt with in a separate section in this chapter.

Public Relations

Among the most vital promotion strategies is public relations. It is reasonably logical due to the extensive usage of the discipline, its association with the political behavior and its daily performance by the officials, political parties and organizations. In 2012, the Public Relations Society of America (PRSA) defined public relations as, "Public relations is a strategic communication process that builds mutually beneficial relationships between organizations and their publics." (PRSA Website, 2012). The discipline is handled in a strategic orientation rather than being an incidental or reactive to changes in situations and events. It is also a two-way communication constructed upon a beneficial relationship between the organization and the consumer or between the government and the public. In this chapter, we shall investigate public relations theory, explore its techniques, reveal its domains, discuss its models and read its systems.

Lobbying

Have you ever thought of the term lobbying? Have you ever formed an alliance to proliferate values, protest against the occupation or to boast your position? Have you ever contacted an executive official, legislative member or a figure in the judicial body in your country or abroad? If such occurs, you have a lobbying agenda. Every day, it comes to our hearing the broadly-travelled term "the Zionist lobby" and the circle of influence in the U.S. and Europe in comparison with the Arab lobby that has been perceived with poor performance and reactivity. To draw a snapshot to the context of this section, it is presumably convenient to state this definition. According to (Zetter, L. 2008: p30), "lobbying is the process of seeking to influence government and its institutions by informing the public policy agenda." Therefore, in this section, we shall dive deeper within this science to unveil its availability, usage and application in the Palestinian environment definitively in association with the detainees ordeal.

Figure (2): Promotion Strategies

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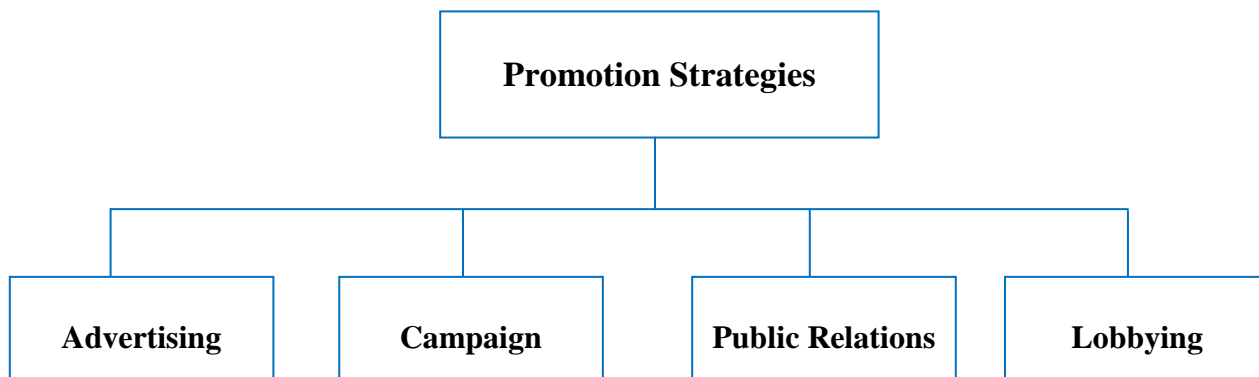
Source: conceptualized by the researcher, 2016

Section Two: Advertising

3.2.1. Political Advertising Historiography

3.2.2. Political Advertising: Definition

3.2.3. Advertising and Politics

3.2.4. Advertising Functions

3.2.5. The Rule of Political Advertising

3.2.6. Political Advertising: Issues vs. Images

3.2.7. Theory of Political Advertising

3.2.8. Political Advertising Strategies

3.2.9. Advertising Tools

3.2.1. Political Advertising Historiography

Long before the era of mass electronic media, "political advertising was still very much about motivating citizens to exercise their political motivation and orientation by voting. By means of pamphlets, posters and public events such as parades and rallies, nineteenth-century Americans were persuaded to support particular candidates and reject others", (McNair, B. 2003: p101). Advertising at that era, involves a definitive number of citizens that is targeted by the political spots. "Parties make songs to advertise for candidates and political leaders. These songs usually summarize the candidates policies and promises. Thus, banners, cartoon, songs, slogans and transparencies are the dominant feature of the 19th century advertising. Their messages were simple, short and involve sloganeering that fit with public audience", (McNair, B. 2003: p101). Prior to the invention of the electronic media, advertising is invested with relatively different significance. Advertising used to be an interpersonal relationship between limited crowds. The US is the first country in the world that started to involve political advertising at the electoral process and the choice of representatives. It is actually deemed authentic that the US is the first country in the world in commodifying the political products and processes using advertising and its creative techniques. By the early 1950, television had been introduced and political advertising started to invest larger rallies in the community. Advertising spots had reached larger crowd and the media shaped the mood of the common citizens. Party's leaders and candidates exploit these modern mechanisms to make their voice reachable and comprehendible by the voters. Lately, by the emergence of the internet and satellite channels airing around the hour, political advertising has been getting sophisticated and influential in its momentum. You can post millions of spots in a definitive time to target a massive number of voters.

3.2.2. Political Advertising Definition

In a commercial sense, Advertising is defined as, "any paid form of non-personal communication about an organization, product, service or idea by an identified sponsor", (Keller, K. 2008). In another definition, advertising is "Any paid form of non-personal presentation and promotion of an offer by an identified sponsor through a formal communication medium", (Andreasen, A. & Kotler, Ph. 2008: p300). It involves the placement of announcements and messages in any of the mass media to persuade the public by business firms, government agencies, nonprofit organizations and individuals. They attempt to inform, build interest or persuade the consumers of definitive products, services and ideas. Advertising can reach larger crowd of consumers in an impersonal way. In a political dimension, (Bolland, E. 1989: p10) defines advertising as, "the paid placement of organizational messages in the media." Political advertising therefore, in the strict sense, refers to "the purchase and use of advertising space, paid for at commercial rates, in order

to transmit political messages to a mass audience. It works to reshape their attitude and behavior towards certain political ideas and concepts", (McNair, B. 2003: p96). It is also a sufficient means to advertise the government agenda and labeling it at the peak of the citizens' recognition. "The media used for this purpose may include cinema, billboards, the press, radio, and television" (McNair, B. 2003: p96).

3.2.3. Advertising and Politics

Political advertising is relatively comprehendible in relation to the manipulation of ideas and prospective missions to influence larger crowd of customers. It is built primarily upon the seduction and good-handling of the electoral or the national subject matters. Political advertising experts, such as, Kathleen Hall Jamieson, director of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania, and Jonathan Rose, a fellow with the Centre for the Study of Democracy at Queens University at Kingston, have argued, "political advertising focuses on image over substance, reducing the quality of the information provided as well as voters' knowledge of candidates and issues", (Jamieson, K. 1992; Rose, J. 1984).

Advertising makes the idea desired and the image attractive that could easily penetrate the voter, official or the public figures mind and occupy his or her attention. Although the intended focus of advertising is to convey ideas and communicate knowledge, it monopolizes the visually attracting media to let ideas go smoothly in the voter's mind. Thus, "There is now an entrenched view among politicians that advertising is not only a suitable means of communicating with citizens, but an ideal one. The evidence for this is dramatically increased spending on both political and government advertising", (Young, S. 2006: p3). Countries that struggle for its independence should manipulate the best advertising tools and tactics in order to convey the real image of the occupation. Armed struggle is one dimension, and the other is advertising to scandalize the aggression of the occupation. Persuasion is a vital element in any advertising campaign and it should be constructed upon a comprehendible logic either expressed implicitly or explicitly within the message. Rose, J. 1984 asserts also, "as advertising has increasingly become a key method of communicating political information to the public, it has effectively decreased discussion of issues to sound bites and equated selling public policies to selling hamburgers." Political advertising should understand the international community segments and direct the best suitable techniques. The world countries are not alike and each one has its own persuasion, alliances and interests. A good advertising mechanism should divide the world countries into clusters and target them with mostly-adequate images. In the internal Palestinian arena, Hamas had succeeded to advertise its program through good and sophisticated images that were heavily associated with an Islamic-dogmatic agenda that calls for the entire liberation of Palestine. In addition, it had made good use of the state of corruption that dominated the Palestinian National Authority. Consequently, the Change and Reform List had enjoyed

sweeping majority in 2006 elections. In broader sense, we should adopt advertising to attack Israel at the international level to portray the real image of the occupation against the armless innocent Palestinians namely the detainees. However, the images should be penetrating, and professionally designed in order to win the world trustworthiness and credibility.

3.2.4. Advertising Functions

Advertising has six distinctive functions that should be fulfilled in the advertised messages of profitable or non-profitable organizations. These functions form a healthy communicative relationship between all the parties in the market. It also takes into account the various classes, educational level and the cultural orientation of the consumers.

Informing

"Just as early product advertisements were little more than simple messages about the availability of a brand, its price and function (use), so contemporary political advertising can be seen as an important means of informing citizens about *who* is standing and what they are offering the citizenry in policy terms", (McNair, B. 2003: p97). It functions around informing the public about the political products available in the market place. It also manipulates all mechanisms to broaden the scope of the consumers through extensive information and knowledge. The political process should involve rational choices by voters, which must be based on information. In the Palestinian context, the detainee's ordeal should be raised to the outside public through extensive and guided information to put the international community in the real story of the detainees. Journalism represents the primary source of advertising and promulgating ideas and images.

Influencing

"Effective advertising influences prospective customers to try advertised products and services", (Shimp, T. 2003: p188). Advertising usually influences our demands to purchase certain product, to go for certain political candidate, or even to show our bias towards certain issues in the public agenda. Advertising also controls our priorities for consumption. The more the advertised programs are sophisticated, the more we get the best results and motivate our consumers. In this context, we should contemplate the political messages released from Palestine to the international public in order to investigate their vitality and significance in defending the Palestinian cause and revealing the cruel face of the Israeli occupation.

Persuading

"Of course, as in the world of commerce, the advertisement does not merely inform individuals in society about the choices available to them as political consumers. They are also designed to persuade. And in persuasion, as well as information dissemination, the

advertisement has clear advantages for the politician", (McNair, B. 2003: p96). The function of advertising is to persuade. It should exploit the adequate images and metaphors to convince the citizen about their ideas and beliefs toward certain matters. As another scholar put it as: "We have been told so often that the role of advertising is to persuade, that we seem to have come to believe it", (Sutherland, M. & Sylvester, A. 2008: p14). Political programs should be invested with overtone to change perspectives and influence feelings. In closer sense, advertising should attach to our emotions in an attempt to create loyalty for the political issue. The advertised message should be dealt with in reference to many associations rather than the superfluous comprehension.

Reminding

Reminding is the third function of advertising. Its primary objective is to keep the idea or the political attitude salient in the mind of the consumer. It also keeps the product fresh in the political market in which the target audience will feel enthusiastic to attain. Reminding also keeps the product fans on the track and reinforce their urge to make dozens of new purchasing decisions of the political products or services. "An analysis of TV coverage of US presidential speeches shows just how speechmaker's words are reported in the news, and how much amounts to mere repetition of a few key words and phrases. In this context, to the extent that television is the major source of political information for most people throughout intensive repetitions that remind the public with the political leaders' mood", (McNair, B. 2003: p96). It should be noted that continuous and creative advertising are the most sufficient factors that could attach the consumers' memory to the political brand.

Adding Value

"Advertising adds value to brands by influencing perceptions. Effective advertising causes brands to be viewed as more elegant, more stylish, more prestigious, of higher quality, and so on", (Shimp, T. 2003: p190). The product attains quality throughout the perception that has been associated with it. On the other side, if the consumers perceive the advertised objects trivial, this may destroy its image and reputation. On equal footing, if some countries disregard the Palestinian struggle due to promotional failure or bias, this may underestimate the value and the validity of the mater. We should stress here that innovation and creativity are behind increasing the value of the product, which opens the window for new segments of consumers.

Assisting Other Efforts

We do not use advertising for its sake or just to sell a certain product or service. In fact, advertising has multidimensional objectives that work for the total development of the organization, government and party. "Advertising is just one member of the marcom team. Advertising's primary role is at times to facilitate other marcom efforts", (Shimp, T. 2003:

p190). This function reduces the time, money and efforts used to promulgate the product. It also gives customers hints about other parts, rules and tasks before the introduction of the product. To put it in clear terms, sometimes public relations in the government, political party or organizations cannot function properly without the assistance and guidance of advertising.

3.2.5. The Rule of Political Advertising

"Although politicians and statesmen have sought to promote themselves and their ideas throughout the history and evolution of political systems of government, political advertising is often considered a relatively modern form of political promotion", (Kaid, L. 2004: p176). However, this approach has witnessed radical development in the recent years in terms of idea, personality and orientation. Politicians wish to promote themselves to gain footing in the elections. In other cases, government leaders launch campaign to eradicate certain challenges that encounter the society. In occupied countries, national liberation figures rely on advertising to display the suffering of their people under the heavy weaponry of the murderers. In the cases stated above, we find that political advertising is deemed vital to promulgate our messages. Although "the early forms of political advertising were represented through handbills, placards, and posters. Such historical accounts set the stage for an understanding of the importance that political advertising has played in its many forms", (Kaid, L. 2004: p176).

3.2.6. Political Advertising: Issues vs. Images

"Across more than five decades of research on political advertising, no topic has been more dominant than discussion of whether or not campaign commercials are dominated by image information or issue information", (Kaid, L. 2004). Political advertising had been dominated by political discourse and jargon rather than images and personalization. Words have been the primary tool to persuade the voters and political consumers. By the advancement of the new mass media, images are introduced to be fundamental tools to approach to the public sentiments. "One of the perennial criticisms of advertising in politics is that it trivializes political discourse by concentrating more on candidate personalities and images than on issues", (Kaid, L. 2004: p180). Accordingly, political advertising is dominated by image information rather than issue information. It should be noted that rational decisions are deemed effective if they understand the total dimensions behind discourse or image-based advertising.

3.2.7. Theory of Political Advertising

"In the 1950s, US advertising executives, led by the legendary figure of Rosser Reeves, began to argue that the techniques used to market ordinary commercial products could be used also to 'sell' politics", (Foster, S. 2010: p59). It is situated upon the

assumption that if you can sell the products throughout commercial spots, then it is presumably persuasive to sell political figures, government's agenda and policy leaders in the political market arena. Their assumption is formulated as a resultant of the progressive booming of the industrial development in the recent decades. Therefore, "their faith in advertising and its magnetic power is a resultant of industry understanding of human psychology. It's implausible to sell the product with lateral representation of its internal qualities definitely undifferentiated products", (McNair, B. 2007). Thus, the advertiser is entitled to establish an image for the new product that could attract the consumers and satisfy their needs. Instead, the product's utility had to be augmented and stressed on by what (McNair, B. 2007: 88) refers to as a "sign-value". In this sense, the images and signs attached to product and comprehendible to the consumer should be reflected on the product to maximize the product value and create satisfaction and acceptance. The advertisers should think precisely which image attracts large audience and which sign motivates their desire and well to make brilliant purchases. This requires thorough realization of the consumer's psychology and attitudinal behavior that shape purchase decision. Consequently, political advertising theory involves image creation for the candidates and governments officials. It should stem from unique attributes, thoughts, visions and promising programs. Recently, the ultimate goal of the advertising industry is to create what is known as a brand. "This feature of the brand is particularly pertinent to the world of politics, where the pioneers of psychographics – Dick Wirthlin and Roger Ailes – not only discovered the importance of personal values as a determinant of voting behavior, but also the extent to which the former are rooted in powerful myths and symbols", (McNair, B. 2007: p94). Political advertisers should base their messages and sign upon precious values, bright brands, national icons, powerful myths and symbols. With their powerful and magnetic associations and referencing, politicians could gather massive crowds around them.

3.2.8. Political Advertising Strategies

Strategists differentiate between the three most common types of advertisements: promotion advertising, contrast advertising, and negative advertising. Each has its own condition, philosophy and behavior that aspire to capture the public mind.

Promotion Advertising

"It's primarily designed to endorse a candidate by presenting biographical information of the person or describing the candidate's position on an issue", (Dickinson, A. 2012: p17). It presents the distinctive features that set the political leader superior to his counterparts. Equally, Palestinian political advertisers should unveil the detainees record throughout the exploitation of the international laws and conventions that advocate and highlight the rights of detainees. Thus, historical evidence should be presented, legal

legislatures should be picked up and political efforts should be exerted. It should be made apparent that this strategy is orchestrated with real recognition to the variant cultures involved.

Contrast Advertising

"It seeks to highlight the differences between two or more candidates running in an election. It attempts to reveals the precious merits that this politician obtains in comparison with his rival" (Dickinson, A. 2012: p17). Hence, the areas of strength and precious merits are presented to support the political leader. However, the pitfalls of the rival are zoomed to persuade the public to make the intended choice. Palestinians are entitled to advertise their suffering and torture in comparison with the Israeli aggression and brutality to let the international audience make a wise judgment and just scaling.

Negative Advertising

A negative advertisement acts to attack the rival, distort his image, demean his record, deny his policies, refuse his agenda and so like. "Negative campaign advertisements attract media and citizen attention and conventional wisdom about negative political advertising is that it works", (Lau, R.; Sigleman, L. & Rovner, I. 2007: p1176). The use of negative advertising is increasingly dominating the sphere, which may be deemed detrimental to the political leaders and the political process as a whole. However, "the quantity of information in negative advertisements is often higher than any other type of political advertisement, and voters are more likely to accurately recall the information presented in negative ads than any other type of advertisements", (Stevens, D. 2005). These qualities make negative advertising a popular tactic due to the richness of information retained. Therefore, negative advertising is highly appreciated by politicians because it is significantly influential and memorable. Apart from benign advertising stated lately, Palestinians should wage ongoing negative advertising to scandalize the Israeli fabrications and simulations that they promulgate in the West. Palestinians should attack the occupation apart from any comparison throughout unveiling the crimes committed against the detainees in the jails.

3.2.9. Advertising Tools

Newspapers

"Before radio and television, newspapers were the dominate communications medium and virtually the only place where voters could get information about elections and campaigns", (Mann, R. & Perlmutter, D. 2011: p89). Newspapers are usually standard sizes that have definite numbers of papers that vary from one news institution to another, such as, (the New York Times, Palestine, Al-Ayyam, Al-Hayah and the Wall Street Journal) or tabloid style (like the National Enquirer). Newspapers can be daily, biweekly, weekly, and

in some cases monthly. "Because of its self-paced nature, newspapers can provide much detailed product information that insight the reader", (Keller, K. 2008). Newspapers have quick and effective influence on the consumers' attitude and behavior. However, their ads do not last for a longer period. If we miss reading it, it passes and get lost the day after. It should be noted that larger ads are more sufficient in which it attracts the consumers rather than the small ones. It should also be recommended that the best ad should be positioned at the initial pages before the reader gets board. Newspapers still enjoy larger popularity regardless of the technological advancement of new advertising techniques, such as, the maturation of internet and the advent of cables.

Magazines

"By definition, any discussion of political print advertising would have to include magazines as well as daily newspapers. However, for a variety of reasons, magazines do not lend themselves well to political advertising", (Mann, R. & Perlmutter, D. 2011: p95). However, politics has some magazines devoted to the political issues and the world news. Respectively, business has likewise scores of magazines that aspire to attract the consumers and maximize the organization's profits. "The benefits of magazine advertising include the ability to reach specialized audiences, audience receptivity, a long life span, visual quality, and the distribution of sales promotion devices", (Hasan, K. & Khan, R. 2011: p16). Magazines are classified in terms of subject, geography or sometimes the nature of the educational level of the readers. Magazines enjoy longer life that could stand in the person's office for years. People tend to save them, pass them around and send their feedback. The more people are specialized, the more they rely on magazines. They are also popular for their good designs and bright colors that could seduce the costumer and arise his feelings. The primary disadvantage of magazines is that they are costly, and cannot be afforded by all people. In addition, it takes so many time to advertise in a magazine that is deemed counterproductive in the high-tech media. It is highly recommendable to place the news stories in the initial pages to be easy to approach the consumers and the intended audience.

Radio

"The landscape began to change in the 1930s, when Franklin Roosevelt used radio to break the newspapers 'monopoly on mass communication", (Mann, R. & Perlmutter, D. 2011: 89). Newspapers are the dominant medium in many parts of the world, and that includes politics at virtually every level. However, in spite of the power, growth, and reach of these classical advertising devices, radio remains a dynamic medium for modern politics. Radio is one of the most commonly used advertising tools that portray the image of a candidate, product or a political issue. It also runs programs that discuss debatable and questionable matters that touch the real life of the society. Radio is very effective in small

communities in which you can convey the message more quickly and professionally. Some radio stations target the local public and not interested in the international listener, such as, Al-Quds, Al-Aqsa, and Asra-voice radio stations. Nonetheless, others have been made to touch the international public and influence their views such as the BBC and Monte Carlo and scores of stations that occupy the media sphere. Radio is reachable and can target larger crowds in seconds. "Good radio, however, is more dependent on talent than technology. The talent is expressed in the voices, the script (writing, plot, and ideas), direction (managing voice, words, and action), and, equally important, the media buy (when and where to place the spot)", (Mann, R. & Perlmutter, D. 2011: p97). It is available in every home, car and office; however, it is sometimes confusing in larger markets because of the thousands of politicians and agendas involved. Radio does not engage with visual stimulation, so we should portray the image in deliberate and concise words.

Television

"In today's media-dependent society campaigns are increasing their use of television advertisements as a means of communication", (West, D. 2010 & Stevens, D. 2005). Television is the most influential advertising tool that has the power to shape the public opinion and set the desired agenda. It hosts daily scores of politicians, government leaders and policy makers to approach some hot spots that touch the actual concern of the public. TV has witnessed radical development after the emergence of the satellite that could be accessible and reachable without much effort and with farther clarity. Furthermore, the television industry has triggered a real shift with the emergence of Al-Jazeera air station in which the Palestinian ordeal has been discussed in a liberal way in so many programs penetrate the public sphere. The Palestinian detainees issue is put on table and scores of talk shows, reports as well as documentary films have been aired to the audience. BBC, ABC and CNN are no longer the dominant channels that are biased against the Palestinian narrative. It should be noted that TV has the visual demonstration and instruction that go beyond any magazine or newspaper. In addition, reaching the public with a message will hold weight if the public sees and hears the message and is responsive to the information presented. The more exposure citizens have to the message, the greater is the impact of the advertisement.

Internet

There is no question the Internet has changed all our lives. "In a matter of moments you can be educated about the most obscure topics and events. Even if you have never been online, the actions of those who have similar demographics to yours have made it easier for you to purchase almost anything", (Egelhoff, T. 2008: p132). It includes websites, chat rooms, emails that could be expedient for the advertiser to communicate with customers and influence their motivation. Many candidates make extensive exploitation for the

internet to convey their agenda and political programs to the voters. They use the internet to run their campaigns and post their thoughts. The internet is loaded with news stories, images, snapshots and films that advertise political matters. Ministries, institutions, research centers have independent websites to publicize their programs, visions and daily news stories. Meanwhile, thinkers and political leaders have websites that address their audience. The internet is not costly and easy to be updated. However, the most threat to our websites is the hackers who steal our accounts or damage our domains.

Outdoor Advertising

People do not keep at home all the day. They go to work, visit their friends and celebrate feasts. Hence, it is presumably logical that they are bombarded with scores of street advertising means that aspire to appeal to the public persuasion. "The outdoor advertising is situated around establishing a theme via using billboards, slogans, mottos and hand-delivered visual prints", (Hasan, K. & Khan, R. 2011: p16). These advertising tactics are projected for an audience driving by a high speed. The message should be instantly comprehendible and attractive to the public visual talent. It should garner the attention of the new media coverage. Out-of-home advertising is the only true mass medium left, and it continues to gain extensive popularity among larger mass in the society. It is used to build candidate recognition and it is perceived as a decent tool to popularize his/her image. Significantly, too, outdoor advertising is cost effective and does not require so much cash to pay in return for the advertised theme. It is worth noting, "Technology has provided outdoor advertising with many spectacular options throughout the usage of some liberal electronic devices that bombarded the audience with instant messages" (Hasan, K. & Khan, R. 2011: p16).

Section Three: Campaign

3.3.1. Campaign Introduction and Origin

3.3.2. Campaign Definition

3.3.3. Campaign Historiography: The Pre-Modern Campaign

3.3.4. New Style Campaigning

3.3.5. Political Campaign Functions

3.3.6. Campaign Strategies

3.3.7. Hypermedia Campaign

3.3.8. Campaign Styles

3.3.9. Typology of Campaign Effects

3.3.1. Campaign Introduction and Origin

Campaigning originated with the competition between groups in society for the support of the public. Each has his/her definitive agenda that he or she wishes to implement through wider consensus of the crowd. Sometimes the campaigns work to promote a political leader and convince the voters of his or her merits. In other times, the story is extended to defend a program, policy or the state agenda. "Nations also compete both militarily and through propaganda, and during elections political candidates, parties and pressure groups compete over issues for public support", (Lilleker, D. 2006: p58). Campaigns are distinguished depending on the issue promoted and the number of actors involved. Experts, professionals and planners are recruited to generate the best-suited programs that could influence the mass and convey the idea intended. "Over the last decade a set of broad characteristics of professional campaigning have been developed, specifically recognizing the homogenization of electioneering; the adaptation of corporate communication tools to the sphere of political campaigning; the centralization of strategic design; and the employment of consultants that have led to an embeddedness of core competences within party campaign organizations", (Lisi, M. 2013). Certainly, with the development of the mass media and high-tech devices, new mechanisms are introduced to match with the age. Similarly, pressure groups can disseminate communication that influences other's campaigns. In politics, we tend to pay higher attention on the national election and choosing candidates for the parliament. However, it is not the whole story. Campaigns are sought by the national liberation movements to insure safe haven for the armed struggle and resistance. It is sometimes deemed worthy to attack the occupation through the soft power available and the deliberately-organized mobilization techniques. "The modern campaign is, therefore, a highly marketised event, where media reaction, organizational responses and voter opinion are all factored into the design as part of an ongoing process", (Lilleker, D. 2006: p59). It is worthy to notice that "there is basic agreement among scholars over the essential ingredients of the new approach, which can be summarized as a 'professionalization' of the tools and strategies parties and candidates use to appeal to voters", (Lilleker, D. & et al. 2002).

3.3.2. Campaign Definition

"A campaign is a series of events all designed to communicate to an audience and garner support from that audience. Campaigns are used by a wide range of actors, both commercial and political, and are designed to win over the audience through a range of increasingly sophisticated techniques", (Lilleker, D. 2006: p58). The definition asserts that the cornerstone of the campaigning process is orchestrating a set of well-planned activities that attract the audience attention. It incorporates both political leaders and business organizations and not confined within the classical framework of promoting products

throughout deliberately-manipulated mechanisms to make the policy or the product more presentable and salient. The primary concern of any campaign is to capture the minds of the business/politics consumers and attain the realization of the public massing.

3.3.3. Campaign Historiography: The Pre-Modern Campaign

"Pre-modern campaigning originated in the nineteenth century with the expansion of the franchise and continued in recognizable form in most postindustrial societies until at least the 1950s, when the advent of televised campaigns and the regular publication of opinion polls began to transform the process", (Norris, P. 2003: p155). As the age suggests this form of campaigning is characterized by directness, simplicity and the classical nature of the communication tools. "In general elections, the pre-modern era was characterized by a campaign organization with a party leader at the apex, surrounded by a few close political advisors, running a relatively short, ad-hoc national campaign", (Norris, P. 2003: p155). In the pre-modern campaigns, the mode of communication is abrupt and direct in which feedback is on the spot. The political party press is the interactive mechanism that relates the political party with its fans. Promises are published and communicated to the political consumers throughout the political party press. Pre-modern campaigning is run in a shape of hall meetings, canvassing and branch-party hosting.

"Newspapers were indirectly supplemented in the 1920s by radio and newsreels at the movies, important sources of news in the interwar period, and these media began to nationalize the campaign even prior to the age of television", (Norris, P. 2003: p156). Relatively speaking, it should be noted that all stories of election campaigning are implicitly mingled with social and party loyalty. In addition, the prime concentration was on influencing and reinforcing party supporters rather than creating new converts; that is the cornerstone of post-modern campaigns.

3.3.4. New Style Campaigning

"Old-style campaigning relied on one-to-one relationships between the party and the people. It was characterized by retail politics, as practiced by political operatives and party bosses", (Burton, M. & Shea, D. 2010: p8). The new style suggests a multidimensional relationship that includes within its boundaries extra variables that reshaped the modern campaigns. Michael John Burton and Daniel M. Shea, 2010 propose that the new style involves four key dimensions.

New Players

In the golden age of parties, candidates did not run campaigns. Instead, office seekers are expected to make donations to the political party to run the campaign on their behalf. However, day to day campaigning are left to the political party affiliates, loyalist and volunteers. The campaign machine bombards the country with aspirations, promises

and orientations of the desired candidates. Recently, political campaigning is getting more sophisticated with the introduction of campaign consultants, agencies, experts and professionals who run the whole process. They receive money, certain privileges or promises after the elections, such as, securing a job or a contract.

New Incentives

It is reasonable to think of campaign incentives in order to win a definitive post in the country. Candidates should offer the public incentives to encourage them to cast their vote in their favor. They should offer jobs, promise contracts and reaffirm their commitment to the social security. People are concerned with the national welfare and the recruitment of the international business. It should be made clear that candidate are supposed to address the needs of all segments in the society including immigrants, disabled, disadvantaged, women and so like.

New Tactics

The technological revolution had increasingly broadened the scope of political campaigns tactics and mechanisms. It is indispensable to master campaign technology. Television and radio can reach more people in a few seconds. Computers had occupied the scene and helped campaign consultants produce mail, raise money, target voters, and generate news releases. New technologies allow a candidate to meet with large numbers of people via Internet conferences. Accordingly, the more we develop new tactics for our campaigns, the more we secure new segments and loyalists in favor of the campaigning process.

New Resources

Fundraising is the cornerstone of any political campaign. It is the primary means for recruiting consultants, paying for ads and financing the electoral expenditures. The use of campaigns tactics is bound by large degree to the availability of financial resources. If the candidate encounters obstacles to finance his or her campaign, he/she is more presumably unable to convey his/her message to the political customers. It should be noted that some candidates claim that they can run professional campaigns with limited resources; however, these examples sound rare. Worthy speaking, political campaigning requires massive resources, and candidates are entitled to mobilize donations in order to reach the mass in the sufficient time, space and speed.

3.3.5. Political Campaign Functions

Political campaign is both comparative and imperative in the same sense in which each political party, national group and political leader aspire to unveil the bright dimensions in his public policy and political orientation in contrast with his/her opponent. Each public figure, political faction or country strife to persuade the political customers

with their agenda presented. In this context, we shall handle the three functions of political campaigning, which are: acclaiming, attacking and defending with special highlight on their influence on the messages presented to the public.

Acclaiming

"This strategy seeks to reinforce the image of the speaker. It also stimulates the citizens to hold comparisons, formulate, insights and make initial judgment", (Benoit, W. & et al. 2003). However, the public appearance of the leader throughout his or her speeches, debates and conferences should not be mingled with illusive, manipulated and fabricated images. In retrospect, the leaders of the national liberation struggle in Palestine should promulgate and acclaim the just and moral dimension of the issue that had been subject to enormous forms of historical prejudice. Besides, we should praise the Palestinians who have been deemed long ago "advocates of liberation and resistance.

Attacking

The second strategy in the campaigning process is attacking and targeting the opponents. "While there were rare exceptions noted above, attacks are generally the second most frequent function of presidential campaign discourse. However, attacks have a drawback that it has mudslinging merit which leads candidates to acclaim rather than attack", (Benoit, W. & et al. 2003: p35). Thus, leaders should launch persuasive attacks that could penetrate the political consumer's mind effortlessly. "The more attacks against a candidate that seem plausible to a voter (i.e., that are persuasively articulated and not effectively neutralized with defense), the lower the target's apparent preferability (and the less likely that person will vote for that candidate)", (Benoit, W. & et al. 2003: p34). Attacking may distract the political leader and shift his/her focus on the messages that he or she wishes to convey to the consumer. It should be understood that personal profiling, reputation, orientation and religion are fair areas for harsh criticism; however, the personal policy is more preferable to attack and reject.

Defending

"Of the three functions of campaign discourse discussed here, the most research by far has examined persuasive defense, apologia, accounts, or image repair discourse", (Benoit, W. 2001a). He developed what he wishes to call "a typology of image repair strategies". It is constructed upon the notion that political leaders are more likely to encounter variant situations. Accordingly, they are supposed to be equipped with some definitive tactics to defend their messages and issues. They also have the potential strategies to respond to any allegation and clear their profile to achieve decent political scores. "This approach has been applied in studies of political, corporate, and other forms of image repair discourse", (Benoit, W. & Brazeal, L. 2002). Political defending needs high and sophisticated skills from the political actors in order to convince the public. It also

requires a sufficient experience and well-command of the political public culture in order to avert misrepresentation, misstatement and political offending.

However, "There are three potential drawbacks to reliance on defenses. First, they can make the candidate appear to be on the defensive, reactive instead of proactive. Second, in order to refute an attack, the candidate must identify the accusation. This may remind or inform voters of a potential weakness. Third, a defense is more likely to occur on a topic that favors one's opponent. This means that a defense often takes a candidate off-message", (Benoit, W. & et al. 2003: p37).

3.3.6. Campaign Strategies

Political Debating

"All the world is a stage, but only some players are given a microphone", (McKinnon, M. 2012: p13). We need to debate in politics, government, society, economy and so like. We also want to get our message across and mobilize the public around us. Fittingly, "the first nationally broadcast presidential debate occurred during a Republican primary season. In 1948, New York Gov. Thomas Dewey and former Minnesota Gov. Harold Stassen argued the merits of outlawing the Communist Party while an estimated 40 to 80 million citizens listened in via radio", (McKinnon, M. 2012: p4). Since then, political debating had been born introducing new thoughts and trends to the political game. In the later decades, memorable debate moments have helped shape the political campaign contests. Political debaters should have the confidence, charisma and sophistication to respond and manage the political discourse in their own favor and interest. It should transfer a message that the political leader wishes his or her fans to understand. It should be made clear that the debate structure, time and frequency should be arranged in a deliberate mode to insure success.

Political Speech

Political speaking is the most dominant tool used by political leaders to approach their audience in the political market. This skill is primarily well-known since the dawn of politics and state formation. "This science made its roots in the Greek democracy, with its need to elaborate and teach techniques for reasoning and argumentation. Taking into account body communication as an important part of the Orator's repertoire, by focusing on the use of gestures, voice, posture, gaze and facial expression", (Poggi, I. & et al. 2010: p1). Recently, it sounds that more emphasis is given to persuasion in presenting the political issues mingled with new realization of the audience psychology and emotions. "The rational side of persuasion and its seemingly marginal features is not so different from the aspects of persuasion: logos – the logical argumentation, ethos – the character of the persuader, and his capacity to inspire trust, and pathos – the emotions of the audience; the

last two being most typically conveyed by perceptual and affect-inducing features of the message – attractiveness of the source, his voice, body appearance, but also his charisma, as it appears from his physical and mental qualities", (Poggi, I. & et al. 2010: p1). In campaigning, political actors who have the wisdom to establish their footings adequately in the political arena, they are more likely to capture the public attention, enthusiasm and readiness. However, being a sophisticated orator is not an attainable skill which any leader could master in the political contest or even in the national struggle.

Mobilization

All candidates wish to rally massive fans around them to enjoy wider public massing. However, mobilization requires skills, experience and above all well-advanced techniques to approach the public. To put it in the proper sense, not all political leaders win in parliaments or in the general election. Equally, not all the mobilization mechanisms are efficient and effective. Personal contact is an essential tool for supporters outreach, and face-to-face forms of voter contact are the most effective means of increasing turnout. It creates dynamic engagement, sentimental enthusiasm and personal intimacy. "door-to-door canvassing and lengthy phone conversations are the most efficient ways of boosting voters turnout rates, while impersonal methods—such as automated telephone calls and direct mail—appear to be largely ineffective and have dismally low cost-efficiency rates", (Mann, R. & Perlmutter, D. 2011: p243). While text messages and e-mail are impersonal in nature, so many voters may ignore these messages. The interpersonal communication provides an adequate opportunity for candidates and political activists to get across their supporters and addressing them in the relevant terms. It is also decent, in which it enables the activists to break down cultural differences that could encounter the public.

Symbols

The point is that "symbols are one form of constant that can act as a powerful branding device in the total style mix", (Sutherland, M. & Sylvester, A. 2008: p242). Countries are usually associated with symbolic images and signs that campaign for the national supremacy or triumph. An apparent example for political symbolism is the Palestinian "Kufiyah" that enjoys receptive awareness and respect worldwide. This big national symbol portrays the Palestinian historical rights and struggles that have been lasting ahead for relatively seven decades. Palestinians also campaign "the Dome of the Rock" to reassure the Muslims religious right in Palestine. Religious symbolism usually has strong association with the subject matter that keeps it vivid in the hearts and minds of the people

Slogans

"Slogans are primarily defined as: a word, a phrase or a sentence can function as a constant", (Sutherland, M. & Sylvester, A. 2008: p242). This is so common today that we

even have a word for it—slogan. When we hear the expression 'VIVA PALESTINA,' we immediately think of the Palestinian struggle and the liberation of the nation from the occupation. It also triggers to the international solidarity movements that address the Palestinian cause. Others hold "Free Palestinian" to suggest the propensity of international activists to promulgate the right of Palestinians to get rid of the torture, and establish their state on their land.

Celebrities

Long ago, political campaigns had relied on celebrities to promote their agenda and inspire the public with the policies intended. It is because these icons have massive popularity, reputation and admiration among the mass. It may be deemed convenient to mention the late South African president "Nelson Mandela" who inspired millions of people among the globe who are seeking justice, egalitarianism and national liberation. Political icons have the capacity to influence the crowd, increase their fervor and create loyalty and commitment to the cause. Another instance is "Jerry Adams" the leader of the Irish Republican Army who fought against the Great Britain for independence. It should be noted that celebrities are not confined with the framework of politics. We have society, business, media and art celebrities in which each segment should be addressed and recruited in the proper mode.

Social Networks Campaign

Social media is the backbone of political campaigning in the modern society. It has gained its increasing popularity due to the freedom and the margin of independency involved. According to (Safko, L. & Brake, D. 2009), social media refers to "activities, practices and behaviors among communities of people who gather online to share information, knowledge, and opinions using conversational media". It is a space where people can talk, share information, and forge new relationships. Examples of social media include blogs, micro blogs, podcasts, communities and video sites. Social networks are essential tools that enable the policy leaders to be in touch with their fans. Today, all the audience are listening and participating in the political and social concern. "Nowhere on the Internet is this observation more accurate than on social-networking websites, where the dividing line between message senders and receivers has been blurred into a collective, free-for-all, continuous, and instant dialogue", (Mann, R. & Perlmutter, D. 2011: p203). It also attracts the attention of young generations who perceive cyberspace as the field to express their aspiration and desired beliefs. More notably, the recent advancement in social networking has motivated the conventional media to invade the social networks to get closer to their audience. Increasingly, so many activists are relying on social media because it is becoming the cornerstone of online media campaigning. "The most popular such sites include Facebook and MySpace, Twitter (a cell phone–driven website), YouTube (the

leading video-sharing website in the world), LinkedIn (a professional social network), Flicker (a photo-sharing website), and Friend Feed (also a content sharing network). Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube are in the top 10 most visited websites on the Internet, attracting an average of 10 percent of all Internet users worldwide on any given day", (Mann, R. & Perlmutter, D. 2011: p203). Any person can make an account, post comments and campaign ideas that appeal to his or her beliefs. Online social networks are websites composed of personal, self-presentation pages of their members.

Campaign Web Sites

Websites are radically increasing and occupying all scopes and spheres. Nevertheless, campaign websites are penetrating the electronic space to target the customers. "Campaign Web sites have existed for a number of years, but few campaign professionals shared the excitement that political scientists felt about their potential as a campaign tool", (Maisel, L.; West, D. &. Clifton, B. 2007: p71). Campaign websites are attainable, accessible and easy to reach in any time, location and does not portray complex in usage. However, the existence of a website does not guarantee its effectiveness. Campaign experts should make the website dynamic and active via exploiting the newly advanced mechanisms and the proper selection of campaign literature, messages and images. "Unlike television advertising that confronts citizens while they are engaged in nonpolitical activities or direct mail that arrives at a citizen's home. Of course, campaigns must be read to be effective and campaigning must be accessed by interested citizens", (Maisel, L.; West, D. &. Clifton, B. 2007: p71). If citizens are not interested in the campaign, they are not willing to access these websites or show their preference, persuasion or interest.

News Media

The news media has an influential rule in promulgating the political campaign in the country. Of course, citizens learn about campaigns through the news media as well as paid media campaigns. However, "The divergence between paid media and free media is one often commented upon by those writing about campaigns", (Maisel, L.; West, D. &. Clifton, B. 2007: p71). Some political campaigns do not have large advertising budget too, so it should rely on the free media coverage to convey the message to the political consumers. Significantly, "Free media campaigns have a certain credibility that paid media lack", (Maisel, L.; West, D. &. Clifton, B. 2007: p71). It should be noticed that the news media enhances the substantive content of information reaching the citizens. It also makes the public alert to those who are running illusive and negative campaigns. In addition, it increases the political discourse and images reaching the consumer in the political environment.

E-mails and Texting

"In addition, many members of this generation do not have land-lines and are heavily reliant on cell phones and e-mail for communication. Because this contact information is not publicly available, young people must provide their contact information directly", (Mann, R. & Perlmutter, D. 2011: 242). Equally, new mass of policy leaders, government officials and candidates are relying on e-mail and cell phone to address their political consumers and campaign their cause. Campaigns must continuously construct lists of phone numbers and e-mail addresses in order to try to reach as many people as possible. Text messages and e-mails serve to associate the political leader directly to his voters or supporters before the interference of the classical media or even newsbreaks. Accordingly, they establish a formidable bond between the government leader and the idea campaigned in one respect and the political consumer in the other which could last for long. It should be noted that electronic messages and texting match young generation of political consumers who are energized with newly-advanced tech that harmonizes with their dreams and aspirations.

3.3.7. Hypermedia Campaign

In the last decade, information technology is involved deeply in all human activities namely political campaigning. People are more relying on the internet to know about the campaign. More recently, the internet is becoming the primary source of information and getting news. Hypermedia campaign is defined as: "the capacity of the political organizations for innovatively adopting digital technologies to express political purposes and its capacity for innovatively adapting its organizational structure to conform to new communicative practices", (Howard, P. 2006: p2). To put it in this context, it is not enough that political campaign exploits the mostly- advanced digital information technology in their communication strategies with political consumers. However, it should create organizational adaptation that influences the whole spectrum in the organizational campaigning process. In this sense, "Political hypermedia is the conjoined superstructure of fast, high-capacity hardware and software communication tools that let people transmit, interact with, and filter data", (Howard, P. 2006: p2). It is primarily noticeable that political hypermedia is classified variant to classical media. Secondly, this new media generation functions in greater speed and accuracy than the old adopted method. What makes the hypermedia campaign triggering is the amount of interactivity and dynamism hold in portraying the political theme, image or message to the political market. In short, political hypermedia campaign is the new generation and development of the mass media campaign that constructed on sophisticatedly-detailed political information, mass political interests and political data mining.

3.3.8. Campaign Styles

The general public is influenced and exposed into two types of political campaigns. Each one is distinguished throughout its philosophy, communicability and effectiveness. These are the effects of direct and personal campaign experiences and effects of indirect and mediated campaign experiences.

Direct-Personal Campaign

This type of campaigns includes attending rallies or engaging in direct face-to-face communication and the extent to which voters engage in discussions with family, friends, or colleagues about politics and the issues of the national liberation struggle. This form matches the conventional mode of campaigning prior to the introduction of the mass media and internet. Previous studies of campaigns suggest, "direct/personal campaign engagement and involvement may affect turnout positively but does not give any particular direction to the vote", (de Vreese, C. & Semetko, H. 2004: p14).

Indirect-Mediated Campaign

"Indirect and mediated experiences with politics and campaigning are the most common since only a minority of the electorate is directly involved in a campaign", (de Vreese, C. & Semetko, H. 2004: p14). It is primarily noticeable that media has an outstanding effect on the public and reshaping their orientation. "In terms of mediated campaign experiences, previous research suggests that exposure to news coverage may increase the level of awareness and knowledge about politics and election themes", (McLeod, D. & et al. 2002). In addition, media and news communication are extremely vital not only in getting the message of the political leaders but also in enabling the political actors to reconstruct their own definitions, agenda and strategy.

3.3.9. Typology of Campaign Effects

Highlighting the way that the campaign interacts with variant factors to influence voters' preferences and choices is a vital prerequisite to understand voters' behavior. This campaign typology involves three campaign effects: priming, persuading and learning.

Priming

Priming presents the first and significant effect of the information produced during the political campaign. It is usually defined as, "the weighting of considerations in a given decision", (Iyengar, Sh. and Kinder, D. 1987). If the priming occurs, the more the factor or the theme is featured in the information presented to the political audience. What is so vital behind priming is that it reshapes the decision-taking process. It should be stated, "The notion of priming highlights the potential for campaign messages to affect the relative influence of each consideration on the vote", (Simon, A. 2004: p52). The use of

sophisticated information may create a more priming weight for a theme or an issue which makes it highly presentable in the decision-making of the political consumers. Studies of priming have demonstrated that "the weighting of criteria employed in evaluating political actors is heavily influenced by the relative volume of each criterion in the information flow", (Iyengar, Sh. and Simon, A. 1993; Krosnick, J. and Kinder, D. 1990; Iyengar, Sh. and Kinder, D. 1987). In short terms, if the political campaign offers the sufficient information to the costumers concerning certain issue, the priming will consequently be increased, and the decision will be taken more smoothly.

Learning: Opinionating

"Learning involves change in voters' knowledge of the candidates' positions", (Simon, A. 2004: p55). The streams of information presented work in creating new realities or clear the image for the political participants. Learning includes two kinds: "learning which leads to the formation of a perception of a candidate's positions, and learning which involves a change in an already formed perception", (Simon, A. 2004: p55). It should be made clear that the two kinds of learning occur directly or indirectly by inferencing or associating. Nonetheless, the nature of information bombarded to the public may include equivocal or manipulated ideas or themes which eradicate the whole political image of the political actor in the long run.

Direct Persuasion

Psychologists generally define persuasion as: "any message-induced change in attitudes or beliefs", (Petty, R. & Cacioppo, J. 1986). In this sense, all campaigns should be persuasive and appealing to the political consumer's mind and passion. In the political liberation sense, the campaign is estimated persuasive and fruitful if it influences and redirects the international community behavior, the world leaders opinions and the strategic political institutions in favor of our cause. It can be evaluated convincing if it is accompanied by a notable change and reconsideration. However, in the campaigning context, "direct persuasion refers to the power of campaign messages to alter voters' ideal points", (Simon, A. 2004: p55). It has believed worthy to outline that campaigns are more decent in activating and reinforcing formerly held beliefs and orientations rather than demonstrating alterations in the political consumers' preferences and behavior.

Section Four: Public Relations

3.4.1. Public Relations History

3.4.2. Public Relations Definition

3.4.3. The Political Public Relations Context

3.4.4. Political Public Relations Definition

3.4.5. Political Public Relations Domain

3.4.6. Political Public Relations and Strategic Alliances

3.4.7. Public Relations Techniques

3.4.8. Public Relations Models

3.4.9. Situational Theory of Publics

3.4.10. Contingency Theory Argument

3.4.11. Public Relations Systems

3.4.12. Final Thought

3.4.1. Public Relations: Introduction and History

"Because the effort to persuade underlies all public relations activity, we can say that the general endeavor of public relations is as old as civilization itself", (Newsom, D.; Turk, J. & Kruckeberg, D. 2013: p25). Public relations is as old as the immergence of humanity in the globe. It had monopolized and developed its tactics and strategies in association with the technological, cultural, political and commercial advancement of the age. In this context, "public relations has employed the use of rhetoric, symbols, and slogans", (Newsom, D.; Turk, J. & Kruckeberg, D. 2013). An early indication for the immergence of public relations in the old society can be attributed to "the Farm bulletins dating back to 1800 B.C. in Iraq and the use of persuasion in Chinese politics as early as 770 B.C. are just some examples of early forms of communication used to influence and persuade", (Broom, G. & Sha, B. 2013). After the invention of the printing machine by Gutenberg, public relations had its way in the press and the print media. Political leaders and parties figureheads started to have their voice and outline their policies and decisions to the political consumers. Because the American thoughts is situated upon the rhetorical notion of democratization and other European nations so like, they weight high viability to the public opinion which had emerged dynamic in the political environment.

It should be recognizable that, "the press agentry model of public relations is the first theoretical and conceptual contribution to mingle the organizations with the public on the basis of a scientific rigor. However, the press agentry model of public relations, which is still around today, is characterized by hyper exaggeration to secure publicity through press and media coverage", (Newsom, D.; Turk, J. & Kruckeberg, D. 2013). Some modern thinkers associate the immergence of public relations as an independent discipline to the military warfare that had shaken the whole world with its extensive fatalities and fatigue. They state that "public relations comes from a governmental base in the major combatant nations during World War I. The need to control information and to motivate the populations of Great Britain, France and the United States led to the formation of government propaganda organizations", (Watson, T. & Noble, P. 2005: p3). Public relations made good use of persuasion and issue formation since they are the end results that seek to gather larger crowd. The post war generation had mobilized public relations in attempt to encounter the main challenges evoked after the end of the war. "After these people entered corporations and industries, utilizing public relations to deal with the challenges and opportunities of a post-industrial world and post-war booming economy", (Broom, G. & Sha, P. (2013). Technology is increasingly developing in the recent decades in which new trends, opportunities, orientations and scopes in public relations have been occupying the scene. As formerly stated, public relations had emerged into tactics and strategies since the dawn of history. However, it had been practiced by political parties and decision makers at the inception of past century.

3.4.2. Public Relations Definition

Before we proceed in the public relations literature. We would like to observe its definition in order to be in well-command of the paradigms, domains, and limitations of this emerging discipline. Public relations definitions are the mirror that reflects the political, economic, social and even technical factors that shape the modern societies. In this context, the definitions of this approach are so variant due to the excessive diversity of the scholars who handled it. In 2012, the Public Relations Society of America (PRSA) defined public relations as, "Public relations is a strategic communication process that builds mutually beneficial relationships between organizations and their publics", (PRSA Website, 2012). The definition zooms the lenses of the camera on the long-term relationship between the organization and the public. It shows no disparity between the public and private sector. The top priority lies in a beneficial reciprocal communication between the two parties which paved the way for initiating a new trend known as "the government public relations".

3.4.3. The Political Public Relations Context

"While political public relations as a concept and research field is rather new, the practice of political public relations is probably as old as politics and society itself", (Strömbäck, J. & Kiousis, S. 2011: p1). It includes among its domain an amalgam of political *science*, public relations and political communication. "This new approach is decided through processes of communication, persuasion, and information dissemination and processing", (Castells, M. 2009). Consequently, "traces of political public relations can be found as early as 64 BCE, when Quintus Tullius Cicero offered some advice to his brother, MarcusTullius Cicero, who was running for election for Consul in Rome", (Strömbäck, J. & Kiousis, S. 2011: p1). This hybrid science reveals that people used to practice political public relations ages ago. However, it is so modern in terms of its literature and approaches.

After the development of modern telecommunication networks and the advancement of hi-tech technology, political public relations is becoming more prevalent among states and governments. Policy actors sought to reinforce their ties with their neighboring countries throughout the usage of newly adoptable political public relations techniques and strategies. On the other side, candidates have aspired to target their political consumers in the political market place to obtain their votes in the elections. Politicians have realized the significance of getting their stories to the public, managing the news media and running special events. "A strong argument could even be made that public relations strategies and techniques in general were established by political actors and in political contexts, and used for political purposes", (Lamme, M. & Russell, K. 2009; Newsom, D.; Turk, J. & Kruckeberg, D. 2010).

It should be noted that the rise of public relations after the industrial age matches the rising of the modern mass media that radicalized a new orientation towards unfamiliar place and space. Paradoxically, although the discipline of political public relations is so old, there is no theorized research on this field. It may be attributed to the fact that "political communication scholars are seldom well-versed in public relations theory, whereas public relations scholars seldom display a deep understanding of what makes political communication and politics different from other areas of inquiry", (Strömbäck, J. & Kiousis, S. 2011: p2). Recent texts suggest the initial wave of the customization of public relations principles and theory into the political milieu. The abrupt advances in technology also present vast opportunities for government administrators and elected officials to communicate with the larger public. Although the discipline is at its infancy, it enjoys wider usage among politicians, statesmen, parliamentarians and national liberation leaders. It is also worthy attributing that the discipline is intricate and overlapped in which abundant sciences are engaged. In other words, we could hardly comprehend an observable bridging gap between public relations, political communication and political science. Thus, in our study of the political promotion strategies adopted by the Palestinian national authority, we decided to touch this variable to enrich our research and let the fact sound more obvious and transparent.

3.4.4. Political Public Relations Definition

Although there is no extensive inquiry in this field of study, a proper definition of political public relations should engage public relations theories, strategies, methodologies and practices in to a political context and for political purposes. However, a decisive consensus of this emerging discipline sounds unattainable depending on the scope by which each researcher perceives political public relations. Some definitions handle political public relations in association with issue management while others link it with crises management, media relations and public affairs. The common thought among all scholars is that the definitions should adapt public relations with political communication and political science since politics is at the heart of public relations and topsy-turvydom. According to (Strömbäck, J. & Kiousis, S. 2011: p8), political public relation can be defined as: "the management process by which an organization or individual actor for political purposes, through purposeful communication and action, seeks to influence and to establish, build, and maintain beneficial relationships and reputations with its key publics to help support its mission and achieve its goals." This definition perceives political public relations within the boundaries of the strategic objectives of political organizations. It does not deal with political public relations in a tactical or an emergent situation but in a broader and deeper perspective. It also emphasizes the rule of political public relations which is to influence, establish and maintain a beneficial relationship with political consumers.

Another definition of political public relation is presented by (Zipfel, A. 2008: p677) as, "Political public relations refers to the strategic communication activities of actors participating in the political process that aim at informative and persuasive goals in order to realize single interests." This definition tackles political public relations in a persuasive mode that gives extra emphasis on idea formation and spinning. It moreover perceives political public relations in a sense of activities rather than intertwined relationships, and makes political performance as its ultimate concern. It has also broadened the scope of this new discipline to incorporate within its functions the strategic vision which is the primary priority of political leaders and government actors rather than the technical philosophy.

Another definition briefed the new discipline in these concise terms: "public relations is mainly about media management, image management, and information management", (Moloney, K. 2006). However, this definition sounds vague, and lacks the proper clarity. In addition, it lacks the illustrative domain that could be comprehendible to both the theorists and the practitioners of political public relations. More significantly, Moloney did not provide us with the proper mechanisms by which media could be managed, image could be tackled and information could be promulgated.

3.4.5. Political Public Relations Domain

After the illustrative introduction presented and variant definitions discussed by key scholars, it is more adequate to explore the major domains of political public relations. Domains usually spot light on the main areas that go under the consideration of political public relations either in theory or in practice. It is worthy to remember that this emerging discipline is at its prime; still some domains can be analyzed and explored. It should be noted that these domains are not the whole comprehensive category. Yet it can work as an initial point that could lead to more understanding of this subject. These domains include: news management, media indexing, agenda building, media relations, intermedia agenda building, the international agenda building, issue management, event management, news management and other areas that involve within their scope the political public relations discipline. However, we shall not put these domains under extra illustration since they are not the primary focus of this section.

3.4.6. Political Public Relations and Strategic Alliances

Similar to the major alliances formed by the business corporations either throughout joint ventures, franchises, buyer-seller arrangement and so like, political organizations, such as, governments, agencies and ministries seek strategic alliances with other political channels in the political sphere either by agreements, conventions, confederations, partnerships and so on. Increasingly, it is becoming a remarkable feature of modern politics since all countries are looking for their space in the political milieu. However, "it is

prerequisite for a successful alliance is that there must be a clear purpose and objective for the arrangement and the process must be managed according to schedule and without loss of control", (Oliver, S. 2010: p47). Countries usually mobilize the best resources needed, the adequate skills and brilliant experts to launch a promising strategic alliance to promote the country interests. Thus, strategic coordination and cooperation are the best solution for all parties to maintain long-lasting profitability.

3.4.7. Public Relations Techniques

It is not valued worthy to study public relations without having sufficient investigation for the most fundamental techniques that formulate this science. These techniques and mechanisms are derived from day-to-day activities of the political and commercial institutions alike. Although these mechanisms sound overlapped, interrelated and may be used in an interchangeable public relations contexts, it is presumably possible to draw a relative dividing lines among each separate science. In this respect, Paul Baines, John Egan and Frank Jefkins, 2004, have proposed some techniques to reinforce the status of public relations in the political institutions or governments.

Press Release

Press releases are the main essential and widely used mechanism in the public relations context. They reflect in the broader sense an intimate relationship between public relations and media. There is nothing difficult about writing news releases, except that it is different from other forms of writing. The easiest way to learn how to write a news release is to read the news columns of a newspaper. There is usually one common formula that anyone could replicate. A good press release should be clear, concise, and correct as well as reflect the whole idea intended to the reader. Technical, vague and unfamiliar terms should be explained with sufficient illustration. While we are preparing press releases, we have to consider the language used, the culture presented and the audience intended. Mismanagement of words and terms may lead to confusion and misunderstanding. Some critics highlight that relevance and newsworthiness, therefore, seem to be the central requirement for any press release.

Articles

The article is different from the press release. It is a piece of literary form that has distinctive features, uses, values and sometimes different target groups. Articles frequently tackle one single idea that writers feel that it is worthy to be zoomed in to the public. Articles are usually produced for one publication, but this is not the whole of the process. Syndicated articles are supplied to more than one publication without causing any trouble to the credibility and authenticity to the published material. Some writers can republish their articles after a prior consent from the editor. Politicians and government actors usually

use articles to unveil their perspective over certain issues, debates or the national strategy adopted. On equal footing, Palestinians either politicians, thinkers and writers are in urgent need to influence the international public throughout sophisticated political articles that reveal the detainees suffering. It should be noted that articles have to be published in more than one language particularly English since it is the lingua franca of the modern world.

Press Conference

Press conferences are the most common tool to convey information to the public and reflect our feedback and perspectives concerning debatable issues and the new updates. It may be conducted on regular basis or when the government or the political leaders feel significant. The politicians regularly give their insight, and later they are bombarded with waves of questions if the press conference is primarily constructed over hot spots. During elections and campaigns or military actions, press conferences are held daily to inform the public and soothe the nerves of the concerned parties. It is also conducted in a speed rhythm during the general election campaigns to set up the political party agenda in the mostly appreciated tone. In non-election times, regular press conferences may be held by heads of government, ministers and opposition spokespersons to keep the media informed on the ongoing tracking.

Facility Visit

It could be a press visit to a public institution to observe the arrangements of services delivered to the public. Other visits may seek to establish a new project, launch a government program or reinforce the public well concerning national disasters ailments and so like. On the other side, officials may voyage abroad to discuss certain issues, to hold bilateral meetings or to participate in the international gatherings. One way or another, it usually means taking a person or a group of people by some form of transport. They are actually formed from politicians, experts and journalists who wish to cover the visit. These visits are not associated with complicated procedures due to the prior arrangements and the level of the political representation involved.

Serials

National liberation movements or nations who are experiencing civil self-rule on their run to independence and liberation have to reinvent creative mechanisms to unveil their cause to the world. Among these tools is writing and filming serials. It is more attractive to reveal the subject matter in a fictional program if it can be made relevant to the characters or storyline. The serials should portray the suffering and the tribulation of the Palestinian detainees in order to encounter the Israeli propaganda that has been dominating worldwide. A good and sophisticated depiction of the detainees matter will influence the public mood and make the Israeli narrative questionable.

Conferences

Every day, countries, governments, universities and institutions hold conferences and meet with scores of notable figures to investigate certain topics, but what a conference is then, and what its philosophy and procedures are. In reality, a conference is composed of a large audience with platform speakers. It is designed to bring people to debate issues relevant to their mutual concern such as international crises, occupations and eradicating drug smuggling. Many conferences are held under the big umbrella "solving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict." Nevertheless, all these attempts are lost in vain. Conferences typically last for between one and three days, but the vast majority tend to be only a day. At a conference, the most important element is to have an interesting program with high-quality speakers, supported by appropriate videos, DVD or CD-ROM presentations, satellite link-ups or other audio-visual aids. It is often useful to bring in external speakers who are both well-known and familiar with the subject.

Seminars

Public relations is not confined with the classical boundaries and dimensions of conferences. Sometimes we need to illustrate our ideas and our discussion of an issue throughout well-organized seminars. A Seminar is a smaller gathering. It is shorter than a conference, and confined to an evening, half a day or at most a whole day. It can be held in a medium-size room because the number of participants is limited. Seminars usually consume a few hours and do not take days or more like conferences. It is desirable during a seminar to permit people to participate at any time and for the speaker to encourage discussions rather than deliver a set of speeches because the number is limited and controlled.

Reports and Accounts

Countries are concerned with releasing annual, semi-annual or quarter reports and accounts to let the general public in the right mood regarding the national issues. These publications can be issued directly from a governmental organization or semi-governmental ones. The non-governmental organizations and human rights institutions are highly dominant in this field. In relation to the reports and accounts, most analysts would say that the content is more important than the style. The report should be clear, understandable and accurate. It should be also objective and does not show an apparent bias or contain material misstatements. The design, typography and general presentation should ensure simplicity, readability and legibility. It should make the subject matter presentable to the reader particularly if we document the detainees maltreatment or the story of a family whose breadwinner is in the Israeli jails. It should be also constructed to match the capacities and the prerequisites of both the public figures and the common citizens.

3.4.8. Public Relations Models

In 1984, James Grunig and Todd Hunt published the Four Models of Public Relations as part of their book *Managing Public Relations.* The model describes the different forms of communication between an organization and its stakeholders. According to James Grunig and his colleague, there are four variant models of public relations that could be practiced by institutions. Each model perceives the functions, the public and the dimensions of public relations in diverse perspective. In this sense, John Grunig and Todd Hunt have outlined these four models as follows:

Press Agentry/Publicity Model

The press agentry/publicity model came into existence during the last decade of the 19th Century. The prime concentration of this model is to run a good and decent publicity and propaganda to the public to reinforce the status of the institutions. According to the scholar, this model is an introductory stage to the modern definition of public relations. It is built upon the philosophy that the good and decent public relations duties are to maximize the positive image of the organization and reduce to the minimum the drop backs/negative images that could encounter the institutions. Equally, governments, states and political parties should rely on this model since it is the cornerstone at that age that has been dominated by the media in large scale. The concern of this model is formulated upon shaping the public opinion in favor of our issues throughout deliberate persuasion and tactics. However, this model is unilateral in which it does not engage the public or receives feedback.

Public Information Model

The second model – the public information model – was created in the early 1900s to disseminate information. The intention of this model, however, was not to persuade, but to provide objective information to the public. It makes good uses with the available strategies to let them be informed with the institutions message vision and its priorities and interests. It should be noted again that both of these models presuppose one-way communication from organizations to their publics, and there is no much room for interest in feedback. Scholars believe that this model is widely used in the government agencies and public institutions. This model of public relations results in a top-down approach to communication. The agency creates a message and sends it out to the public and that is where the communication stops.

Two-Way Asymmetric Model

Here the process is completely different from the aforementioned ones. The relationship between the institutions and the publics is bilateral that involves engagement and feedback. Some scholars call this model "scientific persuasion" because it monopolizes

the social sciences and the recent researches about attitude and behavior to persuade the general public in favor of the organizations narrative. Here, the relationship between the two parties is more dynamic in which a series of productions and feedbacks take place.

Two-Way Symmetrical Model

In the two-way symmetrical model, the relationship between the organization and the general public shows extra development and harmony. It seeks to establish a mutually-understandable relationship situated on self-realization and joint interests. The organization and the people are alike and the balance of power between the two parties is attained. According to what the excellent theory suggests, the two-way symmetrical model sounds distinctive and superior to the other aforementioned models since it is the primary purpose of public relations recently. It also perceives the most effective model in accomplishing the organizations objectives and mission. However, in practice, this model is hardly followed up in comparison to the other three models proposed.

3.4.9. Situational Theory of Publics

Evidently, it is so hard to direct a public relations program without recognizing the formation and structure of the public in the surrounding environment. This prior realization insights the organizations to strike a deliberate selection of the strategies and tactics adopted and promoted for to the wider sphere. Thus, environmental scanning assists organizations, public institutions and governments to take rational and reasonable decisions situated upon an accurate and authenticated information about the public involved.

Publics are ranging from mass public that incorporate the whole population and the situational public that involves a definitive group of people. In this sense, (Grunig, J. & Repper, F. 1992: p129), developed the situational theory that presents segmentation of the public confined with three variables that include problem recognition, constraint recognition and the active involvement.

Non-Public

According to (Grunig, J. & Repper, F. 1992), this group of population do not have a common or joint problem that mingles them with the other public. They also do not recognize that the problem is existed and they are not organized to do or exert any effort to solve it. This segment of public is the least active one and not relatively subject to the concern of public relations.

Latent Public

In this segment, (Grunig, J. & Repper, F. 1992) stated that the members of this population share a common problem, but they failed to recognize it to the moment. Thus, they are not involved or show active engagement in solving it because no prior realization is available.

Aware Public

(Grunig, J. & Repper, F. 1992) believe that this group of population share a common and recognized problem, but they are not involved to solve it. It may occur due to the shortage of experience, resources or social-cultural constraints. The physical environment may play a vital rule in encountering the problems and providing the proper logistics needed.

Active Public

The two scholars (Grunig, J. & Repper, F. 1992) say that this group of the population members share a common problem, recognize it and engage actively to deal with it and contain its consequences. This category usually shows a greater capacity for communication. They mobilize tactics and strategies for the optimal integration for the problem and investigate the mostly-adequate information to deal with it. This class of publics can be detected apparently in the political parties which involve a higher amount of representation, participation and policy making process. Strömbäck, J. & Kiousis, S. 2011: p18 puts it as, "the environment that political organizations face is more complex than that of many other organizations. It is more heterogeneous, unstable, dispersed, turbulent, and characterized by conflicts and dissensus than that of other types of organizations."

3.4.10. Contingency Theory Argument

"There are many instances where dialogical communication fails between the organization and the publics", (Browning, N. 2010: p83). In more radical cases, dialoging cannot survive due to the disputed and conflicted interests among the variant parties. Accordingly, organizations have to unveil elastic stances towards the contingent events influencing the relationship with the variant publics involved.

The contingency theory is firstly introduced and elaborated by (Cameron, G. 1997, Cancel, A. & et al. 1997), who proposed contingency theory as a positive alternative to the normative excellence theory. "This new orientation is derived from the belief that public relations is more dynamic than the two-way symmetrical model that suggests dialogical understanding as the best way to achieve sophisticated communicative environment. Theorists outline the fluidity of the organization, environment and their contexts (an organization's stance toward various publics) should be more fluid and situational", (Cameron, G. & et al. 2008). Organizations are influenced by many contingent variables that necessitate an abrupt change in the organization's behavior, attitude and orientation. These variables are either predisposing/organizational or situational.

The predisposed variables may incorporate corporation size, corporate culture, business exposure, and so like. However, the situational or the changing variables involve the urgency of the situation, the potential size of the threat, publics perceptions of the

issues, corporate reputation and many other variables. In the political context, this theory is deemed worthy and fruitful since we are engaging with a hyper-dynamic milieu that presupposes greater tensions, conflicts and disputed interests rather than business corporations. Therefore, politicians should be pragmatic and have the power to strike decent accommodations. If the political institutions take an aggressive trend, certainly it will lose the contest due to the ongoing liquidity of the instances.

The modern politics following the Cold war and the introduction of the American super power sounds that it is in a rigorous dynamism and elasticity in which it is so hard for any thinker or researcher to anticipate the future. Still, the theory is the most advantageous product that works in all environments and that could strike better understanding to the world cultures. In short, "because contingency theory is so reliant on current situations to shape and inform PR practice, there is little question that it is a positive and therefore applicable theory, while serious doubts about the positive nature of excellence theory are abundant", (Browning, N. 2010: p89).

3.4.11. Public Relations Systems

In its interaction with the surrounding environment, public relations is taking two forms. It unveils the propensity of organizations to take a massive proactive trend or keep reactive to the altered circumstances.

Closed-System of Public Relations

In this system, public relations is reactive and concerned with outcomes rather than feedbacks. Theaker, A. 2001: p42 denotes that "Activities are usually confined to publics which have an obvious contact with the organization and the emphasis is on keeping publics informed of decisions that have already been made."

Feedback is hardly noticeable and organizations have the upper hand to shape the environment. "Concerning the public relations experts, they do not function in decision-making or even in advisory roles in relation to environmental concerns. Therefore, they have little to say about what is said: they are mainly concerned with how things are said", (Cutlip, S. & et al. 2000: p241). Thus, institutions that have been performing such public relations style are presumably more suffering hard encounters in the physical environment.

Open-Systems of Public Relations

In the open system public relations, the organization is actually more proactive and has the capacity to influence the surrounding environment. Thus, "The emphasis here is on reciprocity – communication with publics takes the form of a genuine dialogue (the two-way systematical approach", (Theaker, A. 2001: p42). The organization is elastic, changeable as well as responsive to the environment with all its dimensional factors and implications. The primary purpose of this approach is to tailor organizational goals that are

acceptable and reinforced by the public. "This proactive stance is important for organizational decision-making and that is why public relations practitioners who operate in this fashion are often part of the dominant coalition", (Theaker, A. 2001: p43).

3.4.12. Final Thought

Although these models are the cornerstone of public relations, there is no an adequate researching that integrates these models in the political context. It is due to the common wisdom that political public relations still at its infancy and intensive investigation is highly recommended and proposed since politics is occupying our life and actions. It is reasonable to highlight that an inter-disciplinary adaptation is presumably viable. Situations are actually different and dynamic in responding to the public. Thus, models vary widely from one occasion or event to another depending on the circumstances that each organization is passing through.

Section Five: Lobbying

3.5.1. Lobbying History

3.5.2. Lobbying Definition and Demystification

3.5.3. Lobbying and Influence

3.5.4. Lobbying Realms

3.5.5. Lobbying Techniques

3.5.6. Lobbying Mechanics

3.5.7. Palestinian vs Israeli Lobbying

3.5.8. Institutionalized, Non-Institutionalized Lobbying

3.5.9. Lobbying Channels

3.5.10. Political Lobbying and the Exchange Approach

3.5.11. Lobbying Strategies

3.5.1. Lobbying History

"Lobbying is often seen as an activity from different interests that affects planned or existing policy and lobbying can thus be described as either successful or not", (Miard, K. 2010: p23). However, what are its routes in history? Zetter, L. 2008: p33 suggested, "Lobbying has been going on since time immemorial, and there is certainly a case for saying that lobbying is one of the world's oldest professions. Whenever an individual, or group of individuals, wields power over society, there will be other individuals or groups of individuals who will have tried to persuade them to exercise that power in a particular way." Evidently, Greece and Rome had exercised lobbying in order to convince the political spectators to make the best choices during the elections, wars or national setbacks. The mechanisms, tools and tactics are actually inspired from the spirit of the age. Zetter in the same paragraph attributes the origin of the modern lobbying to: "1792 (just three years after the US federal constitution was adopted) William Hull was retained by Virginian Veterans of the Continental Army to lobby for additional compensation in recognition of their services during the American Revolutionary War." Burrell, M. 2001: p4 has his illustration on the immergence of the concept of lobbying: "Although lobbying of various kinds is conducted around the world, its development as a trade or profession is primarily an Anglo-Saxon concept and has historically been treated with suspicion elsewhere – for example, in France and Germany – though this is starting to change." Afterward, policy leaders, parliamentarians and presidents started to exploit the lobbying techniques to boost their appearance and presence in the political life. At the dawn of the 20th century, radio and telegraph were invented which gave credit to the science of lobbying. Hence, lobbyists rule in the political life got on rise and political campaigns shifted ahead. By the emergence of computers and the internet, mass media has witness a radical transformation which cleared the way for the lobbying institutions, interest groups and federations to have more influential pressure on the governments to reconsider or alter the public policy.

3.5.2. Lobbying Definition and Demystification

There is no exact consensus among scholars about a definitive definition of lobbying due to the variation of perspectives and fields that this new science has occupied. Nevertheless, there is a noticeable but significant perception of them due to the nature and the validity of the field. Consequently, this well-travelled term presents a panoramic overview on the literatures and understanding of lobbying and pressure groups. In another perception, lobbying is an activity that is situated upon stealing the minds and sentiments. Persuasion is the tool for modifying the policies or influencing the general public.

Yet, Lobbying can be defined in the first instance as, "persuasive activity to change public policy in favor of an organization by groups of people who are not directly involved in the political process", (Moloney, K. 1997: p169). Fifteen years later, lobbying is,

according to (Mazey, S. & Richardson, J. 2006: p249), defined as, "much about minimizing surprise by being informed as it is the attempt to influence a policy." According to the two authors, the prime concern of lobbying is exchanging information and ideas that enable the politicians to make wise actions. Equally, (Nownes, A. 2006: p5) presents lobbying as, "an effort designed to affect what the government does." However, the two definitions do not highlight these actions either formally or informally in association to the people, organizations and officials involved in the process. Zetter, L. 2008: p30 presented a simple and a straightforward definition for lobbying. He assumes that "lobbying is the process of seeking to influence government and its institutions by informing the public policy agenda." He also gives another brief clear-oriented definition which states, "lobbying is the art of political persuasion." Lobbying in its broader perspective should incorporate the government, the media, the political actors, the lawmakers and the international bodies. Thus, we feel adequate to portray our definition of lobbying after this thorough investigation of the discipline. "Lobbying is actually the mobilization of sentiments, opinions, intellects and urge to communicate, influence and reshape the public policies of the government as well as the interaction with the international bodies for the interest of the people or the state agenda."

3.5.3. Lobbying and Influence

Around the hour, hundreds of thousands of people mobilize for hundreds of different causes, using variant techniques such as demonstrating in the streets, writing letters, and making phone calls to officials and political leaders. If these attempts have poor influential performance, then the lobbying strategies are encountering a serious deficiency. "At the most basic level, influence over public policy is often defined to mean the power to determine outcomes—either to change a public policy or to defeat efforts to have the policy changed", (Maisel, S. & Berry, J. 2010: p534). Influence is multidimensional which involves the government, the parliament, the court, the press and so like. Lobbyists have to achieve efficient penetration within the structure and the components of these authorities in order to orchestrate a satisfactory pressure in these "golden standards of power."

In a comprehensive sense, "What they knew or failed to learn, what they heard or did not hear, what they said or failed to say had a profound effect on what other people learned, heard, or said. These other people were not merely the general public, but more importantly, their own members, the press, the administration, and the legislatures", (Maisel, S. & Berry, J. 2010: p545).

Thus, lobbying is counterproductive if it is not associated with influence and actual power that reshape the public/international policy in harmony with the 'issue groups' interests and aspirations.

3.5.4. Lobbying Realms

Lobbyists incorporate a variety of realms to keep pressures on the governments, either internally or at the broader scope. They mobilize their urge to influence the discussion making process on their interest and values. Respectively, it is reasoned advantageous and worthy to zoom your attentions on the mostly-recognizable fields with special accommodation and adaptation to the Palestinian national context and the political sphere.

Lobbying the Executive Layer

"Effective lobbying always includes strategies to win executive support", (Hessenius, B. 2007: p35). The executive government involves the president, the prime minister, the ministers, some public agencies and other bureaucracies in the country. These executive bodies are accountable for managing the internal and the external relationship with the world's countries. Thus, the lobbying groups should be concerned with the government since it directs the decision making and orchestrates the grand policy and the public affairs. "Because the executive branch wields considerable decision-making power, it is often the target of lobbying", (Nownes, A. 2006: p19). At the political level, executive lobbying is the mostly usable technique among presidents, political leaders and national icons. The more the country mobilizes its capacities and powers in terms of reinforcing the lobbying agenda, the more it gets functional in the world's policy.

Lobbying the Legislative Layer

"Legislative bodies don't operate in a vacuum—all sorts of outside forces exert pressure on their decision making and professional lobbyists play a particular role in the process", (Hessenius, B. 2007: p24). Lobbyists usually contact legislative figures and parliamentary icons to push forward a desired bill, to pressure against a government's policy or to show their urge in favor of a government's program or grand strategy. Nownes, A. 2006: p17 claims that "there are many ways to fulfill legislative lobbying such as: holding legislative hearings, arranging special meetings and establishing intertwined interests between the lobbyists and the lawmakers".

Lobbying the Judicial Layer

"increasingly, the legal method has become popular in recent years as a means of ensuring that local and national governments carry out their responsibilities and as part of any campaign to effect changes in the law", (Watts, D. 2007: p58). Lobbyists are recruiting advocates, filing lawsuits and contacting the attorney general to influence certain decisions and government's policies. However, the judicial lobbying is not a snapshot that can be attained at one sitting or in a daylight. It usually requires efforts, resources and skills in order to win the case for your cause. Lawsuits may consume one year or a decade in the

court without decisive judgment from the judicial system. On the other side, "Even where a legal challenge fails, it can be useful as a means of politicizing an issue and generating publicity", (Watts, D. 2007: p58). The legal system is sacred and is not permissible to be trapped under persistent violation from the citizens and the political leaders alike. Once the country is experiencing major collapse in the judicial layer, it is more presumably on the brink of its failure.

Lobbying the Grassroots

"Although direct lobbying is an excellent way of conveying information to lawmakers, it is usually an insufficient means of applying political pressure. However, when an issue attracts public attention and concern, grassroots public opinion and pressure count", (Lerbinger, O. 2008: p251). Direct lobbying is productive if the issue is highly technical and requires unique capacities and skills. Nonetheless, if the issue is targeting the larger mass and more pressure is vital to influence, then grassroots lobbying is the optimal choice. "Because of changes in the political structure and the availability of technology, one of the strongest trends in politics today is the movement toward the golden age of grassroots lobbying", (Lerbinger, O. 2008: p252). Recently, the invention of the computer and the introduction of the internet have accelerated the tone of approaching the public professionally and in large scale. It should be understood that the nature of the political environment has increased the effectiveness and the reliance on grassroots lobbying. Consequently, this unstoppable force may influence the whole society and reconstruct the political system in any country.

3.5.5. Lobbying Techniques

It is so significant at this stage to try to arrive at some commonly usable techniques exercised by lobbyists and interest groups to make their voice vocal at the political arena. These techniques are ranging from holding meetings, writing letters, forming coalitions, organizing demonstrations/protests and contacting intellectual and think tanks. They vary broadly in consistency with the field that the lobbyists are concerned with or wish to influence and pressure.

Holding Meetings and Personal Contacts

Meeting with officials, lawmakers and the judiciary branch representatives is a vital technique to influence and enforce their decisions in favor of our interests and causes. It insights the officials about our concerns, demands and the field of our protest concerning the proposed bills or the executed policies. However, "Meeting with politicians should involve a prior knowledge about the official, setting a deliberate agenda, clear indication about the purpose of the meeting and their announced positions in the press", (Thomson, S. & John, S. 2007: p45). Apart from these technical arrangements, lobbyists should dig

deeper to understand the culture and the ideology of the politicians since they are relatively the impetus for the adoption or the rejection of any proposed resolution by the ruling authority.

Writing Letters

Writing and exchanging letters and messages are evidently the most practiced techniques in the lobbying process among the world leaders and political figures. It is not combined within the classical boundaries of top political regimes, but it falls down to the grassroots of the political organization or the public administration. "Letters or messages from individuals or leaders of major organizations usually receive personal responses from presidents or high-ranking White House officials", (Terry, J. 2005: p39). Newly-elected governments pay special attention to reinforce their ties with the world leaders throughout drafting letters, exchanging visions and political positions. In US, "During their first months in office, new presidents invariably announce they are reassessing Middle East policy. Letter campaigns have the most impact during this relatively short timeframe (three to four months)", (Terry, J. 2005: p39). In short, major letter/FAX/email or telephone campaigns tend to receive the most attention from new administrations namely that are anxious to gauge public opinion and support.

Contacting Think Tanks

Increasingly, think tanks are playing important role in shaping public debate as well as actual policy in significant matters. Politicians, government officials and public figures are currently depending on think tanks and most of which have energetic public relations and media relations offices designed to promote their experts' views in the public arena. "Many think tanks also distribute brief and easily digested policy memorandums to legislators and other government officials; organize seminars, working breakfasts; and briefings for officials and their staffs; and encourage their own analysts to publish op-eds and other visible forms of commentary, all with the goal of shaping the prevailing climate of ideas", (Mearsheimer, J. & Walt, S. 2007: p175). When the policy leaders maintain footing and mobilize a key think tank for their question, more sympathists and sentiments will be evoked in the political sphere.

Thus, lobbyists should pay special attention to the think tanks since they are the actual barometer that directs the political recruitment and builds strategic friendships for the government or the political party. In brief, think tanks "serve as incubators for new policy ideas and are a critical part of the web of power in the political circle", (Mearsheimer, J. & Walt, S. 2007: p176).

Forming Coalition

The majority of organizations and issue groups resort to formulate a coalition in order to make their voice vocal in front of the political governance system. Organizations are usually joint to defend what they perceive, the common interest or a threat. "To avoid later misunderstandings, you should seek clear agreement from the outset on the goals of the coalition, how it will target its efforts, and how the undertaking will be financed", (Smucker, B. 1999: p39). If the allied parties have disputed objectives and fragmented agenda, they are more likely to get resolved and collapse.

Coalitions should know that their aggregate arrangements would make more satisfactory outcomes particularly if they engage to confront a repressive power. In addition, "Effective coalitions have leaders who recognize that the strength of the coalition, and therefore its ultimate success, rests with the coalition's members, not with its leaders. The leaders also recognize that their principal role is to serve the members by working hard at the unexciting but critically important details required for effective coordination", (Smucker, B. 1999: p40). By this mechanism, the lobbying efforts and activities will be mounted, and more pragmatic breakthroughs will be accomplished for the interest of the allied parties.

Organizing Protests and Demonstrations

Protests, demonstrations, and sometimes violence have been a part of the lobbying activities and the interest groups strategies in many parts in the world. "However, while the use of protests, demonstrations, and violence have been widely publicized in the mass media and are imprinted in the public's mind throughout the Western world, systematic investigation has been largely absent in which we probably know the least about", (Thomas, C. 2004: p205). Although there is a misconception surrounding the term violence and resistance, still many resort to armed struggle to regain their rights. Furthermore, many demonstrations have been turned into bloody massacres by the tyrant regimes who deny their people's rights and freedom. On the other side, "Gamson argues that violence has been successful under certain circumstances, but not any more successful than normal lobbying tactics. Furthermore, he argues that violence was almost always incidental to other commonly used tactics and that it was almost always a decision of frustration with the pace of success and not simply the last tactic of a failed cause", (Thomas, C. 2004: p206). More notably, the rise of the police state and the increasing repression of the occupation have radicalized the rule of the interest groups and issue organizations in favor of the citizens.

3.5.6. Lobbying Mechanics

In an attempt to orchestrate a promising lobbying stamina, (Zetter, L. 2008: p58) has presented certain mechanical procedures that would be advantageous in pushing the

lobbying agenda foreword. These mechanics are established on the foundations of sequential procedures that pay pragmatic concern to the interests of the organizations in parallel with the interest of the government or the political parties in definite. These procedures include profile raising, contact program, policy shaping and legislation changing. Although governments are relatively variant in their tone, still democratization is the most magic recipe to reinforce the lobbying power in a way that balances between the demands and desires of all parties involved.

Profile Raising

According to Zetter, some organizations encounter a competitive threat at the external environment that may pose a severe risk on their being. In this sense, the organization should launch a sophisticated lobbying program to boost its position and image among the stakeholders. They seek to address a balance in situations where many high-profile organizations are interacting and communicating on a rivalry tone. A more pragmatic reason for mounting a profile raising campaign is to make sure that your organization achieves its rightful place within the body politic. The political bodies are constantly concerned with contacting key and notable political organizations to have their say over the government's initiatives and proposals. However, if your organization's profile is discredited, you shall be wiped out of the whole game.

Contact Program

Zetter illustrates that after the organization succeeds to promote its position and achieves a sophisticated boosting for its credit, the contact program follows. In this mechanic, the organization is entitled to establish a strong and long-lasting relationship with the political figures to reinforce its agenda. To conduct lobbying in the proper mode, the organization should make a profound research for the political leaders that matches with the organizations needs and demands. Then we need to brief those political icons and establish a good relationship with them. Finally, we should make sure that our ties are orchestrated on solid bases, and the relationships will keep forward as well as the information will be updated. The most essential constraint is to form sufficient delegations who are capable of abiding by the messages and objectives of the organization and fulfill the intended tasks.

Policy Shaping

In this mechanic, Zetter assumes that lobbyists cannot change the personality of the politicians since it is not their primary concern. However, they have to influence the policy of the government and reshape its general framework to match their interests. Consequently, the whole argument is constructed on policy reformation and not personality alteration. Nevertheless, understanding the personal traits of the politicians is vibrant in order to prognosticate the sequence of events. Reshaping the public policy should start with

influencing the political parties and understanding their persuasion and orientation either the dogmatic, the liberal or the mainstream. Some parties are reluctant to change while others are ready to initiate compromises to adapt with the increasing demands of the lobbying groups and the public taste. Political parties are contacted because the policy is controlled by the leader of the party in the cabinet or parliament and the other fragments in the system. Zetter, L. 2008 claims when the political party is in the opposition, it is more viable to influence its public policy and agenda and make hard look to the beliefs that the party is adhered to since unsatisfactory feelings is highly dominant.

Legislation Changing

Around the globe, Zetter believes that parliaments are introducing bills to encounter crisis, promote a government program or to respond to the outcry of the citizens in contingent situations. These legislations may enjoy mass support among the public or massive rejection and condemnation is presumably occupying the streets and media. Accordingly, the lobbying groups are interfering to reconsider, amend or block the whole legislation. The organization should mobilize its lobbying stamina, presents its arguments and deliver the best adequate breakthrough. In many instances, lawmakers take hard steps backward and make thorough revision for their legislations that have received relatively mass public disapproval.

3.5.7. Palestinian vs Israeli Lobbying

The American fervor and the European enthusiasm and support beg the ultimate inquiry: why do Israel enjoy mass sympathy in the Western political milieu? The answer is not extricated from the fundamental notion that shows Israel skillful in manipulating its lobbying tactics that are contrary to the solid and authenticated fact. Mearsheimer, J. & Walt, S. 2007: p112 defined the Israeli lobby that is heavy-handed in the US as "the loose coalition of individuals and organizations that actively work to shape U.S. foreign policy in a pro-Israel direction." These organic bodies formulate the policies and strategies in match with their strategic interests and benefits.

However, the Palestinian jargon is over locked and oblivious within the stream of heavy Zionist machinery. The broad coalition is well-established due to the fact that the Arab public discourse is not making its way in the proper tone to confront the Zionist propaganda. It can be attributed to the for granted assumption that "The pro-Arab lobby has two dimensions, foreign and domestic. Foreign lobbying often takes place on behalf of nation-states with their own economic or political agendas, including petroleum exports and weapons sales", (Marrar, Kh. 2009: p22). However, neither the foreign nor the domestic are actually functional compared to the Zionist power.

The primary tool of the Zionist lobby is to attack the skeptics of the dubious interrelationship between the two intertwined partners. "The lobby sometimes employs heavy-handed tactics to silence critics, accusing them of being anti-Israel or anti-Semitic and the mainstream media's coverage of Israel and the Middle East consistently favors Israel and does not call U.S. support into question in any way", (Mearsheimer, J. & Walt, S. 2007: p168-169).

In addition, think tanks digest their policies and proposed legislations throughout their political views and memoranda to empower Israel. In this situation, the Arab groups are relatively drop out from the American agenda and shifted their attention to the reactive behavior to cope with incidences. Consequently, the Palestinians voice is not vocal and the whole rules of the game is relatively in the Zionist hand.

It may be deemed worthy to state that the American and the European academia are policed by the Zionist lobbies in which any criticism for Israel is not permissible in 'the land of liberty.' "With first-hand experience of that powerful lobby, former Republican Congressman Paul Findley stated, 'our political system is seriously handicapped by the absence of unfettered discussion of what is best for the United States Middle East policy. The Israeli side is the only one that is seriously considered", (Marrar, Kh. 2009: p55). Nevertheless, recently, we perceive new sentiments and new voices calling for the right of the Palestinians after they have been horrified and intimidated by the Zionist ongoing and barbaric massacres in the late Gaza wars.

3.5.8. Institutionalized, Non-Institutionalized Lobbying

Although some scholars do not persevere the burden of drawing a solid difference in the lobbying activities conducted by parties and organizations, some researchers made a distinction between two forms of lobbying that could be exercised by the interest groups. These two forms are either institutionalized or non-institutionalized lobbying. According to (Gullberg, B. 2008b), institutionalized lobbying is understood as, "participating in formal hearing processes and meetings. However, the latter constitutes informal meetings with politicians and authorities, conferences and media campaigns." Each form has its impact on the government, politicians or legislatures that are accountable for legalizing, administering and executing the public policies. Lobbying could be studied by only focusing on institutionalized lobbying, for example, the participation in formal working groups, stakeholder meetings, hearings, etc. However, non-institutionalized lobbying is getting on rise due to the developing rule of NGOs and the emergence of the society based organizations SBOs that have invaded many parts of the globe.

3.5.9. Lobbying Channels

Interest groups pass through variant channels to influence the decision making process that are cocked and stewed in the government. Some groups show the propensity to talk to the officials and meet with the executive branch leaders while others move to the parliamentarians and lawmakers to pressure against a proposed bill. In more progressive mode, some lobbyists shift to the opposition party to ally against the ongoing government to enforce their perspective and agenda. Coen, D. 1997: p20-24 lists some of the lobbying channels with some reference to their propensity and effectiveness. These channels are: "national associations, national civil service (ministries), local members of parliament, national government, regions, European associations, European Commission, European Parliament, members of the European Parliament and hired lobbyists." Countries that have strong federations, associations, and coordinates are more likely to influence the government decisions. In addition, if the interest groups have the sophistication to mobilize the public around their causes, they are presumably more successful to create responsive government. Although some lobbying channels are perceived more effective than others, the nature of the political regime, the speed of the democratic orientation and the corporate participation are key and noticeable factors when selecting any channel.

3.5.10. Political Lobbying and the Exchange Approach

The exchange approach is dated back to the exchange model and philosophy of the economic goods and services between the buyer and the seller to gain profit. This model was developed by Salisbury in 1969 concerning: supply, demand and transaction costs. The model serves as an interesting starting point for analysis of the interaction between business interests and public actors at the European level. Meanwhile, the case is somehow different. Political products are extremely hard to be valued throughout monetary cashing. However, the relationship among a group of actors and institutions is relatively the same.

Bouwen's 'Theory of Access" is a striking examples of the exchange approach among the political organizations and the private political actors. He associates his approach of exchange to the European institution 'the Supra-National Assembly' to unveil his assumption. Bouwen assumes, "the private actors who can provide the best of the critical access good in the most efficient way will enjoy the center place of influencing the European decisions, legislations and regulations", (Bouwen, P. 2002: p17). He included different organizational forms of business interest representation. "It is no longer limited to the traditional collective action, but also individual company action and third-party representation by political consultants or lawyers", (Bouwen, P. 2002: p5 & Bouwen, P. 2004: p337).

The approach takes a comprehensive form by incorporating the three level systems in the European Union that are (the European Commission, the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers). The organization size, the economic strategy and the domestic

institutional environment are key determiners that control the lobbying activities and the nature of influence in the European institutions. "While the organizational form of the business interest representation determines the kind of access goods that can be provided, two other variables have an important impact on the quantity and the quality of the supplied access goods and the efficiency, i.e. speed and flexibility, of the provision", (Bouwen, P. 2002: p11). Although the model is the cornerstone for interest organizations to gain access and reinforce resolutions, still organizations vary in their power and capacity to influence their agenda and orchestrate sophisticated lobbying and mobilization to create implicit and explicit sympathy and fervor.

3.5.11. Lobbying Strategies

The lobbying literature reveals two strategies that could be pursued by the interest groups to influence any decision or public policy. These strategies are relational, in which strong reciprocal ties are maintained among the variant parties in political cycle or transactional that the issue groups have the power to deliver information and provide privileges to the public authority. In their illustrated report, (Tilburg, R. & Römgens, I. 2013: p13) have highlighted these strategies in a way that appeals to the recognition of the lobbyists and the concerned researchers.

Relational Strategy

In the relational approach, Tilburg and Römgens seek to reinforce the structural influence of lobbying throughout tailoring strong and beneficial relationship between the political authority and the interest groups. These relations among the variant parties are perceived as the revolving door where the political authority goes to the interest groups and the interest group contacts with the government. According to (Tilburg, R. & Römgens, I. 2013: p13), "the relational strategy encapsulates networking which targets not only public officials, but also experts and opinion leaders on the issues concerned. Networking as a strategy ranges from combining board memberships of different organizations to informal meetings at the concert hall."

Transactional Strategy

In a more progressive trend, (Tilburg, R. & Römgens, I. 2013: p13) presents the transactional strategy to influence and mobilize the lobbying stamina. Organizations deliver information to the public officials and interest groups concerning the issue in question or subject to some deliberations. Besides, some organizations proceed forward by putting pressure on the political authority or the lawmakers throughout political donation to the government or parties or initiating relevant mechanisms. In this sense, the organizations or the interest groups in wider perspective, can stop, modify or change any legislation or public policy in concern completely or make some reconsiderations at minimum. In this strategy, organizations are powerful and heavy-handed in which a compliance for their protests is more potentially attainable.

Section Six: The Detainees Question

3.6.1. Historical Context

3.6.2. Secret Prisons Assumption

3.6.3. Palestinian Detainees and the International Conventions

3.6.4. Children Detention

3.6.5. Administrative Detention

3.6.6. Women Detention

3.6.7. Medical Neglect

3.6.8. Ill-Treatment and Torture

3.6.9. Solitary Confinement: Sound of Silence

3.6.10. Family Visits

3.6.11. Hunger Strikes and Forced Feeding

3.6.12. PLC Members Detention

3.6.13. Prospective Vision

3.6.1. Historical Context

The emergence of the detainees issue is linked with the existence of the Israeli occupation in 1948. Although many researchers in this field date back the issue to the Arab setback in 1976, this assumption is beyond the truth. Increasingly, this claim is getting solid in view of the recent news leaks which accuse Israel of administering secret jails dated back to the era prior to the 1967 war.

Across the historical Palestinian struggle, the detainees issue has an influential rule in reshaping the nature of the conflict with the occupation. Roughly speaking, the whole Palestinian families have been subject to interrogation, detention and extrajudicial sentencing to impose the occupation hegemony at the barrel of gun. Accordingly, "Israel has violated all the international conventions and agreements in association with the detainees and deprived them of the minimum rights of dignity", (Al-Madany, R. 2013: P2).

The Israeli occupation authority has invented many tactics and techniques to torture the Palestinian detainees in order to get information in clear violation for the international norms and conventions. In addition, the detainees are gathered in densely/crowded rooms in a way that hinders the detainees from exercising their basic life needs. Benny Kamiak: the head of Israel Prison Service Administration delivers a sudden statement to Avraham Dichter the interior minister, "the Israeli jails are loaded with the Palestinian detainees which go beyond the capacity of the jails to sustain good-detention conditions", (Abu hilal, F. 2009: p8).

Although there are many resistance and political exchange deals to release the detainees, many are still behind bars due to the massive detention scaling and the arbitrary procedures that have no control or any logical or even legal criteria. Thus, it is not strange to observe women, children, elderly and even the disabled within the detainees list. Israel also has followed the solitary confinement policy to keep up pressure against the detainees to undermine their psychology without paying consideration to the International Law.

"History is evidencing that Israel is established on the foundation of the security philosophy that inflects intimidation in the Palestinian sentiments and among the Arab neighboring countries to maintain its existence", (Ferwana, A. 2015: p19). Consequently, the occupation has sought to maintain a heavy and hi-tech weaponry to achieve the security assumption which is the cornerstone behind the success and the development of the Israeli project and the Greater Israel dream. "All the Palestinians are targets or potential targets for the occupation machinery. The occupation authorities have the commands to target any Palestinian under the suspicion posing physical, behavioral, intellectual and religious threat to its claimed security", (Ferwana, A. 2015: p20).

The health care is below the normal average in which many detainees are left without medical treatment. That is why we have big list of detainees who has been martyred in the Israeli jails. Although these acts receive slight international condemnation, still Israel shows indifferent attitude to these calls. "Many families are deprived of visiting

their sons under false slurs which aggravate the detainees suffering and increase the families' wrath against the occupation", (Human Friends International, 2007: P4).

In spite of the intense struggle of the Palestinian Detainees Movement, the ongoing hunger strikes and streams of the resistance as well as the political ones, the Palestinian struggle machinery has not succeeded so far to clear the jails and end up this intricate and complicated issue.

3.6.2. The Secret Prisons Assumption

"There is a common misunderstanding among some researchers that the detainees ordeal came into being after the Israeli occupation of Gaza, the West and South Jerusalem in 1967", (Ferwana, A. 2015: p131). However, this inherent realization among scores of researchers sounds in disparity with the solid historical truth. History documents, "the Israeli gangs established concentration camps for the Palestinians who were detained after they had been uprooted by the Israelis from their homes and villages in 1948 war", (Abu hilal, F. 2009: p17). Although we do not have clear statistical information concerning the detained people, stories from the Palestinian refugees and the survivors from the Israeli field execution massacres support our argument. Israel exploited the poor communication system at that time to keep its massacres against the detainees underhand.

"The occupation has established concentration camps similar to the Nazis. They practiced harsh interrogation techniques, physical liquidation and torture. The detainees are arrested in five prisons away from any legal, moral and humanitarian binding obligations", (Abu hilal, F. 2009: p17). In addition, the detainees were forced to work in hard conditions and the women were subject to physical extortion.

Another striking evidence for our argument about the Israeli secret prisons is authenticated by David Ben-Gurion himself who stated in his memos, "the number of the Palestinians and the Arab detainees in 1948 is exceeding 9000", (Abu hilal, F. 2009: p17). Thus, the Palestinian academic icons, researchers and scholars concerned in this discipline alike are entitled to dig deeper to unfold the reality of the secret jails assumption which enjoys strong evidence in history as well as the immerging narrative documented by the eye-witnesses of that era.

3.6.3. Palestinian Detainees and the International Conventions

By reviewing the legal heritage that outlines the rights of the detainees, you arrive to a for-granted realization that Israel is a draconian authority that exercises its power in isolation from the International Law. Certainly, without a piece of doubt, the diversity of the conventions, agreement and the late protocols seek to strike a balance between what is so called the military necessity and the humanitarian as well as the detainees' rights for dignity. However, concerning the Palestinian detainees case, Israel is violating all the international norms and conventions. Thus, it is deemed advantageous to zoom on some of these conventions followed by some accounts to unfold the brutality of the occupation.

In the Geneva Convention, Article 2 states unequivocally, "The present convention shall apply to all cases of declared war or of any other armed conflict which may arise

between two or more of the high contracting parties, even if the state of war is not recognized by one of them. The convention shall also apply to all cases of partial or total occupation of the territory of a high contracting party, even if the said occupation meets with no armed resistance", (Geneva Convention: Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, 1949: p7). Regardless of the explicit applicability of the convention on the Palestinian detainees case, Israel keeps rejecting to put it into effect in the Palestinian territories. Many Security Council resolutions reaffirm the applicability of the convention in the Palestinian territories; however, Israel is not bound by them and acts in isolation of the International Law.

In Article 9 the, the Geneva Convention states, "The provisions of the present convention constitute no obstacle to the humanitarian activities which the International Committee of the Red Cross or any other impartial humanitarian organization may, subject to the consent of the parties to the conflict concerned, undertake for the protection of prisoners of war and for their relief", (Geneva Convention: Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, 1949: p11). By contemplating the status quo, Israel prevents many detainees from meeting the representatives of the Red Cross namely those who set in solitary confinement. Apparently, this behavior is not recognizable in the International Law and the Geneva Convention.

Article 13 mentions, "Prisoners of war must at all times be humanely treated. Any unlawful act or omission by the detaining power causing death or seriously endangering the health of a prisoner of war in its custody is prohibited, and will be regarded as a serious breach of the present convention. In particular, no prisoner of war may be subjected to physical mutilation or to medical or scientific experiments of any kind which are not justified by the medical, dental or hospital treatment of the prisoner concerned and carried out in his interest", (Geneva Convention: Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, 1949: p13). This article is tremendously in disparity with the Israeli announced policy; many Palestinian detainees are exposed to physical and psychological torture in the jails. Recently, some reports accused Israel of making unlawful medical experiments by stealing the human organs of the Palestinian detainees which is reasoned outrageous to the International Law.

In Article 15 "Prisoners of war shall be bound to provide free of charge for their maintenance and for the medical attention required by their state of health", Geneva Convention: Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, 1949: p13). If you consider the Palestinian context, scores of detainees have passed away due to the medical neglect and health care absence in the Israeli jails. Additionally, many detainees have been afflicted severe chronicle ailments, such as, Cancer, Diabetes and Kidney Failure.

Food rations in terms of quality and quantity should be maintained by the occupation. Thus, Article 26 illustrates, "The basic daily food rations shall be sufficient in quantity, quality and variety to keep prisoners of war in good health and to prevent loss of weight or the development of nutritional deficiencies. Account shall also be taken of the habitual diet of the prisoners", (Geneva Convention: Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, 1949: p18).

Lately, the stoppage of family visits has skyrocketed the grievances of many detainees who are constantly complaining major food shortage. In the educational and recreational aspect, Article 38 unfolds, "While respecting the individual preferences of every prisoner, the detaining power shall encourage the practice of intellectual, educational, and recreational pursuits, sports and games amongst detainees, and shall take the measures necessary to ensure the exercise thereof by providing them with adequate premises and necessary equipment", (Geneva Convention: Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, 1949: p23). The Palestinian detainees have been for-mostly deprived of their right to join an educational university, college or an institution in an attempt to carry out a collective punishment policy. Although the occupation authorities had allowed education for some detainees, this permit is given in a narrow basis and subject to the desire of the authority.

These are scores of articles that stipulate expressly the genuine rights for the detainees who are serving behind bars. However, Israel is oblivious to the dozens of international agreements and protocols which display Israel above the International Law.

3.6.4. Children Detention

"When Jewish Israeli youth goes missing, as occurred with the June 12 disappearance of three yeshiva students near an illegal West Bank settlement, it is international news and a mass effort is launched to bring them home and hold the perpetrators to account", (Euro-Mid Observer for Human Rights, 2014: p3). The Israeli occupation forces announced a state of an emergency and launched assaults in order to find potential traces that could lead to the three settlers. Paradoxically, the innocent Palestinian children are detained in mass scaling without reasoning evidence. They are harshly intimidated, tortured and left without food. "Each year approximately 700 Palestinian children under the age of 18 are prosecuted through Israeli military courts after being arrested, interrogated and detained by the Israeli army. A policy that is a violation of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which defines a child as ―every human being below the age of eighteen", (Addameer Detainee Support and Human Rights Association, 2014: p10). According to scores of cases documented, many children had psychological disturbance, behavioral disorder and anxiety due to the physical extortion and the sexual threatening. Moreover, the children are deprived of joining their schools and getting their right for education. "In September 2009, in response to documentation of the prosecution of children as young as 12 in adult military courts, Israel established a juvenile military court. It is understood that this is the first and only juvenile military court in operation in the world", (UNICEF, 2014: p7).

Ironically, it uses the same facilities and court staff as the adult military court as well as the interrogation techniques are enforced which poses a clear deception for the international community. Many children are arrested at the depth of the night awaken at their home by the Israeli weaponry. Other children are arrested nearby their homes, at roads tracked by the Israeli settlers or at the checkpoints that fragment the West Bank. Still, the international community is oblivious to the children detainees rights for dignity and decent life away from the horrifying scenes and the terrifying syndromes of the detention experience.

3.6.5. Administrative Detention

While hundreds of thousands of Palestinians have served in administrative detention, the Israeli authority do not have a definitive timeline for the detainee to leave the jail. According to the Israeli psychology, all the Palestinians are potential detainees where the slurs and the indictments are fabricated. "While administrative detention has been used both regularly and on a large scale against Palestinians, historically only approximately nine settlers have been placed in administrative detention. Some Palestinians have spent as many as six and a half consecutive years in this form of detention", (Calhoun, J. & Solomon, R. 2014: p5).

Many administrative detainees are held without trial or any judicial procedures which goes in disparity with the fundamental rights of the detainees. In his book, *The Palestinian Detainees: Pains & Hopes*, (Ferwana, A. 2015: p43) defined administrative detention as, "the process by which the ruling authority in the state holds a person in detention, confiscates his freedom and do not point any charge against him/her or even let him/her face the trial." Although the International Law permits the administrative detention in extraordinary instances, it is a constant policy for the Israeli authorities regardless of the massive international condemnation. "International Law permits administrative detention under specific, narrowly defined circumstances. In accordance with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) there must be a public emergency that threatens the life of the nation", (Addameer Detainee Support and Human Rights Association, 2014: p7). Furthermore, administrative detention should not be ordered on a customary basis without double standards, bias or discrimination. The administrative detainee should have the right to be in recognition with the list of indictments that the Israeli authority point against him. "By the implementation of the administrative detention, Israel has exercised legal and moral cruelties under the false pretext of security and the military mentality", (Ferwana, A. 2015: p46).

3.6.6. Women Detention

Not so far from what the Palestinian children have been experiencing by the Israeli indiscriminate power, the Palestinian female detainees have also suffered the bitterness of the Israeli jails. The local, regional as well as the international research centers and institutions document hundreds of cases of female detainees. Regardless of the conservative nature of the Palestinian society and the sensitivity of the female detention, Israel is increasingly targeting them to provoke the feelings and to crack down the psychology of the resistance.

The Palestinian researcher, Rashad Al-madany, documented the hard detention experience of Rawda Saad as he stated, "the occupation tied the woman and kept her blindfolded. She has been caught under inhuman interrogation techniques for 18 days and subject to obscene and vulgar terms. Her body was electrocuted and she was screaming. 'where is my children? I am about to die'", (Al-Madany, R. 2013: P2). This incidence and thousands unfold unequivocally that the Israeli occupation does not pay any consideration to the physical, psychological, emotional nature of the female detainees.

This argument seems right when we observe that many female detainees are pregnant and the majority give birth in the jails. According to the Palestinian specialist in the detainees issue Abed El-Nasser Ferwana, "the female pregnant detainees have been deprived of any sort of health care during the detention period. The food rations delivered are not beneficial and do not include the fundamental ingredients of a healthy meal as well as the pregnant females are not exposed to regular medical examination", (Ferwana, A. 2015: p98). When the female pregnant is near to give birth, she is sent to the hospital hand-coughed and tied to aggravate her suffering and increase her delivery pain. Hence, the Israeli occupation is the primary source of the Palestinian suffering in and out the Israeli jails. "The Palestinian woman is not deprived of her rights because of gender discrimination but because of the Israeli measures which violate human rights are indifferent to one's gender. The occupation forces have ceased all women's rights including their right to life, liberty, and security. They are, too, dispossessed of the right of not being a subjected to torture or to cruel treatment or punishment as well as the right to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standards of physical health, and the right to work and learn", (Ibhais, H.; Iain, M. & al-Salahat, S. 2010: p25).

The experience tells that the Israeli jails are in urgent need for an international inspection and fact-finding commissions to view in close the hard reality of the Palestinian detainees in general and the females conditions in definite. Although the universal declaration of human rights and the relevant agreements and conventions have entitled the motherhood and the childhood with special attention, the occupation authorities are constantly infringing the International Law under the security mantra.

3.6.7. Medical Neglect

As it is enacted by the international laws, agreements and conventions, the occupation is held accountable for the life of the detainees in jails. This presupposition implies that Israel should act to provide the necessary health care for the detainees, including sufficient food rations, constant health examinations and providing them with the proper medicine. According to a report published by Addameer Detainee Support and Human Rights Association, "Israeli authorities are responsible for neglecting their duties to provide the medical support for Palestinian detainees in their care, as required by the Geneva Conventions", (Addameer Detainee Support and Human Rights Association, 2014: p8).

This assumption is evident since many Palestinian detainees have been martyred in the jail due to the intentional shortage of medical care. The detention conditions have a huge impact on the health of the detainees and their physical and psychological safety. "The status of the medical care in the detention is absolutely below the average and the detainees are prohibited from enjoying the decent care outside the prison", (Lein, Y. 2007: p65).

Although all the detention camps have special clinics; mostly these clinics are dysfunctional, and physicians are regularly off duty, and specialized medical healthcare is generally unavailable. The Palestinian detainees are relying on the medical painkillers in constant mode, and the medical follow-up is extremely poor and in deficiency. In many

instances, the detainees wait for long to get the necessary care which aggravates their health conditions leading to death or chronical ailments. Transferring to more advanced hospitals is encountered by relentless Israeli procrastination and indifference. In view of these conditions, "Medical problems have been going on rise, and ranging in severity from Chest Infections and Diarrhea to Heart Problems and Kidney Failure. Treatment is often inadequate and is delivered after substantial delays. Often medication is limited to over-the-counter pain killers", (Addameer Detainee Support and Human Rights Association, 2014: p8).

This intentional health care denial suggests that the international health organization, Doctors without Borders and other relevant parties have to keep up pressure on the occupation to sustain better and decent care for the Palestinian detainees. They should have the stamina and will to execute field visits to the Israeli detention camps to insure the Israeli compliance with the international health convections, agreements and norms.

3.6.8. Ill-Treatment and Torture

During the 24-hours, the Israeli assaults against the Palestinian neighborhoods, villages and cities are in massive scale. The Palestinians are subject to a variety of torture, ill treatment, and humiliation. The torture and ill treatment are ranging from physical abuse, psychological pressure and the use of inhuman techniques of interrogation. The Palestinian child, woman and elderly are exposed to these torturing behaviors resulting in many chronically ailment cases among the detainees. According to (Garcia, S. 2009: p37) the Israeli interrogation mechanisms include, "beating, leaving detainees in uncomfortable postures, interrogation sessions which last 24-48 hours, depriving detainees of sleep, depriving them of their human dignity and making threats against the lives and property of their relatives."

Many testimonials are documented live throughout the videos and images that screen the Israeli soldiers blackmailing, beating and shooting the Palestinian citizens. It also displays the occupation soldiers using verbal curses, racist terms and inhuman treatment. This is presumably right if we observe a dozens of ailing detainees due to the irrational and the indiscriminate torture that the Palestinian detainees receive in the Israeli jails. These outrageous acts are conducted in isolation from any observation or even inspection from the international community courts and institutions. The Palestinian researcher and specialist in the detainees matter in his book, the Palestinian Detainees: Pains & Hope states, "the terrifying torture exercised by the Israeli occupation is legitimized by what is so called, by the Israeli supreme court that labels the detainees under torture, time bombs", (Ferwana, A. 2015: p204).

There are many torture cases that have been martyred in the jails without any consideration to the humanitarian, legal and moral obligations that bind the relationship between the detainees and the occupation authorities. Ferwana also illustrates the matter farther mentioning that, "although the outstated function of torture is either to get information relevant to the actual case or to insight the intelligence service concerning

potential threats may be deemed risky to the state, Israel used extrajudicial acts to inflect harm and stigmatism over the detainees", (Ferwana, A. 2015: p19).

3.6.9. Solitary Confinement: Sound of Silence

Across the national liberation movements struggle in Palestine, the sweeping majority of the detainees have been caught in solitary confinement to eradicate their physical and psychological resistance and force them to disclose the secretive information. The detainees are strangled behind bars without sufficient electricity, sanitation or lightening. "It is important to note the differences between solitary confinement cells and isolation cells. Detainees held in solitary confinement are completely cut off from the world. They are held in an empty cell, consisting of a mattress only. Besides their clothes, detainees are not allowed to take anything with them into confinement, including newspapers or a television set", (Assif, T. and Francis, S. 2009: p13). The Palestinian detainees are held in solitary confinement for weeks, month and in other instances for years. They have no toilet and when the detainee wishes to use the toilet, he or she must call out for a guard and wait until one agrees to take the detainee out. The solitary confinement bar is about (1.5 X 2) meters which in most cases does not allow in sufficient light and air from the outside. In these circumstances, the detainees will be subject to all sorts of physical and psychological ailments.

It should be made clear also that "The detainees are prevented of meeting their attorneys, representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC], and their families for the entire duration of the interrogation, or at least for the majority of the period", (Lein, Y. 2007: p77). Although the occupation authorities schedule one hour for the solitary detainees to leave the bar, this duration is not enough to fulfill his/her urgent needs. To mount the pressure over the solitary detainee, the occupation delivers them poor-quality food that aggravates their health conditions and makes them subject to ailments. According to Human Friends International, "the solitary detainees are exposed to a summary trial during the interrogation period and many of them serve their sentence in this kind of detention which goes up to many years", (Human Friends International, 2007: p6). Recently, Israel has resorted to hold the Palestinian national leaders in solitary confinement after the break of Al-Aqsa intifada in 2000 to undermine the spirit of the Palestinian detainees. Regardless of the soft nature of the women, children and elderly, many have been also sent to the solitary detention and served a substantial duration in these notorious conditions. Due to this flagrant infringement for the detainees rights, the Detainees Movement has rushed forward represented by the streams of hunger strikes executed and observed by the Palestinian detainees to call for their freedom.

3.6.10. Family Visits

To lay the stranglehold over the Palestinian detainees, the Israeli occupation authorities resort to suspend the family visits to the detainees in an attempt to implement the collective punishment policy to force them to show major concessions on their fundamental rights. This notorious policy has been fulfilled greatly after the break of Al-Aqsa intifada and streams of demonstrations, settings and armed struggle against the occupation authorities.

In an unprecedented trend, "Israel had challenged the international laws and conventions by turning the families rights to visit their counterparts in the Israeli jails into a grant given in view of definitive criteria and conditions outlined by the Israeli prisons services", (Ferwana, A. 2015: 251). This Israeli granting policy seeks to humiliate the Palestinian detainees and make them passive in light of the raising brutal aggression against them. In addition, the detainees' families are complaining from a premeditated procrastination policy which last for many months and sometimes years.

In another form of violation, "Israel detains Palestinians from the oPt in detention centers outside 1967 occupied territory. This practice is illegal under International Law and poses significant challenges to Palestinian detainees' ability to receive family visits as they must acquire permits to enter Israel in order to visit their relatives in prison", (Addameer Detainee Support and Human Rights Association, 2014: p9). Although this act of detention is a flagrant infringement for the International Law, the notable world institutions are silent and not concerned with the matter. During Palestinian detainees mass hunger strike in April 2012, one main demand of the detainees was to reinstate family visits to Gaza detainees.

"Though Israel agreed to resume the visits upon the conclusion of the hunger strike, still it is unclear that Palestinian detainees will enjoy constant visits to their beloved behind bars. Ironically, when the visits take place, severe restrictions are imposed against them by the occupation authorities which includes only first-degree relatives who are not ranging between 16 and 35.", (Addameer Detainee Support and Human Rights Association, 2014: p9). According to Ferwana, "following the Israeli disengagement and the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip, thousands of families were prevented from visiting their detainees under the pretext of security consideration. But following 2006 Palestinian election results and the capture of Israeli soldier, Gilad Shalit, Israel denied family visits to the residents of Gaza who have counterparts held in Israeli prisons due to Hamas takeover of Gaza and the downfall of the Palestinian National Authority", (Ferwana, A. 2015: 252).

When families visit their detainees, they accompany them food, money and some personal belongings to meet the minimum requirements of life. The deprivation of these services will pose an actual pressure on the detainee to exercise his/her life adequately. Thus, enormous efforts should be mounted from diverse levels including the authority icons and the resistance leaders to promulgate the detainees suffering to force the occupation to abide by the Geneva Convention in relation to the detainees' rights.

3.6.11. Hunger Strikes and Forced Feeding

In light of the increasing Israeli violation of the detainees rights and depriving them of their freedom, the Palestinian detainees have executed many hunger strikes to protest against the occupation policy. This act of protest is accompanied with a severe risk on the detainees as well as the diverse aliments that the detainees would be exposed to during their hunger strikes. In a clear infringement of the international laws and agreements, the hunger strikes are encountered by more Israeli arbitrary procedures to humiliate the detainees and force them to comply by the rules of jungle exercised by the oppressor.

In view of the increasing hunger strikes, Israel has resorted to force feeding stating, "the government declared that there is a sufficient number of prison physicians (subject to military orders) to carry it out, and they were discussing implementing it in spite of the binding legal challenge. Prime Minister Netanyahu justified the proposed law, pointing to U.S. force feeding of detainees at Guantanamo", (The National Lawyers Guild, 2014: p12). The Israeli Prime Minister is insisting on the American model to treat the Palestinian detainees in isolation from the international norms.

In 2012, the Palestinian detainees had executed a mass hunger strike in response to the solitary confinement policy and the maltreatment against the Palestinian detainees. However, the hunger strike came into suspension after the occupation authorities agreed to stop the solitary confinement policy and ease the conditions of the detainees. Many Palestinian detainees went to military hospitals due to their critical conditions resulting from the long-term hunger strike.

In a notorious scene, Israel has worked hard to package the forced feeding policy with a legitimate and legal law to dehumanize the Palestinian detainees. "At meetings with two Israeli NGOs, Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) in Jaffa and the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel (PCATI) in Jerusalem, both during the hunger strike, the delegation learned that the Knesset was fast-tracking a bill to permit force feeding of detainees, 'in spite of patients' rights'", (The National Lawyers Guild, 2014: p12). The hunger strike is not merely an act of rebellious attitude to end unjust policy, but a genuine mode of the national liberation struggle that exceeds the daily improvement of the detainees right.

According to Ferwana, "the Palestinian detainees had carried out the first hunger strike in 1970 which led to the martyrdom of Abed Al-Qader Abu El-Fahem which caused a massive quantum leap in the performance of the Palestinian detainees movement", (Ferwana, A. 2015: p329). After that, the waves of hunger strikes have created a challenging relationship between the Palestinian detainees and the occupation authorities regardless of the excessive power used to eliminate the acts of protest. Ferwana proceeds, "hunger strikes are not carried out in a random occasions or unplanned circumstances. In contrast, the Palestinian detainees are prepared physically, spiritually and psychologically throughout extensive sessions and meetings to orchestrate hunger strikes and harvest the best outcomes", (Ferwana, A. 2015: p300).

3.6.12. PLC Members Detention

In spite of the diplomatic immunity that the MPs enjoy for their high-ranking political representation, Israel has launched an unprecedented mass detention for the Palestinian Legislative Members. The MPs have been bombarded with scores of indictments to justify their detention and to crack down the newly-born political process following the Palestinian general election in 2006. The occupation seeks to eradicate

Palestinian national institutions by targeting the Palestinian Legislative Members as well as the ministers.

"Although according to International Law and Israeli Court no one can be detained for their political opinions, in practice Palestinian political leaders are routinely arrested and detained as part of an ongoing Israeli effort to suppress Palestinian political processes – and, as a necessary result, political sovereignty and self-determination", (Addameer Detainee Support and Human Rights Association, 2014: p12)**.**

Following the capture of an Israeli soldier, Gilad Shalit, on 25 June 2006 by Hamas at the Kerem Shalom Crossing on the Gaza Strip border, the Israeli forces seized dozens of leaders and activists associated with Hamas in coordinated raids across the West Bank, including PLC members. Many of them were placed under administrative detention or charged with offences associated with their political affiliation to the Reform and Change List. "As recently as 2009, nearly a third of all Palestinian legislators were held in Israeli detention, preventing the PLC from reconvening since mid-2007. As of 1 December 2013, 14 members of the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC) continued to be held by Israel, the majority of them (10) under administrative detention", (Addameer Detainee Support and Human Rights Association, 2014: p12).

It is outrageous to see the head of the Palestinian legislative council behind bars without consideration to the international laws and agreements in reference to the top ranking officials. Many of the Palestinian officials were also put in detention without facing trials or receiving an indictment list. In these circumstances, the performance of the legislation council and the administrative branches are suffering hard inefficiency. According to the Palestinian researcher in the detainees issue Abed El-Naser Ferwana, "65 legislative members and former ministers were arrested by the Israeli occupation representing the various political spectrum including members living in Jerusalem", (Ferwana, A. 2015: p80). The legislative members were exposed to a variety of outrageous violation in spite of their political position, social status and health dysfunction. It is seemingly obvious that the Israeli occupation seeks to fragment the Palestinian territories and create substantial split to delay the prospective formation of the Palestinian independent state.

3.6.13. Prospective Vision

It goes without saying that the detainees case is among the dominators of the Palestinian struggle between the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) and the resistance in one side and the Israeli occupation in another. Although scores of political agreements and resistance exchange deals have been accomplished, still the Israeli jails have not been cleared from the Palestinian detainees so far. On the contrary, with the introduction of a new phase of the Palestinian struggle, new detainees are entering the Israeli jails which is deemed a severe challenge on the Palestinian decision makers and national icons. With

each Palestinian detention operation against the Israeli soldiers, the Palestinian detainees are breathing a sigh of relief that increases their hope of their potential salvation from the Israeli jails.

According to (El−Aela, R. & Thabet, A.), "the Palestinian president Mahmud Abas is doing his best throughout his visits, meetings and calls to release 107 detainees detained before the implementation of Oslo Accord as well as 1000 agreed by the former Israeli prime minister Olmert. He also mobilizes his efforts to release 15 detainees of the 2012 resistance exchange deal rearrested lately in the West Bank", (El−Aela, R. & Thabet, A. 2013: p16).

Throughout this illustration, it sounds apparently that the Palestinian struggle to release the detainees is mostly tactical and does not incorporate a strategic orientation to end up this intricate case. It should be make obvious also that after each exchange deal, Israel is mounting its efforts to scale up the number of the detainees to keep the conflict on rise. Among these alternatives, "the Palestinian detainees resort to hunger strikes to keep pressure on both the occupation authority and the international community to reconsider their case and find a solution for their dilemma", (El-Aela, R. & Thabet, A. 2013: p17).

The Palestinian resistance had achieved a notable score by forcing the occupation to release what it repeatedly calls "blooded-hand detainees". This redline diminishing has raised the spirit among the Palestinian detainees and turned the occupation into rubbles. The detainees require all efforts either the political or non-political, and both are complementary to one another. In other words, neither can one claim that he/she has the absolute magical formula to solve the conflict though the Palestinian sentiments go in consistency with the armed struggle in tackling the detainees rights of release and salvation.

Chapter Four
Previous Studies

4.1. Introduction

4.2. Palestinian Studies

4.3. International Studies

4.4. Conclusive Remark

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents an amalgamation of Palestinian and international studies that discuss the research variables including advertising, campaign, public relations and lobbying. The studies include articles, master theses and Ph.D. dissertations that have some matching with the research investigated. They aspire to find out the areas of agreement and the disagreement in order to solidify our findings and pave the way for prospective researchers.

4.2. Palestinian Studies

1. Hammad, A. & Abed, Z. (2013), "The Role of Public Relations in Raising Awareness of the Issue of Detainees in Israeli Jails"

This study identifies the role of public relations in raising awareness of the issue of Palestinian detainees in the Israeli jails, and how it can be activated and developed to achieve its objectives in supporting of the detainees' issue. The study is a descriptive analytical one and a questionnaire derived from previous studies was completed by 30 public relations staff at the Ministry of Detainees and human rights institutions concerned with the issue. Data is analyzed using SPSS software by employing factor analysis and multiple regression. The results indicate that public relations plays an active role in raising awareness of the detainees issue and it has more attributes to it, and it deals with detainees issues with respect and humanity. The results show a lack of PR means, advertising used and means of communication especially posters related to the detainees issue. The most critical obstacle is the lack of financial and logistics means. Moreover, there were no statistically significant differences in the role of public relations in the Ministry of Detainees and institutions involved in raising awareness of the detainees in Israeli jails, which is attributed to gender, age, and years of experience. The study can be utilized for the enhancement of more local and international strategy in the detainees issue. It also reinforces the body of knowledge concerning the human rights centers choices for detainees issue in Palestine. It may establish a useful base for future empirical works in this field.

2. Eshtayya, I. & Eleian, H. (2013), "The Palestinian X-Detainees between the Rehabilitation Programs and the Social Alienation"

The study seeks to recognize the reality of the rehabilitation programs for the Palestinian detainees and its impact in integrating them in the society and the amount of alienation that the X-detainees feel after their release from the Israeli jails. The study sample is constructed of 90 detainees distributed in two cities, Nablus and Jerusalem, and they are chosen in a random mode with equal percentages. The researcher designs a questionnaire consisting of 94 questions as well as conducting a focus group consisting of 20 detainees in order to increase the validity and the reliability of the outcomes. The findings indicate that the detainees do not suffering social alienation or isolation and they do not reach the status where they lose their meaning and capacity. The results also discover that the detainees are dissatisfied with the rehabilitation programs provided by the Palestinian Authority namely the detainees of Jerusalem. Thus, the study points out that there is a statistical significant relationship between the rehabilitation programs provided by

the government institutions and the detainees feeling of social alienation attributed to: the detainees career before detention, duration of detention and the nature of living. In light of the aforementioned outcomes, the researcher recommends the Commission of Detainees and X-Detainees Affairs to conduct need assessment to design more suitable programs that match the detainees orientations. Furthermore, the study suggests that the PNA should communicate with the detainees and provide them with jobs and relevant activities.

3. Shahin, A. & Saleh, A. (2013), "The Palestinian Detainees: The Degree of the Israeli Implementation of the Geneva Convention in Relation to the War Detainees"

This paper attempts to treat the notion of providing international protection for the Palestinian detainees in the Israeli jails. It also seeks to view the intensity of the Israeli violations for the third and fourth Geneva Convention 1949. The study aims to clarify the historical development of the war detainees rights including the freedom fighters in the national liberation movements. Consequently, the study wishes to prove the applicability of the third and fourth Geneva Convention on the Palestinian resistance cadres who are detained in the Israeli jails. Moreover, the authority should make a good manifestation of the new positioning in the United Nations after obtaining an observer membership. The study proposes that the PNA should join the International Criminal Court (ICC) in order to prosecute the occupation. Lastly, the study concludes that the PNA should request an international legal commission to determine the legal status of the Palestinian detainees in the Israeli jails. In this regard, several interviews are conducted with notable Palestinian human rights icons and political activists to establish solid legal arguments against the Israeli occupation. The study finds that Israel is not committed to the third and the fourth Geneva Convention. In contrast, the detainees suffering is getting on rise and the Israeli violations are not bound with any international convention, norm or agreement. Thus, the researcher recommends the PNA to mount its efforts to scandalize the occupation at the international arena.

4. El-Astal, T. (2013), "The Treatment of Cartoons in the Local Palestinian Newspapers for the Detainees Issue in the Israeli Jails"

This study explores the treatment of the cartoons in the local Palestinian newspapers for the detainees matter. It stems truly from the vitality of the detainees issue which has been occupying the center stage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The study wishes to highlight the presentation of the local Palestinian newspapers for the detainees ordeal in order to detect the political advertising stamina of the Palestinian print media. It also aims to influence larger audience in the political sphere including the knowledgeable elites and the common citizens on equal scale. Thus, the study uses the content analysis approach to detect the political cartoons in the three main Palestinian newspapers including Al-Hayya, Al-Ayam and Al-Quds local newspapers. Likewise, it conducts comparative analysis in order to find out the real contribution of each newspapers in comparison with the other counterparts. The SPSS program is used to analyze the data to explore the significant variations among each one. The study points out that the hunger strikes and the detainees steadfastness enjoy only 27% of coverage out of the whole cartoons in the local Palestinian newspapers. Thus, it suggests that the Palestinian decision makers are required to construct

a counter Israeli advertising strategy to debunk the occupation and promulgate the detainees cause. The researcher also suggests that the Palestinian Authority should establish exhibitions to zoom the attention on the detainees artistic and creative talents. At last, it proposes that the local Palestinian newspapers should cover the detainees issue in the front pages with more intensity and proficiency.

5. Assaf, M. & Khalifa, S. (2013), "The Rule of the Palestinian Universities in Reinforcing the Detainees Issue in the Israeli Jails"

This study aims to identify the role of the Palestinian universities in the Gaza Strip in promoting the issue of detainees in the Israeli jails and activating it. It also seeks to monitor the official academic and non-academic manifestation of the detainees within the boundaries of the university climate. It similarly aspires to develop some recommendations fruitful to the detainees ordeal. The study detects statistical differences at the level of significance ($\alpha \leq 0.05$) between averages of ratings study sample members for this role ascribed to the variables (sex, level, university), in order to achieve the desired goals. Hence, the researchers used a questionnaire (35) in three areas (The public role, the relative role, the services role) and applied it to a sample of (670) students from al-Quds Open University and the Islamic University. The study discovers that the total degree of the role of Palestinian universities in promoting the cause of the detainees was (61.86%), where the mass was in first place by weight of (69.18%), followed by the relative role weight of (67.49%), and finally the service role of relative weight of (46.7%). In addition, there are statistical level differences ($\alpha \leq 0.05$) between averages of ratings sample of the role of universities in promoting the issue of detainees in Israeli jails ascribed to the variable of gender as well as a variable for the university (IUG) and variable level for level 1 students. The researcher recommends that universities should improve the performance of the students councils away from the fluctuation of the political parties to promote the detainees cause. At the end, the study suggests that the local Palestinian universities should establish information channels to communicate with the detainees and their families more professionally and smoothly.

6. Elwan, A. (2013), "The Image of the Palestinian Detainees in the Arabic Language Curriculum for the Primary Stage: Reality and Challenges"

This research aims to explore the prevalence of the detainees of freedom question in the Arabic language books in primary education stage of the new Palestinian curriculum. The study then compares the findings with the teachers' perceptions concerning the aspects of detainees of freedom issue that must be addressed in those books. The research sample consists of the established books of (1-2-3-4-5-6) classes on both, I and II. Additionally, 20 teachers of Arabic language in the primary stage were randomly selected in order to achieve the objectives of the research. In this sense, a quantitative analysis is conducted using questionnaires in order to identify definitely the presentation of the detainees issue in the Arabic language curriculum. The results show that the Arabic language curriculum suffers a severe lacking in portraying the detainees ordeal for the students. The study also finds out that the teachers think that the curriculum is in urgent need for enriching the presentation of the detainees narrative specially because the curriculum is in the

experimental stage. Thus, the study recommends that the curriculum designers should prepare the Arabic language curriculum for the primary stage in a way equivalent to the detainees suffering. In addition, the supervisors should encourage the teachers to make decent presentation of the detainees question to make it close to the students' sentiments and intellect.

7. Kaloob, F. (2013), "Concepts Related to the Detainees Rights in the National Education Discipline for the Basic Stage in Palestine"

This study examines the prevalence of the detainee's rights concepts in the national education discipline for the basic stage in Palestine. It essentially aims to observe the Palestinian national curriculum performance in relation to the national struggle as a primary step for liberation and independence. It also wishes to construct a comprehensive list of the concepts in association with the detainee's rights and present them for the students. The study likewise tries to detect the amount of attention given by the Palestinian National Team for the detainees issue in the national education curriculum. For the purpose of reaching the accurate results, the researcher conducted a content analysis for the official national education books issued from the Ministry of Education. All the books from grade one up to grade ten are analyzed in order to unfold the areas of strength and areas of weakness in the taught syllabus. The researcher made good benefits from some tests as well as the experience of the arbitrators to insure the validity of the instrument used to measure the prevalence of the phenomenon in the curriculum. The study finds out that the detainees case and some definitions related to the same matter are mentioned 11 times with a relative percentage 28.2% while the first four grades lack thoroughly any information or lessons about the detainees. The study also shows that the child and the woman are mentioned in rare instances in the 5-grade curriculum which indicates that the syllabus suffers from poor presentation of the detainees tribulation. Accordingly, the study recommends the Palestinian National Team to make more rich presentation of the detainees issue in the national education discipline. Moreover, it proposes that the issue should not be limited to the public institutions of the PNA, but it should incorporate the public and private universities to reinforce the detainees jargon. Finally, the study suggests that the Palestinian human rights institutions and the relevant NGOs should act efficiently to scandalize the occupation and disclose the detainees tribulation.

4.3. International Studies

1. Bruycker, I. & Beyers, J. (2015), "Balanced or Biased Interest Groups and Legislative Lobbying in the European News Media"

This article examines the coverage of legislative lobbying in European news media. The interest group literature has not paid much attention to the role of media coverage in legislative lobbying processes. Many scholars conceive the pursuit of media prominence as part of an organization's "outside" strategy, but news media coverage of legislative lobbying itself is rarely studied. The starting point thereby is that lobbying in the crowded European Union (EU)-level interest community is not only a struggle for direct access to policymakers, but that in order to realize policy goals many interest groups rely on political

attention generated by the media. In contrast to former studies that were mostly nationally focused, the article concentrates on the European Union (EU). Research on lobbying in the EU is flourishing, yet a systematic study of interest group activity in the European news media remains absent. Thus, the main research question is how media attention is skewed toward particular interests and which factors explain these varying levels of prominence. The empirical analysis is based on a set of 125 legislative proposals adopted by the European Commission between 2008 and 2010. For all these cases the research identified 379 interest organizations that made public statements, the research coded the amount of media attention these organized interests gained, the type of statements they made as well as some key organizational features. While the aggregate levels of attention look pretty balanced, the evidence shows that media prominence is skewed toward particular types of interests; in particular that organized interests which oppose a proposed policy gain significantly higher levels of media attention.

2. Ferraro, A. (2015), "Exploring an Alternative Public Relations Framework for the Public Sector"

This study examines the differences between the public and private sectors and advocates a new public relations framework, allowing the government to practice public relations more effectively. Although the research has discovered differences between the two sectors, there has been little attempt to create an alternative model of public relations for government use. This is an important research since new models of governance and administration have engaged citizenship at the root of their practice and public administrators are tasked with increasing public participation in environments characterized by cynicism and distrust. Today, public relations must be able to assist administrators with the task of establishing and maintaining relationships with citizens. Based on the review of literature in both the communication and public administration disciplines and findings from this study, which utilized interviews with practicing public communicators in city and county government in the state of Ohio, the author proposes an alternative framework of public relations for the public sector. This new model, entitled the Government-Citizen Relationship Framework, recognizes the differences between the public and private sectors, assimilates the study findings, and incorporates an endogenic tradition by utilizing both the relationship dimensions in the relational theory of public relations and public participation decision making to help establish relationships with citizens and build community.

3. De-Malmanche, B. (2014), "Political Marketing and the British Labor Party 1994-2010: Applying the Product Life-Cycle Model to the Political Party"

This thesis explores the merits of applying a marketing model, the product lifecycle model, to a political party. The product life-cycle model details a product during its introduction, growth, maturity and decline cycles. For this thesis, the researcher applies this model to the British Labor Party between 1994 and 2010 under the leadership of Tony Blair and Gordon Brown. The product life-cycle model, adapted to political science from the political marketing literature, shows that a political party does go through an introduction, growth, maturity and decline phase. To avoid moving into the decline phase, a political party must learn how to rejuvenate during the maturity cycle. This thesis concludes that the

product life-cycle model does have merits when applied to political parties. The research used the case study to confirm the hypothesis that 'product development and re-introduction' is a more appropriate term for the first cycle in the product life-cycle for a political party. The case study also showed that the transition from the 'product development and re-introduction' cycle to the 'growth' cycle and the 'maturity' cycle to the 'decline' cycle was triggered by very specific events, showing the influence of situations which come to represent a tipping point for movement from one phase of the cycle to another. This material could be used in future research into how to rejuvenate a political brand as the current literature is still limited on this aspect of the product life-cycle model. An individual politician's career could also go through the product life-cycle model on their own according. It could focus on this relationship between the life-cycle of the party verses the lifecycle of the politician.

4. Chambers, J. (2014), "Purchasing Negativity: Public Opinion on 'Super PAC' Advertisements during the 2012 American Presidential Election"

This study explores public opinion on negative television commercials using Albert Bandura's Social Cognitive Theory of Mass Communication, and existing literature on political advertising. This major research paper is a qualitative study of American "Super PAC" advertising during the 2012 American presidential election. Super PACs, a type of "political action committee," have the ability to collect unlimited funds to advertise on behalf of candidates and parties. Super PACs have attracted criticism from scholars due to the Super PACs' negativity against opposing candidates. It employs data collected by The Super PAC App – a mobile application that recorded individual reactions to political advertising. It also employs qualitative content analysis on 20 negative Super PAC advertisements using codes created by political scientist John Geer. The results suggest that users of the App generally disliked negative Super PAC advertisements. Furthermore, the results indicate there are certain characteristics within negative advertisements that make them more liked or disliked by users of the App.

5. Calitz, W. (2014), "Rhetoric in the Red October Campaign: Exploring the White Victim Identity of Post-Apartheid South Africa"

This study explores whiteness through a rhetorical analysis of the language used in a speech made at a Red October campaign rally in South Africa in October, 2013. The Red October campaign positions white South Africans as an oppressed minority group in the country, and this study looks at linguistic choices and devices used to construct a white victim identity in post-apartheid South Africa. This thesis considers gender, religion, race, culture, class and ethnicity as intersections that contribute to the discursive construction of whiteness in the new South Africa. Ultimately, the study gives us a better understanding of whiteness, and particularly whiteness in South Africa, and the importance of language and power in certain political, social and cultural contexts. The thesis used the sample, the video of Hofmeyr and Bridges at the Red October rally. However, there could be more useful samples such as the Memorandum that they handed over to the South African government or news articles written on the campaign. The study also looks at just one speech that forms part of an entire campaign. This speech could provide just one

perspective of what the entire campaign stands for, and even more a limited representation of white people's beliefs as a whole. This speech in the context of this campaign is likely to attract people with a certain point of view and therefore looks at only one aspect of how whiteness is discursively constructed. Certainly, we should continue researching on how campaigns worldwide are adapting to their socio-political and economic contexts. We should also understand how rhetoric is used in campaigns throughout surveys or interviews with the white and Afrikaner community of South Africa. It will be valuable for future researchers to conduct a study to determine the current types of white identities that exist within South Africa.

6. **Karlsson, M.; Clerwall, C. & Buskqvist, U. (2013), "Political Public Relations on the Net: A Relationship Management Perspective"**

This study seeks to contribute to the field of political public relations by investigating whether political parties take advantage of what digital media platforms offer in terms of long-term commitment and reciprocity utilizing the Swedish national election in 2010. This development becomes highly interesting in political public relations when considering the theory of relationship management, and makes the key argument that, in order for an organization to be successful, it needs to put more effort into creating and nurturing relations with important publics through, for example, long-term commitment and reciprocity. The advent of social media makes it possible for political parties to engage with constituents on their own terms. It may look like a perfect match but the argument presupposes that the public is willing to commit to these social media and that the political parties utilize the potential. The study used the case study approach on the Swedish national election in 2010. The results reveal that the political parties utilized social media outlets primarily during and just before the time of the election and that interaction between parties and constituents were scarce and shallow. All parties shared the same pattern of activity, although there were some differences in the frequencies of use. Additionally, although user commitment increased over time, there were relatively few users who chose to follow/friend the political parties, suggesting that the large majority of the voters could not easily be reached through these platforms. In essence, the results indicate that social media as a political public relations tool is, so far, dwarfed by more traditional and analogue approaches. Finally, the most important finding from this study suggests that while digital media do indeed afford relationship building with a growing number of constituents, they cannot be seen as a key tool for political public relations. Rather, they are a complementary means and perhaps not even a strong alternative to other traditional ways of reaching out to the public.

7. **Alqaseer, J. (2013), "Political Advertising in Kuwait: A Functional Discourse Analysis"**

This thesis investigates how most political advertising studies focus on the U.S. or other Western democracies like the U.K. and other European countries. In general, political advertising studies focused on the content of political advertising especially on the subject of issues vs. images in advertising. In addition, many studies of political advertising content focus on the topic of negative advertising. Therefore, the gap in the literature about the

practice of political advertising in the Middle East is worth examining, as it is reasonable to expect differences in the use of issue vs. image appeals and in terms of the use of negative advertising. The dissertation focuses on political advertisement content in Kuwait as one of the developing democracies in the Middle East. The interest of the study is to explore the content appeals used in political advertising in Kuwait and compare it to relevant literature that examines advertising in the U.S and other parts of the world. In addition, comparisons of advertisements' content between winners and losers in elections will be made to explore possible differences. Because of lack of previous studies about Kuwait, interviews with parliament members, candidates, campaign managers and advertising practitioners were done to give context and better understanding of the ads. Findings of both the qualitative and the quantitative parts of the study indicate a unique approach to political advertising in Kuwait including lack of negative advertisements, which is a significant characteristic of political advertisement worldwide. In addition, contrary to experts' suggestions in the interviews, political advertisements in Kuwait uses more character based discourse than policy based discourse.

8. Treloar, N. (2013), "Backroom Dealers and the Great Kiwi Battlers: A Study of Advertising Frames in the 2003 and 2013 New Zealand Electoral Referenda"

This research explores the information regarding the potential impact of a change in an electoral system that was presented by advertising campaigns run by key lobby groups during the 2003 and 2011 referenda. Drawing on the theories of the democratic rule of the media, political advertising and framing theory, this research considers how advertising as part of the broader media landscape framed the discussion of the issues surrounding the choice of the electoral system in the 2003 and 2011 New Zealand electoral referenda. Using the conductive approach to content analysis, the research developed a set of quantitative data on the themes within the advertising campaigns. Content analysis highlighted the priority issues in each campaign. Drawing on framing effects and semiotic theory, these themes were then considered within their wider context to assess what the data suggested about the quality, tone and breadth of discussion about the two electoral systems. It was found that the campaigns used specific frames to differentiate the campaigns on the social ideological level. Advertising drew on the social myth to characterize the decisions as a battle between the big business and the everyday New Zealanders in the mixed-member promotional campaigns, and between a system that held politicians accountable and one that bound by bureaucracy in the campaigns that stood against the mixed-member promotional system.

9. Rivera, G. (2013), "Campaign Advertising and Its Effects: The Case of Mexico"

This dissertation explains how and under what conditions voters are affected by campaign advertising, taking particular account of the conditioning role played by political knowledge and ad tone. It builds on psychological research showing that people make regular mistakes in attribution, evaluation, and decision making; that they tend to give greater weight to negative than to equally credible positive information; that they better match their political choices with their interests and values when they are more politically knowledgeable; and that cognitive shortcuts cannot fully compensate for meager political

knowledge. The dissertation introduces a psychological theory of how individuals react to campaign advertising in light of: (1) their political knowledge and (2) their natural impulse to give greater weight to negative information (i.e., negativity bias). Using data from an original laboratory experiment conducted in Mexico City in 2012 and from the 2006 Mexico Panel Study, the dissertation examines the effect of campaign advertising on the attribution of candidates' character traits, the evaluation of candidates' policy proposals, and vote intentions. It shows that campaign advertising's effects on the attribution of candidates' character traits and the evaluation of their policy proposals are conditioned by the voter's degree of political knowledge and the ad's tone (negative or positive). The dissertation also shows that campaign advertising has a significant, indirect effect on vote intentions through its effect on the attribution of candidates' character traits and the evaluation of their policy proposals. Finally, the dissertation explains why negative advertising has systematically bigger effects on voting behavior than equivalent positive advertising.

10. Leiliyanti, E. (2013), "Representation and Symbolic Politics in Indonesia: An Analysis of Billboard Advertising in the Legislative Assembly Election of 2009"

This thesis aims to demonstrate how the candidates' billboards represent ideological contestation and synthesis as the billboards can also be perceived as the candidates' visual "responses" which reflect their political dispositions and the process of taking stances amidst the contestation and synthesis. The investigation of the contestation and synthesis needs Bourdieuan analytical tools, such as capital, dispositions (habitus) and field. These are used not merely to show how the mechanism of the contestation and synthesis operated and was defined by the rules of political "game", but also to show how this mechanism involves the intricate inter-relationships of various capitals, such as the political, social, economic, cultural and symbolic, that reflect the candidates' (read also: the parties') dispositions within the field of Pancasila discourse. Pancasila becomes not only an ideological basis for the state but also the bastion of the contestation and synthesis. The twin roles arguably derive from the dominant cultural root (Javanese) that highly values the concepts of harmony, tolerance and appropriateness as the essences that allow the ideological contestation and synthesis of the nationalist and Islamic strands as the dominant ideological markers in the Indonesian political arena. Therefore, this study was conducted in the form of a layered case study. Using a Bourdieuan lens, the first layer explores the historical background of the contestation and synthesis, their proliferation in the political arena and the mechanism of deploying these strands in the political parties' branding. Using a social semiotic lens, the second layer investigates how the billboards as the products of the candidates' political articulation represent not only these contestations and syntheses but also their dispositions. The thesis found that the system of representation (on the candidates' billboards) operates within the Javanese ideals of "equilibrium" in Pancasila discourse. These ideals frame the power relations between the nationalist and Islamic factions in an ostensible "consensus" in order to maintain the harmony and dilute ideological friction.

11. Mills, S. (2013), "Campaign Professionals: Party Officials and Professionalization of Australian Political Parties"

This thesis elaborates the nature, the timing and the drivers of the changes in Australian elections and political parties. Australian political parties and election campaigns are often said to have become professionalized, yet the term lacks clear definition and the nature of professionalization as a process of institutional change is poorly articulated. Through depth interviews with present and former officials of the two major Australian political parties, who occupy the important but long neglected third face in Katz and Mair's model of political parties. The interview data reveal the distinctive identity of party officials as 'campaign professionals,' and provide a robust definition of professionalism in a party context. The interviews also provide new evidence about professionalization as a process of institutional change. The national party officials are central to this process, creating a professional campaign model through centralizing campaign authority in their own hands at the expense of state branches and, at times, of the party leaders; through taking responsibility for developing and implementing campaign strategies; and through acquiring the financial and other resources necessary to sustain this new style of campaigning. The thesis has shown that political parties are in some senses increasingly embattled, with radically declining party membership, a weakened linkage role, and increased electoral volatility. But in other respects as this thesis demonstrates, their campaigning capacities, with their campaign professionals as central agents, continue to become better resourced and they remain strongly entrenched and empowered in Australian elections.

12. Poston, J. (2013), "Political Advertising in the 2012 Presidential Election: How Visual and Aural Techniques Are Used to Convey Meaning"

This paper looks at presidential television advertising in the 2012 U.S. election. The author has undertaken a deep analysis of the way audio and visual elements are used to construct meanings in televised political ads. Meaning is suggested through the visual and aural means of expression available to ad creators. The organizing principle of this study is information manipulation for the purposes of influencing our perception of candidates and issues. The paper identified recurring aural and visual patterns in all the ads and then looked at how meaning is conveyed when the aural and visual dimensions are combined. Framing, priming, and schema theories were used to analyze the ads. A qualitative method was used for this study. A qualitative approach has particular value in understanding visual and aural means of expression. Moreover, qualitative research is a way to more deeply reflect on how people, through the text of advertising, construct and interpret realities. The primary finding of this research is that presidential TV ads do not rise to a level of a well-reasoned discussion worthy of a strong democracy. Given America's expansive view of freedom of expression, ad creators have tremendous leeway passing on ideas about candidates to millions of potential voters through TV ads. However, future researchers, using a quantitative approach, might look at TV ads through the lens of measureable data, which could bear investigative fruit in ways a qualitative analysis cannot. Future researchers might also consider the 2012 ads in terms of their effects on the voters. Do frames last in the viewer's mind, or are the effects temporary? Do frames change

perception or simply reinforce it? Finally, future studies could take a closer look at the ad creator's intent when manipulating visual and aural techniques to construct meaning.

13. Strömbäck, J. & Kiousis, S. (2013), "Political Public Relations: Old Practice, New Theory-Building"

This article remedies to bridge the gap between political public relations practice, theory and researching and shows connections between political marketing, public relations, political science and political communication not only between practice and theory in political public relations, but also between theory and research in public relations, political science, political communication and political marketing. Firstly, It builds theories that draw on each field's cumulative knowledge and that can help us understand the practice as well as theory in political public relations. Secondly, developing theory and research in political public relations can help establish a mutually fruitful relationship between practice and theory, where practice can inform theory and theory can inform practice. Thirdly, applying general public relations theories in political contexts is not only a means to build theories on political public relations specifically, but also to test the applicability of public relations theories in settings beyond the corporate sphere and hence to contribute to theory-building and theory development in public relations in general. The articles in this *Special Issue* also show a variety of analytical and empirical approaches to political public relations and settings in which political public relations can be explored. This discussion nevertheless found that it cannot be assumed that general public relations strategies and tactics apply equally well, or that public relations theories are equally valid, in political as in corporate settings. Further research on political public relations would also likely yield insights that could serve to inform general public relations theory, which is another argument for more empirical and theoretical research on political public relations. A third argument is that we need theories that can help us understand and explain the practice of political public relations, and that requires more research that helps bridge the current gap between theory and research on public relations, political communication, political science, political marketing and other related fields.

14. Sancar, G. (2013), "Political Public Relations 2.0 and the Use of Twitter of Political Leaders in Turkey"

This paper aims to explain the role of the effective usage of social media in political public relations, and to prove effective dialogue based communication process through Twitter. Political public relations aims at the sustainability of political parties and their government. In political public relations, one of the conditions of symmetrical communication and dialogue is feedback and it becomes more important within the new communication technologies. In political public relations, dialogical approach analyzes the impact of policies conducted by politicians and political constitutions, on public opinion and according to public demand and expectation and it requires revision and change on policies. Within public relations 2.0, the distance between the source and the receiver has been getting shorter and the communication process between political constitutions, political leaders and their target audience has been facilitated. To this end, a literature review on political public relations, and public relations 2.0 will be studied. For discussing

the effective usage of Twitter as a tool of dialogic communication, five political leaders' Twitter accounts will be analyzed. The accounts are chosen according to political parties who have been represented in TBMM (Grand National Assembly of Turkey); Recep Tayyip Erdoğan from Justice and Development Party (AKP), Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu from People's Republican Party (CHP), Devlet Bahçeli from Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), Selahattin Demirtaş from Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) and the president of the Republic of Turkey Abdullah Gül. According to the findings, the effective use of Twitter is provided only by two leaders, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu and Selahattin Demirtaş. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan often uses Twitter effectively but he also has to follow people for dialogical communication. Abdullah Gül is a less effective Twitter user but with his number of followers, he is the most fancied leader. And finally, Devlet Bahçeli is the most unused of Twitter.

15. Voltolini, B. (2013), "Lobbying in EU Foreign Policy-Making Towards the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Exploring the Potential of a Constructivist Perspective"

This thesis explores how constructivist insights could help us to form a more complete picture of lobbying in EU foreign policy-making, with a special emphasis on EU foreign policy towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It demonstrates that non-state actors (NSAs) such as business groups, NGOs, solidarity movements and think tanks, are important players in the EU's foreign policy-making. By sharing the constructivist views on the embeddedness of actors and assuming that actors interact with each other in order to make sense of the world, this thesis investigates lobbying on the basis of three analytical dimensions; namely roles, frames and levels. It is shown that NSAs lobbying the EU play a consensual role, which is based on mutually legitimizing social interactions that do not challenge the EU's actorness and policies towards Israel and Palestine. When combined with the use of legal or technical frames, these consensual forms of interaction are conducive to a re-framing of EU policies towards Israel and Palestine. In contrast, confrontational forms of social interactions, combined with the use of political frames are more recurrent at the national level. Finally, this thesis analyzes how the national level is used, when NSAs lobby the EU. It concludes that there is a partial Europeanization of lobbying carried out by NSAs based in member states. The EU and national levels tend, however, to remain quite disentangled from each other. The argument presented in this thesis is tested in three case studies (EU-Israel trade relations, the UN Report following the war in Gaza in 2008-2009 and the EU-Israel Agreement on pharmaceutical products), which represent important aspects of EU foreign policy and were frequently mentioned by NSAs and officials. Moreover, the national level is analyzed in the cases of France, the United Kingdom and Germany, which are the three big member states of the EU and crucial players in EU foreign policy.

16. Ranchod, R. (2012), "A Kind of Magic' - The Political Marketing of the African National Congress"

This thesis examines the political marketing of the African National Congress (ANC) around seminal political events between 1955 and 2009, and the relationship between such marketing and its strategic behavior in the political sphere. Further, the

analysis examines the means by which these techniques located the ANC at the center of liberation and post-independent political narratives and explores and posits a basis for understanding the behavior of the ANC and leading actors in the political sphere. The thesis explicates the nature of the continuities and discontinuities in the ANC discursive forms of political exchange and interaction and problematizes the theoretical underpinnings of political marketing through the case of the ANC in South Africa. The thesis employs a broad understanding of political marketing to include such activities as publicity, promotion and propaganda. It extends its theoretical and conceptual remit beyond purely scientific and positivist approaches to understanding political persuasion and endows marketing with a strongly 'cultural' aspect. In doing so, greater consideration is afforded to the complex of influences that over time have come to inform the discursive and representational registers of the ANC. Drawing on a range of archival sources obtained during fieldwork in South Africa, this thesis contributes to the study of South African politics by reconceptualizing the politics of the ANC through the lens of political marketing. It contributes to the theory of political marketing by using the South African case to address the theoretical blind-spots and challenge its western-centric notion of the political market. Centered on the themes on of liberation, political culture and spectacle, the thesis enriches the understanding of each through the case of the ANC. As such, the thesis provides a deeper understanding of the social and cultural bases of political change in a post-colonial and post-apartheid setting.

17. Dickinson, A. (2012), "The Impact of Negative Political Advertisements: Perceptions and Realities"

This research attempts to expand the body of knowledge by examining the phenomenon of negative political advertising using a mixed-methods approach. Past research on negative political advertisements has focused primarily on how these ads impact voter turnout, voter evaluations of candidates, and the democratic process as a whole. By examining 2002 and 2004 Congressional candidates' negative ad content, this research seeks to determine if a candidate's gender impacts message content. Findings indicate that a candidate's gender does indeed impact the type of content found in a negative advertisement. Next, an experiment was created to determine if the gender of a candidate impacts the viewer's perception of negativity in the ad. Significant findings indicate that gender of a political candidate does alter a viewer's perception of negativity. Finally, professional campaign consultants were asked to respond to a series of questions in an attempt to gain a practical understanding of negativity in political advertising. A comparison between consultants' responses and academicians' research was completed, finding that in most cases these groups agree on the impacts of negative advertisements. However, a key gender gap finding indicates one major exception to the general consensus. The significant findings in this research expand our understanding of negative political advertising, and contribute to the field of political science.

18. Philippi, J. (2012), "Using Technology, Building Democracy: How Political Campaigns' Uses of Digital Media Reflect Shifting Norms of Citizenship"

This dissertation investigates how political campaigns are using digital media to create and circulate campaign messages, and how these digital messages articulate norms and definitions of participatory citizenship that are currently functioning within a contemporary democratic public. As new technologies are becoming increasingly common to the creation, circulation, and reception of political messages in general, the relationships between conceptions of citizenship and media technologies are a vital space of inquiry. In order to undertake this analysis, the dissertation examines a host of campaign texts created during the 2010 midterm election cycle, their technologies of circulation, and their practices of creation. Thus, this research combines methods of textual analysis with ethnographic participant observation within a federal-level election, and in-depth interviews with campaign staffers and political consultants. In doing so, the dissertation describes four digitally-mediated phenomena as points of rupture in traditional practices of campaign communication that hold implications for current accounts of citizenship:

1. Digital texts such as microsites, fact-checks, and blogs feature political information that is detailed, contextual, and contingent, and encourages citizens to approach political information from a skeptical perspective.

2. An increased effort to engage citizens in the digital circulation of campaign texts implies new publics of campaign messages and enables forms of action that are simultaneously empowering and intensely constrained.

3. The emergence of a new genre of social media content highlights behind the scenes and digital retail politics emphasizes mobilizing citizens rather than informing or persuading them.

4. Changing practices of how campaigns exert control over public discussion provide novel opportunities to engage in public deliberation, debate, and criticism, but simultaneously limit the scope of policies around which such debate can take place. Collectively, these practices show opportunities for new and shifting forms of citizenship.

19. Johansson, V. (2010), "Political Marketing and the 2008 U.S. Presidential Primary Elections"

This research aims at contributing to existing knowledge in the field of political marketing through the analysis of how marketing is done throughout a political campaign. The 2008 U.S. Presidential Primary Elections, together with a few key candidates have served as the empirical example of this investigation. Four research questions have been asked; what marketing strategies are of decisive outcome in the primary season of the 2008 political campaigning, how is political marketing differentiated depending on the candidate and the demographics of the voter, and finally where does the money come from to fund this gigantic political industry. The exploratory method and case study as well as the qualitative research method have been used in this work. Internet has been an important

tool in the search for, and collection of data. Sources used have been scientific articles, other relevant literature, home pages, online newspapers, TV, etc. The questions have been researched in detail and several main conclusions have been drawn from a marketing perspective. Correlations with theory have also been made. The research concluded that in the primary season, the product the candidates have been selling is *change*. The Obama campaign successfully coined and later implemented this product into a grassroots movement that involved bottom-up branding of the candidate. This study has shown that there are differences in marketing when it comes to different presidential candidates even within the same party. Marketing activities and efforts also look different for different marketing groups. However, this study was limited to the primary season; it would have been interesting to include the whole U.S. Presidential campaigning process from start to finish. In future research projects, it would also be interesting to see comparisons between political marketing in the U.S. and political marketing elsewhere, in Europe for example.

20. Saucier, J. (2010), "Mobilizing the Imagination: Army Advertising and the Politics of Culture in Post-Vietnam America"

This dissertation traces the emergence and evolution of the army image-making system, and the origins and establishment of the army brand. It is a cultural history of U.S. Army advertising since the end of the Vietnam War. Placing army image-making within the context of wider cultural and political events since the late 1960s, it considers army advertising as marketing and branding devices, cultural representations of war and the military, as an ever-evolving form of mass cultural communication, and as sites where image-makers worked out cultural anxieties about the role of the nation and its army after the Vietnam War. In the wake of that war, army leadership, experts, and advertisers became acute cultural and social analysts in order to sell the army to a community of American consumers. Army image-makers initiated a long-term public image project aimed at dramatically recasting and continually reshaping the army's image. They utilized the techniques of consumer product marketing, while drawing on existing war and military symbols, cultural representations of war, and American mythology. As image-makers engaged in a permanent public image project, they also undertook an ideological project that aimed to reconstitute American power in international affairs after the nation's defeat in Vietnam. The dissertation uses archival materials, government documents, company newsletters, industry and government journals, marketing studies, films, television programs, as well as army print advertisements, television commercials, video games, and web content. The project illustrates the continuing importance of the role of culture in vii preparing, recruiting, and mobilizing for war during periods of war, and peace. It demonstrates that there was more to army advertising than image-makers responding to market demographics in order to fill the army's ranks, and suggests that although the state is less likely to frame military service as a responsibility or obligation of citizenship, it has framed military service as an obligation to family, friends, comrades, and to previous generations of Americans and soldiers.

21. Shackleford, K. (2010), "Lobbying for the Public Good: A Case Study of a Nonprofit Organization Lobbying Effort in Alberta, Canada"

The study builds on recent efforts to partner social movement concepts with neo-institutional theory in order to better understand political mobilization. Specifically, it aims to contribute to an understanding of how non-state actors, with little or no formal power, attempt to influence public policy. Political advocacy research has often relied on concepts from social movement literature to explain the success or failure of lobbying efforts. Seventeen in-depth interviews were conducted with participants of a nonprofit lobbying campaign that occurred in Alberta, Canada, in 2007. By examining the processes and the structural elements of the lobby's activities, the study assesses the utility of combining these two theoretical literatures to enhance explanatory power. This study also emphasizes the multi-faceted nature of lobbying campaigns. Advocacy outcomes are influenced not only by challenger strategies and arguments, but by the responses and contexts of their challenges. Social movement concepts, such as frame analysis and resource mobilization, shed light on the lobbying processes undertaken by nonprofit advocacy participants. However, neo-institutional theory allows the study to situate these processes within a larger political context, and understand how this context influences the decisions made by political decision makers. In addition to arguing these theoretical claims, the study discusses the opportunities and limitations that facilitate and constrain collaborative processes between the Government of Alberta and the province's nonprofit sector.

4.4. Conclusive Remark

As the literature on this discipline unfolds apparently the propensity of the states, governments, political parties and national icons to promote themselves to the public, still the contribution of the field to the national liberation movements experience is not making its way in the proper mode. The national liberation struggle is relatively beyond the concern of major academicians, research centers and think tanks. The discipline is confined within the classical boundaries of its formation, adaptation and application in the political milieu. Elections and electioneering are still the dominant driver of this newly emerging orientation.

Political marketing and promotion sound a notable mechanism in the Western communities sphere in order to promulgate policies, go for election, and defend the public interest and the state agenda. Recently, after the introduction of digital technology, new interactive channels were presented to the political consumer to contact with them to influence their attitude and behavior. However, the sweeping majority of the Arab countries are backward to these modern sentiments due to the deficiency and the reactive mode of the academia, the intellectual groups and political leaders.

What is so striking is that the vast majority of studies in this literature use the qualitative approach to find out the truth and unveils the scientific rigor of the question under investigation. However, this thesis uses the positivists quantitative methodology which is constructed upon analytical tests, statistical treatment and ratios. Despite the fact that this orientation sounds adventurous and is encountered with various researching

milestones, it enables the researcher to draw some dividing lines between the various promotion strategies in the political discourse and behavior.

Another triggering remark is that all the studies deal with a definitive promotional variable, such as, advertising, campaigns, public relations or lobbying and overlook engaging them in mass constructed genera.

Despite the prevailing notion that the literature in this subject is rich and recent, the developing and occupied countries have unsatisfactory share among the scholars of politics and promotion. Hence for, this study aspires to fill the Palestinian political vacuum in which the political milieu is suffering extreme lacking of this recent orientation. It tries to mobilize the political marketing strategies and techniques to insight the world with the detainees' ordeal. Significantly, too, the study will be the spark that direct the Palestinian Authority, academic institutions, political parties and the research centers to the vitality of this progressive approach. Additionally, the study also incorporates the major promotion strategies to the detainees issue in an attempt to deliver more comprehensive understanding and profound investigation. It similarly stresses on the significance of orchestrating political marketing tools and strategies parallel to the classical Palestinian armed struggle. The study used English, lingua franca, as its language that makes it accessible to larger audience.

Lastly, it should be made obvious that recent Palestinian literature explores the detainees issue in a psychological, social and historical context. Nevertheless, this study merits our attention to the rule of advertising, public relations, campaign and lobbying to defend their noble cause.

Chapter Five
Research Methodology and Design

5.1. Introduction

5.2. Research Methodology

5.3. Research Design and Procedures

5.4. Pilot Study

5.5. Sources of Data

5.6. Research Location

5.7. Research Period

5.8. Eligibility Criteria

5.9. Research Population

5.10. Research Sample

5.11. Data Measurement

5.12. Test of Normality

5.13. Statistical Analysis Tools

5.14. Statistical Validity of the Questionnaire

5.15. Reliability of the Research

5.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology that was used in this research to investigate the impact of promotion strategies used in directing the Palestinian politics and the detainees matter in definitive terms. It zooms on the adopted methodology to accomplish this research, including information about research design, research population, questionnaire design, statistical data analysis, content validity and pilot study.

5.2. Research Methodology

The research follows the quantitative analytical descriptive methodology approach to establish the scientific rigor and construct precise data. By using the descriptive research design, valuable data can be collected to analyze and come out with new results and significant correlations. "as a philosophy, positivism is in accordance with the empiricist view that knowledge stems from human experience. It has an atomistic, ontological view of the world as comprising discrete, observable elements and events that interact in an observable, determined and regular manner", (Collins, H. 2010: p38). Positivism belongs to epistemology which can be specified as philosophy of knowing, whereas methodology is an approach to knowing.

positivist studies usually adopt the deductive approach because they are concerned with conducting tests, making statistical treatments and interpreting ratios, whereas the inductive research approach is usually associated with a phenomenology philosophy. Thus, this research is confined with the quantifiable, numerical and analytical methodology in explaining the promotion strategies used by the PNA in directing the Palestinian politics concerning the detainees question to reach out an objective image of the world's reality.

5.3. Research Design and Procedures

In our journey to accomplish this research, here are the steps the researcher followed during the research design and implementation:

1- This research started by preparing a proposal which defines the problem, establishes the study objectives, formulates the research hypothesis and develops the research plan.

2- The second step of the research includes a summary of the comprehensive literature review in which a summary of the promotion strategies and detainees literature is reviewed in order to establish the general orientation of the research.

3- The third step of the study involves preparing a questionnaire that could evaluate objectively the current promotion strategies that shape the Palestinian national politics and their association with the detainees' case.

4- In the fourth step, the research arbitrates the contents and items of the questionnaire by the assistance of outstanding academicians and professionals in marketing, politics and

diplomacy in order to insure the accuracy and the relevance of the researched questions.

5- In the fifth step of the research, the researcher distributes a questionnaire to 160 X-detainees who were released from the Israeli jails. In addition, the questionnaire is delivered to 40 political activists who show high engagement in the detainees matter.

6- In the sixth step, the questionnaire is distributed to the whole research sample in order to collect the required data and achieve the research objectives.

7- The seventh step of the research is data analysis and discussion. Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to perform the required analysis.

8- The conclusive step in this research includes the conclusions and recommendations which are pillared on the data analysis.

Figure (3) illustrates the methodology flow chart
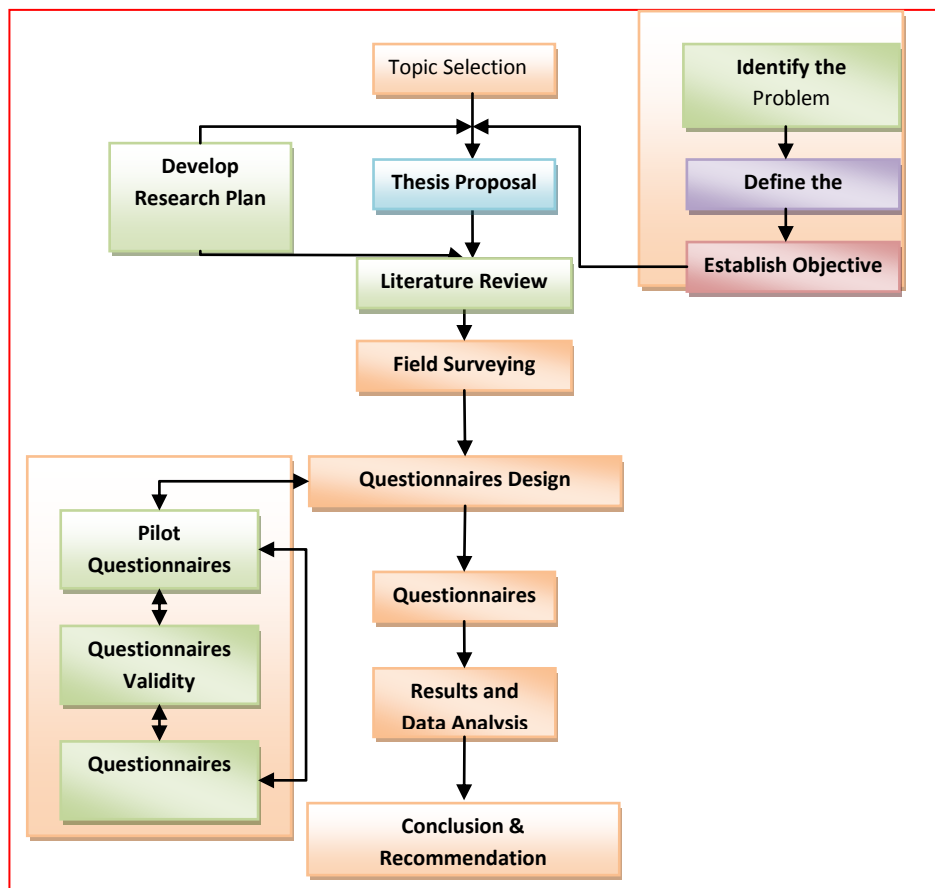
Source: conceptualized by the researcher, 2016

5.4. Pilot Study

In an attempt to insure the validity and the reliability of the questionnaire and to avert any material misstatement that may harm the issue under investigation, the researcher conducted a pilot study comprised of (40) X-detainees released from the Israeli jails. The statistical testing unveils unequivocally that all the fields and paragraphs of the questionnaire are consistent and relevant to the subject matter. In addition, the pilot test shows that the questionnaire lacks vague wording, complex structure and unfamiliar terminology. Accordingly, the questionnaire is eligible for distribution to the whole population sample comprised of the (160) X-detainees and the (40) political activists released from the Israeli jails and currently live in the Gaza strip.

5.5. Sources of Data

This research reveals variant means of collecting data which includes:

Primary Data: A structured questionnaire has been developed for this research to collect primary data to evaluate the effectiveness of the promotion strategies used by the PNA in directing the Palestinian politics concerning the detainees question. These primary data are analyzed according to the quantitative descriptive methodology as we stated lately using the main program (SPSS).

Secondary Data: To introduce the theoretical literature of the subject, the researcher has depended on the following data resources:

1- Books and references about political marketing, promotion, advertising, campaigns, public relations, lobbying, political communication and so like.

2- Journals that handle topics in association with the notion investigated.

3- Articles that talk about some promotion strategies or explain the detainees matter.

4- Master and Ph.D. dissertations which have been written and prepared by previous students around the world.

5- The internet sites and the electronic versions that appear authenticated and trustworthy to the researcher.

5.6. Research Location

The research is conducted in Gaza Strip, Palestine, and targeting the X-detainees who were released from the Israeli jails as well as the political activists who are mainly engaged in promulgating the detainees narrative locally, territorially and internationally in order to investigate the PNA performance concerning the detainees ordeal.

5.7. Research Period

The research title was approved on Marsh 2015. The seminar was conducted on the middle of Marsh 2015. The literature review was completed at the end of September 2015.

The questionnaire design, pilot study, questionnaire distribution and data collection were completed on the middle of October 2015. The analysis, results and recommendations were completed on November 2015.

5.8. Eligibility Criteria

The research is tailored for the X-detainees who served three years and more in the Israeli jails. The short-detention terms less than three years are excluded from the research sample in order to construct more precise and solid responses. Moreover, the research is confined with the four major parties including Hamas, Fatah, The Popular Front and The Islamic Jihad. The minor political parties and the sub-parties are excluded from the sample to avert misjudgment or deviation. Another significant remark is the detainees who live in the geographical areas outside the Gaza Strip are not included in the researched sample because of the geopolitical departure resulting from the Israeli occupation with an exception for the detainees exiled to Gaza in the resistance exchange deal in 2011.

5.9. Research Population

The research population consists of the X-detainees who were released from the Israeli jails as well as the political activists who are involved in the detainees related matters. The population includes the X-detainees who were detained for three years and have participated in the activities and occasions that seek to promote the detainees narrative. It also incorporates the X-detainees who are volunteering in the NGO's institutions acting to support the detainees issue in the Gaza Strip. The study is confined with the geopolitical boundaries of the Gaza Strip due to the Israeli fragmentation and splitting of the Palestinian Territories.
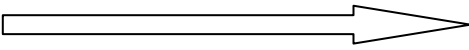
5.10. Research Sample

Quota sampling refers to the intentional selection of a definitive number of population known as quota sample out of the total population with essentially no randomization to meet certain criteria in the researched subject. No population list is used, but a quota of each population sub-group or persons classified by relevant characteristics. The research uses a non-probability quota sample from the total population of the X-detainees released from the Israeli jails as well as the political activists who are engaged in the detainees narrative.

The quota consists of 160 X-detainees released from the Israeli jails. The sample is divided into four equal portions for the four principle political parties in the Gaza strip, which are Hamas, Fatah, The Islamic Jihad and The Popular Front. Each political party is given 40 questionnaires in accordance with the stated eligibility criteria. In addition, the political activists are given 40 questionnaires in order to reinforce the validity of the research findings. The whole parties are given equal portions because we do not have comprehensive statistical data unfolding the actual percentages of the X-detainees who were freed from the Israeli jails. Moreover, we do not have precise information concerning the representational percentage of each political party out of the total population of the X-detainees.

5.11. Data Measurement

In order to be able to select the appropriate method of analysis, the level of measurement must be understood. For each type of measurement, there is an appropriate method that can be applied rather than others. In this research, scale 1-10 is used.

Item	Strongly Disagree									Strongly agree
Scale	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

5.12. Test of Normality

"The One-Sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov test procedure compares the observed cumulative distribution function for a variable with a specified theoretical distribution, which may be normal, uniform, Poisson, or exponential. The Kolmogorov-Smirnov Z is computed from the largest difference (in absolute value) between the observed and theoretical cumulative distribution functions. This goodness-of-fit test examines whether the observations could reasonably have come from the specified distribution. Many parametric tests require normally distributed variables. The one-sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov test can be used to test that a variable of interest is normally distributed", (Thode, H. 2002).

Table (5.1.) shows the results for Kolmogorov-Smirnov test of normality. From Table (5.1.), the P-value for each variable is greater than 0.05 level of significance, and then the distributions for these variables are normally distributed. Consequently, parametric tests should be used to perform the statistical data analysis.

Table (5.1.): Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test

No.	Field	Kolmogorov-Smirnov	
		Statistic	P-value
1.	Utilizing political advertising strategy	0.434	0.992
2.	Organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees issue	0.828	0.499
3.	Employing public relations and political networking strategy	0.631	0.821
4.	Mobilizing interest/pressure groups and forming alliances	0.716	0.684
	All paragraphs of the questionnaire	0.810	0.528

5.13. Statistical Analysis Tools

The researcher would use data analysis both qualitative and quantitative data analysis methods. The data analysis made utilizing (SPSS 22). The researcher utilizes the following statistical tools:

1) Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test of Normality.

2) Pearson Correlation Coefficient for Validity.

3) Cronbach's Alpha for Reliability Statistics.

4) Frequency and Descriptive Analysis.

5) Parametric Tests (One-sample T test, Independent Samples T-test, Analysis of Variance).

A. T-test is used to determine if the mean of a paragraph is significantly different from a hypothesized value 6. If the P-value (Sig.) is smaller than or equal to the level of significance, $\alpha = 0.05$, then the mean of a paragraph is significantly different from a hypothesized value 6. The sign of the test value indicates whether the mean is significantly greater or smaller than hypothesized value 6. On the other hand, if the P-value (Sig.) is greater than the level of significance, $\alpha = 0.05$, then the mean of a paragraph is insignificantly different from a hypothesized value 6.

B. The Independent Samples T-test is used to examine if there is a statistical significant difference between two means among the respondents toward the evaluation of the effectiveness of promotion strategies used by the PNA in Directing the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question ascribed to personal information of (place of birth, age, health status, education level, political affiliation, sentence duration, actual duration of detention, date of detention, times of detention and cause of release).

C. The One- Way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) is used to examine if there is a statistical significant difference between several means among the respondents toward the evaluation of the effectiveness of promotion strategies used by the PNA in directing the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question ascribed to personal information (place of birth, age, health status, education level, political affiliation, sentence duration, actual duration of detention, date of detention, times of detention and cause of release).

5.14. Statistical Validity of the Questionnaire

Validity refers to the degree to which an instrument measures what it is supposed to be measuring. Validity has a number of different aspects and assessment approaches. To insure the validity of the questionnaire, two statistical tests should be applied.

a. Internal Validity

Internal validity of the questionnaire is measured by a pilot sample, which consisted of (40) questionnaires through measuring the correlation coefficients between each paragraph in one field and the whole fields.

Tables (5.2.) presents the correlation coefficient for each paragraph of a field and the total of the corresponding fields. The P-values (Sig.) are less than 0.05, so the correlation coefficients of all paragraphs are significant at α = 0.05, so it can be said that all paragraphs of each field are consistent and valid to measure what it was set for.

Table (5.2.): Correlation Coefficient of each Paragraph of "Utilizing Political Advertising Strategy" and the Total of This Field

No.	Paragraph	Pearson Correlation Coefficient	P-Value (Sig.)
1.	The Palestinian National Authority PNA adopts the promotional advertising strategy as one of the fundamental priorities in the Palestinian national struggle.	.655	0.000*
2.	The Palestinian Authority adopts the (contrasting strategy) which shows the illegal and the inhuman Israeli behavior in comparison with the International Law.	.711	0.000*
3.	The Palestinian Authority uses the negative advertising strategy to criticize the occupation and display its outrageous policy against the Palestinian detainees.	.647	0.000*
4.	The Palestinian Authority uses the broadcasting channels to make the detainees voice salient among the international public.	.749	0.000*
5.	The Palestinian Authority encourages launching local broadcasting channels that adopt the detainees issue and talk about their ordeal.	.829	0.000*
6.	Television is one of the primary means to portray the detainees suffering to the world community.	.655	0.000*
7.	The Palestinian Authority directs the variant Palestinian satellite channels to screen the programs and conversations that narrate the detainees case to influence the international community.	.820	0.000*
8.	The Palestinian satellite channels have a daily regular news bulletin that zooms on the latest developing conditions of the Palestinian detainees in the Israeli jails.	.810	0.000*

No.	Paragraph	Pearson Correlation Coefficient	P-Value (Sig.)
9.	The Palestinian satellite channels screen some shots and scenes to make the detainees issue presentable at the international arena.	.812	0.000*
10.	The Palestinian Authority encourages producing documentary films and series to spot the light on the detainees suffering namely children, women and aging people.	.810	0.000*
11.	The Palestinian Authority directs daily, quarterly and seasonal newspapers to cover the detainees issue adequately to insight the public opinion.	.808	0.000*
12.	The Palestinian newspapers set the right space to discuss the detainees' just demands to attract the attention of the international readers and monitors.	.700	0.000*
13.	The Palestinian Authority invests the Arab and Islamic newspapers and magazines stationed in the West to advertise for the detainees issue and make decent penetration of the Western's citizen intellect.	.822	0.000*
14.	The Palestinian Authority stimulates political cartoon designers to unfold the detainees suffering throughout creative and artistic drawings.	.764	0.000*
15.	The Palestinian Authority makes a good benefit of the internet and social media to advertise for the detainees issue and call for their rights.	.789	0.000*
16.	The Palestinian Authority pays special concern to the territorial and international outdoor advertising to remind the world with the detainee's rights.	.815	0.000*

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

Table (5.3.): Correlation Coefficient of each Paragraph of "Organizing Political Campaign Strategy Supportive to the Detainees Issue" and the Total of This Field

No.	Paragraph	Pearson Correlation Coefficient	P-Value (Sig.)
1.	The Palestinian Authority launches systematic and fully-considered political campaigns to influence the international public opinion in favor of the detainees issue.	.837	0.000*
2.	The Palestinian Authority follows an apparent and systemized strategy in its political campaigns to reinforce the detainees issue in the Israeli jails.	.882	0.000*
3.	The Palestinian Authority gives a special consideration for a transitional and strategic planning to terminate the detainees suffering.	.850	0.000*
4.	The Palestinian Authority follows diverse tactics and styles in its outdoor political campaigns to make the detainees issue prevalent at the international milieu.	.933	0.000*
5.	The Palestinian Authority moves throughout obvious and prospective goals in its political campaigns and invests them in favor of the detainees in the Israeli jails.	.866	0.000*
6.	The political campaigns conducted by the Palestinian Authority reveal an insightful transitional vision of the detainees ordeals and demands.	.876	0.000*
7.	The Palestinian Authority does its best to secure the necessary fundraise needed for its political campaigns to keep up pressure on Israel to respect the detainee's rights.	.827	0.000*
8.	The Palestinian Authority benefits from diverse international parties efforts in its political campaigns and dedicate them for the detainees issue.	.877	0.000*
9.	The Palestinian Authority acts conveniently to vary its political campaigns and reinvent new mechanisms to make the world closer to the detainees ordeal.	.836	0.000*
10.	The Palestinian Authority follows regular and permanent political campaigns, not seasonal, in its engagement with the detainees issue.	.833	0.000*
11.	The Palestinian Authority pays high significance to the public opinion in its political campaigns to formulate an optimal public sphere sustainable to the detainees issue.	.838	0.000*
12.	The Palestinian Authority constructs its political campaigns on comprehensive database and regular feedback to create a new sphere and recognition for the detainees issue.	.796	0.000*

No.	Paragraph	Pearson Correlation Coefficient	P-Value (Sig.)
13.	The Palestinian Authority evaluates its political campaigns systematically to approach the optimal mechanisms in handling the detainees issue in the Israeli jails.	.850	0.000*
14.	The Palestinian Authority trains cadres and upgrades experienced teams capable of executing professional campaigns to advocate the detainees in the Israeli jails.	.771	0.000*
15.	The Palestinian Authority pursues the indirect political campaign to recruit sympathists and friends to convince larger spectrum of the international spectators.	.890	0.000*
16.	The Palestinian Authority encourages the whole Palestinian political parties to launch political campaigns to sustain the detainees issue.	.799	0.000*
17.	The Palestinian Authority orchestrates an adequate presentation of the detainees issue in the Palestinian national learning curriculum to familiarize the students with their struggle.	.804	0.000*
18.	The Palestinian Authority deploys the political symbolism including (signs, items, drawings) that narrate the detainees suffering to attract the international sphere.	.866	0.000*
19.	The Palestinian Authority invests the big sports festivals, such as, the World Cub, the Olympic Games, and other sports activities to launch political campaigns supportive to the detainees issue.	.785	0.000*

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

Table (5.4.): Correlation Coefficient of each Paragraph of "Employing Public Relations and Political Networking Strategy" and the Total of This Field

No.	Paragraph	Pearson Correlation Coefficient	P-Value (Sig.)
1.	The Palestinian Authority gives high concern to public relations to reinforce the detainee's issue presence at the international level.	.869	0.000*
2.	The Palestinian Authority holds regular press conferences to insight the international community with the latest updates concerning the detainees issue.	.801	0.000*
3.	The Palestinian Authority issues regular press releases to brief the world with the detainee's conditions in the Israeli jails.	.830	0.000*

No.	Paragraph	Pearson Correlation Coefficient	P-Value (Sig.)
4.	The Palestinian Authority encourages writing articles that shed the light on the hard detention experience that the detainees are exposed to in the Israeli jails.	.851	0.000*
5.	The Palestinian Authority makes significant visits to the influential world capitals to explain the Israeli violation against the detainees namely the chronically ill.	.901	0.000*
6.	The Palestinian Authority participates in the international conferences to explain the detainees issue and market their suffering.	.865	0.000*
7.	The Palestinian Authority organizes intellectual seminars to invest the experiences in developing a decent and sophisticated strategy to empower the detainees steadfastness.	.859	0.000*
8.	The Palestinian Authority issues regular reports that shed light on the detainees conditions and document the Israeli breaches that go in disparity with the International Law.	.887	0.000*
9.	The Palestinian Authority enjoys a decent relationship with key international celebrities to reinforce the detainees case presence and push forward its dynamism worldwide.	.859	0.000*
10.	The Palestinian Authority has a contingent plan to encounter the developing and changing conditions of the detainees in the Israeli jails.	.828	0.000*
11.	The Palestinian Authority recruits journalists, political activists, notable intellectuals and opinion leaders to view in close the detainees ordeal in the Israeli jails.	.879	0.000*
12.	The Palestinian Authority throughout its political officials conducts TV interviews to explain the detainees case for the international community.	.806	0.000*
13.	The Palestinian Authority relies on its embassies and diplomatic representation offices to contact with politicians, community activists and notable media icons to scandalize the occupation and unfold its reality at the international level.	.773	0.000*
14.	The Palestinian Authority invests the variant national occasions to make visits to the detainees families.	.781	0.000*

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

Table (5.5.): Correlation Coefficient of each Paragraph of "Mobilizing Interest/Pressure Groups and Forming Alliances" and the Total of This Field

No.	Paragraph	Pearson Correlation Coefficient	P-Value (Sig.)
1.	The Palestinian Authority makes a great deal of benefits from the lobbying methods and techniques to promulgate the detainees issue and make the international public in recognition.	.874	0.000*
2.	The Palestinian Authority exercises pressure on the states governments in the territorial and international milieu to create political positions supportive to the detainees issue.	.900	0.000*
3.	The Palestinian Authority exercises pressure on the key and influential parliaments in the world to lay political siege over the occupation to mitigate the detainees suffering.	.898	0.000*
4.	The Palestinian Authority invests the International Law to prosecute the Israeli war criminals responsible for murdering and torturing the Palestinian detainees at the International Criminal Courts (ICC).	.867	0.000*
5.	The Palestinian Authority exercises an immediate grassroots lobbying on the Western and European citizen to mobilize larger spectrum to side by the detainees issue.	.856	0.000*
6.	The Palestinian Authority drafts letters to the international officials to explain the detainees conditions in the Israeli jails.	.865	0.000*
7.	The Palestinian Authority invests its ties with the political think tanks and research institutes in the West to lobby for the detainees issue.	.884	0.000*
8.	The Palestinian Authority forms parallel strategic alliances to mount pressure and tighten the stranglehold over Israel to revive the detainees issue.	.764	0.000*
9.	The Palestinian Authority organizes protests and demonstrations in the European capitals to call for the detainee's rights in the Israeli jails.	.858	0.000*
10.	The Palestinian Authority exercises pressure on the key and influential international organizations to influence the world public opinion in favor of the detainees issue.	.863	0.000*
11.	The Palestinian Authority asks international fact-finding commissions to have their say concerning the scandalous occupation policies against the detainees.	.865	0.000*

No.	Paragraph	Pearson Correlation Coefficient	P-Value (Sig.)
12.	The Palestinian Authority enjoys an intimate relationship with a great deal of notable political unions and liaisons, and invests them to mount pressure on the occupation in favor of the detainees issue.	.875	0.000*
13.	The Palestinian Authority acts efficiently to build confidence with the key political parties in the world, and exerts demanding efforts to persuade them with the detainees just issue.	.892	0.000*
14.	The Palestinian Authority coordinates with the interest groups counter to the Israeli occupation to orchestrate decent lobbying for the detainees issue.	.809	0.000*
15.	The Palestinian Authority invests the variant religious institutions to scandalize the arbitrary Israeli procedures that go in disparity with the whole divine beliefs.	.922	0.000*
16.	The Palestinian Authority exercises political lobbying on the occupation throughout its ties with key icons of the national liberation movements who enjoy heavy asset of respect and clean political experience.	.915	0.000*
17.	The Palestinian Authority enjoys intimate ties with the influential media outlets in the West to exercise lobbying in favor of the detainees issue.	.932	0.000*
18.	The Palestinian Authority invests the Arab Lawyers Union and the other human rights parties to prepare a comprehensive profile documenting the Israeli violation against the Palestinian detainees.	.897	0.000*
19.	The Palestinian Authority contacts the international health organizations to provide the urgent and significant health care for the Palestinian detainees in the Israeli jails.	.876	0.000*

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

b. Structure Validity of the Questionnaire

Structure validity is the second statistical test used to test the validity of the questionnaire structure by testing the validity of each field and the validity of the whole questionnaire. It measures the correlation coefficient between one field and all the fields of the questionnaire that have the same level of liker scale.

Table (5.6.) clarifies the correlation coefficient for each field and the whole questionnaire. The P-values (Sig.) are less than 0.05, so the correlation coefficients of all the fields are significant at α = 0.05, so it can be said that the fields are valid to measured what it was set for to achieve the main aim of the study.

Table (5.6.): Correlation Coefficient of each Field and the whole of Questionnaire

No.	Field	Pearson Correlation Coefficient	P-Value (Sig.)
1.	Utilizing political advertising strategy	.894	0.000*
2.	Organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees issue	.979	0.000*
3.	Employing public relations and political networking strategy	.958	0.000*
4.	Mobilizing interest/pressure groups and forming alliances	.956	0.000*

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

5.15. Reliability of the Research

"The reliability of an instrument is the degree of consistency which measures the attribute that it is supposed to be measuring", (George, D. & Mallery, P. 2006). The less variation the instrument produces in repeated measurements of an attribute, the higher its reliability. "Reliability can be equated with the stability, consistency, or dependability of a measuring tool. The test is repeated to the same sample of people on two occasions and then compares the scores obtained by computing a reliability coefficient", (George, D. & Mallery, P. 2006). To insure the reliability of the questionnaire, Cronbach's Coefficient Alpha should be applied.

Cronbach's Coefficient Alpha

According to (George, D. & Mallery, P. 2006), "Cronbach's alpha, is designed as a measure of internal consistency, that is, do all items within the instrument measure the same thing? The normal range of Cronbach's coefficient alpha value between 0.0 and + 1.0, and the higher values reflects a higher degree of internal consistency. The Cronbach's coefficient alpha is calculated for each field of the questionnaire."

Table (5.7.) shows the values of Cronbach's Alpha for each field of the questionnaire and the entire questionnaire. For the fields, values of Cronbach's Alpha were in the range from 0.952 and 0.985. This range is considered high; the result ensures the reliability of each field of the questionnaire. Cronbach's Alpha equals 0.993 for the entire questionnaire which indicates an excellent reliability of the entire questionnaire.

126

Table (5.7.): Cronbach's Alpha for each Field of the Questionnaire

No.	Field	Cronbach's Alpha
1.	Utilizing political advertising strategy	0.952
2.	Organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees issue	0.983
3.	Employing public relations and political networking strategy	0.973
4.	Mobilizing interest/pressure groups and forming alliances	0.985
	All paragraphs of the questionnaire	**0.993**

Thereby, it can be said that the researcher has proved that the questionnaire is valid, reliable, and ready for distribution for the population sample.

Chapter Six

Data Analysis and Discussion

6.1. Personal Information for Detainees Released from the Israeli Jails

6.2. Personal Information for the Political Activists

6.3. Research Hypothesis

6.1. Personal Information for Detainees Released from the Israeli Jails

The personal traits unveil that the sweeping majority of the detainees were born in the Gaza strip. It is in fact suggestive because the research is conducted in Gaza due to the geographical fragmentation of the Palestinian territories under the Israeli occupation. However, the other percentages have shown poor presence because they are relatively confined within the resistance exchange deal carried out in 2011 in which around 163 detainees from the West Bank and Jerusalem were sent into exile in Gaza.

If we contemplate the age of the detainees, we explore that 3.1 detainees are below 30 years. This is highly persuasive because the Gaza Strip had witnessed relative evacuation of the Israeli Forces following the implementation of Oslo Accord in 1993. Since then, the Gaza Strip became under a direct political and administrative rule of the Palestinian National Authority. In summer 2005, Israel carried out a disengagement plan where all the settlements stationed in the Gaza Strip had been dismantled witch alleviated greatly the daily confrontation between the Israeli Forces and the Palestinian resistance.

Meanwhile, the average of detainees ranging from 40 to 50 are displaying the highest percentage. This in reality is right because this aging category had been exposed to the major Israeli assaults and detention prior to the implementation of the peace treaty with Israel. They were engaged in the national liberation struggle associated to the various military wings acting in the Palestinian arena.

Although the research has shown that 96.9 detainees are married, we can claim that many of them are new couples, namely the detainees released in the resistance exchange deal in 2011. They have relatively a small size family due to the short term of release.

Some would claim that 19.4 of chronically ill detainees is not as indicative figure in comparison to higher percentage of fit detainees. Nonetheless, this assumption is beyond the truth. The landslide majority of the detainees were exposed to torture, health neglect and psychological pressure.

The research similarly reveals that 55.6 of the respondents are bachelor or higher studies holders which gives more solidity and scientific rigor to the researched notion. Although Israel has deprived the Palestinian detainees of their rights to join a university or a college as principle and genuine right enshrined in the Fourth Geneva Convention, the detainees did not succumb to the brutal policy of the occupation. They have intensified their struggle to maintain their right for education; however, it has been permitted in an extremely confined scale definitely after the outbreak of Al-Aqsa Intifada (Uprising) in 2000. It should be noted that streams of the Palestinian detainees released from the Israeli jail have got ahead in education track after their release from the Israeli jails. There are bright figures who have enriched the Palestinian academia, research centers and the bureaucratic ministries.

A considerable percentage of the Palestinian detainees are government employees particularly those who spent long terms in detention. The percentage goes in consistency with the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) policy which had recruited many detainees to serve in the both the civil ministries as well as the security services. Another well-

established notion is that many international NGO's abstain from recruiting detainees among their cadres under an immense pressure from the international donor organizations, which resulted in a severe shrinkage in the Palestinian detainees shown in the percentage of 9.4 in the research conducted. Poorly, the Palestinian organizations and the official leaders could resist this outrageous attitude due to their thorough reliance on the international fund which is mainly accompanied by notorious preconditions.

The research takes equal portion of respondents from the four principle political parties acting in the Palestinian arena including Hamas, Fatah, the Islamic Jihad and the Popular Front. Although this mechanism goes in disparity with the common expectation in which the first two parties enjoy the lion share in the Palestinian politics, we do not have bold statistical data outlining the actual framing of the Palestinian society. We do confess that this methodology has provoked the wrath of some members of the Fatah Party; still we do feel that this is relatively an adequate method to approach the truth.

If we wonder the sentence duration of the detainees, we find out that around 65.0 are sentenced to 10 years and more which discloses the nature, philosophy and the psyche of the Israeli occupation centered around severe chastisement and the eradication of the resistance personnel. Although Israel claims that it does not implement capital punishment against the Palestinian detainees accountable for killing Israeli soldiers, it tailors the Israeli law and manipulates its articles to exercise an extraordinary capital-sentencing shield by human rights mantra.

Another notable remark is that only 2.5 of the Palestinian detainees had been arrested after the end of the Second Intifada and the death of Yasser Arafat in 2004. This highlights that Gaza had relatively gone out of the classical conflict prior to the legislative triumph of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) and the emergence of new rules of engagement between Israel and the Palestinian resistance. The Israeli incursions and raids that target the cities, villages and neighborhoods are relatively no longer viable after the quantum leap of the Palestinian military wings. What is deemed contrary to the common norms and perception is that 12.5 of the detainees had been arrested after signing Oslo Accord and the arrival of the Palestinian Authority. This percentage reinforces the argument that Israel did not stop even suspending its massacres against the armless innocent Palestinians even during the honeymoon of the peace process and the waves of the bilateral talks.

Surprisingly, the research unveils that 47.5 of the detainees were released after the termination of their detention period. It can be signified to the poor performance of the Palestinian Authority and the incapacity of the negotiator to push ahead an adequate settlement to the detainee case. We also read that armed struggle had got on diminish after the implementation of Oslo Accord which made any potential resistance exchange deal unattainable. Many of the resistance cells were dismantled or put in jails as a primary prerequisite of peace. Around 34.4 were released after carrying out resistance exchange deal that signifies the vitality of the armed struggle. The researcher believes that the armed struggle is so vital to release the detainees especially those who are serving long-term detention or what the occupation wishes to call 'blooded-handed' detainees. Even at the prime of peace, Israel kept rejecting to release many detainees who are deemed according

to the Israeli narrative a severe security threat. Nobody would forget the Palestinian cute child who appealed the former USA president Bill Clinton, during his visit to Gaza on 14 Dec 1998, to release her farther from the Israeli jails. However, her cries had gone in vain after the peace compromise and the two-state solution become the sole choice of the Palestinian leadership. We can also conclude that the Palestinian national struggle is propelled by both the armed resistance and the political discussion and neither can act in isolation. Nevertheless, the armed resistance is reasoned more advantageous and productive to the Palestinian cause and its adamant milestones.

Table (6.1.): Personal Information for Detainees Released from the Israeli Jails (N=160)

Personal Information		Frequency	Percent %
Place of Birth	Gaza	133	83.1
	West Bank	22	13.8
	1948 Land	1	0.6
	Diaspora	4	2.5
Age	less than 30	5	3.1
	30 – less than 40	47	29.4
	40 – less than 50	81	50.6
	50 & more	27	16.9
Marital Status	Single	4	2.5
	Married	155	96.9
	Widowed	-	-
	Divorced	1	0.6
Health Status	Fit	128	80.0
	chronically ill	31	19.4
	with disability	1	0.6
Education Level	pre-high school	4	2.5
	high school	43	26.9
	Diploma	23	14.4
	Bachelor	70	43.8
	higher studies	20	12.5
Current Career	government employee	108	67.5
	NGO'S employee	15	9.4
	free work	16	10.0
	voluntary work	6	3.8
	Jobless	15	9.4
Political Affiliation	Hamas	40	25.0
	Fatah	40	25.0
	the Islamic jihad	40	25.0
	the Popular Front	40	25.0

Personal Information		Frequency	Percent %
Sentence Duration	3 – less than 10	56	35.0
	10 – less than 15	35	21.9
	15 – less than 25	26	16.3
	25 & more	43	26.9
Actual Duration of Detention	3 – less than 10	85	53.1
	10 – less than 15	34	21.3
	15 – less than 25	32	20.0
	25 & more	9	5.6
Date of Detention	before the first intifada	30	18.8
	during the first intifada	72	45.0
	PNA arrival time (1994-2000)	20	12.5
	during the second intifada (2000-2004)	34	21.3
	after the second intifada	4	2.5
Times of Detention	One	71	44.4
	Two	48	30.0
	Three	27	16.9
	More	14	8.8
Cause of Release	termination of detention period	76	47.5
	political bargain (Oslo)	29	18.1
	resistance exchange bargain	55	34.4
	hunger strike	-	-

6.2. Personal Information for the Political Activists

The percentage of the female political activists unveils the vital rule of the female in the Palestinian national struggle for liberation. Undoubtedly, the female stayed hand by hand with the male in the variant stages of the Palestinian national movement. The 22.5 also illustrates the Palestinian female has been subject to the Israeli aggression and indiscriminate policy in which many have got martyred, put behind bars or sent to exile. This positive complementary engagement is not at the expense of the Palestinian male, but an extra urge and stamina that have reinforced the presence of the Palestinian male in both the armed struggle and the political participation.

Over 85.0 of the political activists are born in Gaza and 15.0 are in the refugee camps in Diaspora. This is in fact persuasive since the research is conducted within the geographical boundaries of the Gaza Strip due to the fragmentation of the Palestinian territories under the Israeli occupation. Never could we ignore the 15.0 of the political activists who were born out of the historical Palestine after the waves of forced immigration exercised against the armless innocent Palestinians in 1948 and 1967 following the Arab setback and the downfall of Jerusalem under the Israeli control.

The table also unfolds that around a half of the political activists are below the age of thirty. This is truly connotative in which young youth tend to show more fervor and engagement to participate in promoting and advocating the Palestinian struggle. They hold demonstrations, carry out strikes and sometimes clash with the occupation forces. In addition, the youth are loaded with urge, enthusiasm and the willingness to give their inputs greater than the aging people who resort to calmness and sometimes risk aversion. They need to walk, talk and clash which are the principle aging traits of the youth and young adult personnel.

It sounds persuasive to find that over 50.0 of the political activists are not attached. This triggering percentage can be attributed to a growing phenomenon that many youth are reluctant to get marriage due to their hard economic conditions resulting from the mass unemployment rate, the shrinkage of job opportunities and the intensive siege laid over the Gaza Strip following the Palestinian legislative election in 2006. Although some might claim that the majority of the political activists are employed and they have relative resources and logistics, still they are young youth at the prime of their age and need more time to get themselves ready for marriage and forming a household.

The table also reveals that over 65 of the political activists are holding academic degrees from the academic institutions located in the Gaza Strip following the high school certificate (Tawjihi). This percentage indicates that the political activists are in thorough recognition of the detainees' rights with relatively all its ramifications and intricate relations. They have the knowledge and the discipline to establish their argument to encounter the Israeli narrative. More evidently, knowledgeable people usually have wider scope, vision and genuine sentiment to feel and interact with the concerns and crises of their societies. Accordingly, it is presumably reasonable to claim that the diverse political transformations, economic booms and the technological as well as social leaps are mainly the product of knowledgeable and well-versed minds. We can also go with the established argument that the Palestinian society gives higher credit to education because it is the core asset of the livelihood and decent life of the citizens after the occupation had stolen their land, homes and resources.

Because over 45.0 are below the age of thirty, it looks persuasive to find that the sweeping majority do not have detention experience. As a result, this argument is in an intimate association with the pre-stated notion that Gaza had been relatively evacuated from the Israeli military forces after the implementation of Oslo Accord in 1993 and the unilateral disengagement plan in 2005.

If we contemplate the current employment of the political activists, we observe that over 30.0 are employed in the public sector which gives a direct indication that the Palestinian economy suffers from a severe poor performance of the private corporations and even the small companies due to some internal and external factors. Likewise, this percentage displays that the government pay some attention to the detainees issue by encouraging the political activists either directly or indirectly.

Concerning the voluntary workers, over 25.0 are engaging in the detainees issue without any direct financial return which highlights the important rule of some civil

associations acting in this course. Furthermore, it reveals the complementary rule of the civil associations in parallel with the government efforts and involvement.

Table (6.2.): Personal Information for the Political Activists (N=40)

Personal Information		Frequency	Percent
Sex	Male	31	77.5
	Female	9	22.5
Place of Birth	Gaza	34	85.0
	Diaspora	6	15.0
Age	less than 30	18	45.0
	30 – less than 40	10	25.0
	40 – less than 50	9	22.5
	50 & more	3	7.5
Marital Status	Married	18	45.0
	Single	20	50.0
	Widowed	-	-
	Divorced	2	5.0
Education Level	pre-high school	3	7.5
	high school	11	27.5
	Diploma	6	15.0
	Bachelor	17	42.5
	higher studies	3	7.5
Current Career	government employee	12	30.0
	NGO'S employee	3	7.5
	free work	6	15.0
	voluntary work	10	25.0
	Jobless	9	22.5
The Activist Experience	5 - less than 10	22	55.0
	10 – less than 20	15	37.5
	20 – less than 30	2	5.0
	30 & more	1	2.5
X-Detention Experience	Yes	7	17.5
	No	33	82.5

6.3. Research Hypothesis

❖ Principle Hypothesis

The promotion strategies used by the PNA in directing the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question are effective.

❖ Sub-Hypotheses

1. **There is an effective rule less than 0.05 of advertising on the PNA direction of the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question.**

Table (6.3.) shows the following results:

☒ The mean of paragraph #6 "Television is one of the primary means to portray the detainees suffering to the world community" equals 6.36 (63.60%), Test-value = 1.78, and P-value = 0.038 which is smaller than the level of significance $\alpha = 0.05$. The sign of the test is positive, so the mean of this paragraph is significantly greater than the hypothesized value 6. We conclude that the respondents agreed to this paragraph.

☒ The mean of paragraph #14 "The Palestinian Authority stimulates political cartoon designers to unfold the detainees suffering throughout creative and artistic drawings" equals 3.88 (38.80%), Test-value = -11.97, and P-value = 0.000 which is smaller than the level of significance $\alpha = 0.05$. The sign of the test is negative, so the mean of this paragraph is significantly smaller than the hypothesized value 6. We conclude that the respondents disagreed to this paragraph.

☒ The mean of the field "utilizing political advertising strategy" equals 4.84 (48.43%), Test-value = -8.07, and P-value=0.000 which is smaller than the level of significance $\alpha = 0.05$. The sign of the test is negative, so the mean of this field is significantly smaller than the hypothesized value 6. We conclude that the respondents disagreed to field of "utilizing political advertising strategy."

By wondering the percentages that have been given by the respondents, we observe that the item 6 "Television is one of the primary means to portray the detainees suffering to the world community" has scored 63.60. It is essentially the only item that has shown agreement from the Palestinian detainees. This estimation can be attributed to the notion that the majority of the detainees are reliant on the TV channels to be updated with the latest news. Significantly, too, TV channels are available in each house, each corner and enjoy faster and smaller reach. In the recent years, we witness a rapid development of media and the television in greater rhythm, which paved the way for giving a special zooming on the detainees issue. Although the Palestinian media coverage for the detainees sounds seasonable, we cannot claim that the Palestinian advertising arena lacks severe deficiency. We also would like to assert that the Palestinian television advertising has witnessed some development after Hamas carried the detainees resistance exchange deal in 2011. Many Palestinian satellite televisions started talking about the detainees case

throughout meeting political specialists, screening shots and airing demonstrations and settings supportive to the detainees case.

Although item 5, which states, "the Palestinian Authority encourages launching local broadcasting channels that adopt the detainees issue and talk about their ordeal" has revealed little disagreement among the Palestinian detainees, we can mention that a special broadcasting radio channels for the detainees have been launched in recent years to promote the detainees narrative in the local Palestinian political environment. Still, the major remark is weather the Palestinian Authority has knowledge and wisdom to give the adequate attention to the local environment which seems vital and indispensable. The illustration shows undoubtedly that the international Palestinian politics hardly could function in the sufficient mood in isolation with a convenient local culture sustainable to the detainees ordeal. The argument here is that the Palestinian Authority should push ahead special legislations that give special credit and privileges to both the broadcasting and the satellite channels concerned with the Palestinian national issues in general and the detainees in definitive terms. It should also work hard to provide these channels with some funding at least the channels that are not in an immediate engagement in the political split.

Unexpectedly, the respondents have scored 38.80 for item 14, which declares, "The Palestinian Authority stimulates political cartoon designers to unfold the detainees suffering throughout creative and artistic drawings." To build our discussion around this argument, nobody could keep oblivious to the notion that the Palestinian national struggle has witnessed the brilliant cartoonist Naji al-Ali who portrayed the Palestinian issue and the brutality of the occupation in a professional and sophisticated fashion until his assassination in London on 29 August 1987. His cartoon referred to as "Handala" has attracted larger sympathists around the Palestinian cause. On the other side, this estimation goes in consistency with the study conducted by (El-Astal, T. 2013: p16) which indicates that the detainees cartoons enjoys 11.3% of coverage in the Palestinian local newspapers. It appears that the newspapers advertising zoom on the territorial developments, the local political circumstances and the economic conditions before portraying the detainees' ordeal. Although Al-Haya newspaper advertises the detainees narrative more than other Palestinian newspapers, still it does not match the required level. The Palestinian Authority does not encourage the Palestinian artists and the creative cartoonists to show their artistic products in a healthy and competitive environment. In this respect, the contests and competitions should be run to recruit the most notable talents in order to promulgate the detainees cause. These efforts should not be limited within the classical domain of the local environment but open to the Arab and the international arena. It should be made clear that there are little rising efforts to seek this field. Still these attempts are run in an individual scope and lack the proper attention and the necessary concern from the relevant parties. It sounds somehow reasonable that we are around an inherent culture that observes with little concern the validity and the vitality of the cartoons in influencing the public and moving their sentiments. We would like to claim that the cartoons are a common international unspoken language which is relatively recognizable by many societies and the message could be implicitly conveyed with all of its connotations and denotations to the intended targets. We would like to suggest that the Ministry of Media and the Ministry of Culture are entitled to

shoulder this effort throughout apparent and constant policies to encourage the cartoon designers to have their say in this intricate Palestinian struggle.

If we contemplate item 1 that reads as, "The Palestinian National Authority (PNA) adopts the promotional advertising strategy as one of the fundamental priorities in the Palestinian national struggle," we find out that the item received little disagreement among the respondents. Undoubtedly, this percentage is not strange because the Palestinian Authority has been attaching an immense hope on the bilateral Palestinian/Israeli negotiations to release the vast majority of the Palestinian detainees. In addition, the psyche of the Palestinian decision makers is centered on evacuating the occupation from the Palestinian territories as a top priority rather than releasing the Palestinian detainees. Another notion that is considered vital is that the Palestinian Authority was concerned, at the commencement of its arrival, on establishing the Palestinian institutions to move faster and smoother to the Palestinian State. Although many detainees had been release following the implementation of Oslo Accord, still around 6800 are in the Israeli jails. Some would claim that the Palestinian Authority lacks the proper cadres in the first years of its arrival. This argument sounds hallow if we take into consideration that the authority's recruitment philosophy is centered on political affiliation more than the education level or professionalism.

Concerning item 2 and 3, the Palestinian detainees have shown their disagreement on both the contrasted and negative advertising strategies orchestrated by the Palestinian Authority. Initially, we cannot escape the fact that the Palestinian officials attack and criticize the occupation aggression against the Palestinian detainees throughout press conferences, releases or the TV interviews. Yet, the international community and the key world institutions do not pay the necessary concern to the detainees issue. Moreover, the Palestinian strategy is seasonal and reactive to the prevailing incidents rather than occupying the center stage of the political performance. Roughly speaking, we can claim that the Palestinian political performance in association with the detainees case lacks a prospective strategy which is constructed upon progressive actions and policies to address the detainees needs and encounter any potential challenges.

In reference to item 7 which says, "The Palestinian Authority directs the variant Palestinian satellite channels to screen the programs and conversations that narrate the detainees case to influence the international community," we firstly and for mostly assert that the Palestinian Authority do not have a direct control over all the Palestinian broadcasting and the satellite channels. They are owned by individuals or attached with a certain political party. Our argument here is that the Palestinian Authority should manage to strike a balance between its relationship with the political parties in one side and the detainees' ordeal in another. We all should sing with the orchestra in which any possible malfunctioning shall absolutely harm the detainees struggle. Neither could we ever claim that anybody has the magical formula to settle the case in isolation with the other party or in detachment from the public sentiments. We would like also to highlight that both the Palestinian Authority and the political parties have the capacity to screen the detainees suffering beyond the classical framework of their political orientation.

Over 47.95 of the Palestinian detainees believe that, "The Palestinian newspapers set the right space to discuss the detainees' just demands to attract the attention of the international readers and monitors." This estimation does not go in isolation with the solid truth that the Palestinian newspapers lack the strategic orientation in addressing the detainees case. They should pay attention to the international readers and monitors throughout special illustration that matches the detainees' just demands. The Palestinian newspapers should cover the detainees' ordeal as stated initially in a constant mode and not in response to a prevailing crisis or an alarming situation. Our point here also is that the Palestinian newspapers are required to recruit the professionals and experts who are capable of constructing a decent argument to stimulate many fans supportive to the detainees' issue. It makes no harm if we make a good benefit from the experience of prominent writers, journalists and media specialists who enjoy a heavy profile in the international community.

Concerning item 8 that narrates as, "The Palestinian satellite channels have a daily regular news bulletin that zooms on the latest developing conditions of the Palestinian detainees in the Israeli jails" have unfolded major dissatisfaction among detainees. That is certainly right since if we monitor the Palestinian channels, we feel that there is no news bulletin specialized in screening the detainees' ordeals. Even in the hard situations, such as, hunger strikes, health neglect or martyrdom, we notice that the detainees' news are announced within the bulletin and not in a separate one. However, if we contemplate Al Jazeera satellite channel, it gives a special zooming on the updating and the important news throughout a private news bulletin, for example, Egypt, North Africa, Syria and so like. By this sentiment, the Palestinian detainees feel that the national media is directed in favor of their cause, which reinforces their sacrifice, and keeps their spirit higher.

By reviewing item 16 that states, "The Palestinian Authority pays special concern to the territorial and international outdoor advertising to remind the world with the detainee's rights," we find that the item has been received with major dissatisfaction. Despite the fact that the head of Detainees and X-Detainees Affairs and some officials in the Commission have participated in some occasions and rallies at the international level, these activities are not enough to promote the detainees case in the proper mode. In addition, we can claim that the annulment of the detainees' ministry from the government structure has harmed the urge and the stamina of the outdoor advertising in the international milieu.

If we look at item 15, which affirms, "The Palestinian Authority makes a good benefit of the internet and social media to advertise for the detainees issue and call for their rights." The percentage sounds persuasive despite the notable disagreement among the respondents. Although all the Palestinian ministries in relevance to the detainees case are accessed to the internet and the modern media technology, they do not provide noticeable presentation that could advertise the detainees cause. Up to the latest years, the detainees suffering is experiencing a severe shrinkage in the social media, such as, Facebook, Twitter, Flicker Instagram and so on. It may be attributed to the common assumption that the majority of the government employees lack the proper training as well as the dominant culture among the aging employees that rejects the exploitation of the modern technology. In contrast, if we see how the Israeli occupation exploits the internet to advertise its slurs,

we feel how much we are backward to the right tactics in tackling the grievances of our noble detainees.

By having a profound look at item 13, which confirms, "The Palestinian Authority invests the Arab and Islamic newspapers and magazines stationed in the West to advertise for the detainees issue and make decent penetration of the Western citizen intellect," we go in harmony with the detainees disagreement. The starting point is that the Palestinian officials occasionally could post an article or have an interview to explain the detainees' ordeal. The principle Palestinian narrative is centered on the resumption of the negotiation with Israel that could guarantee total withdrawal from the Palestinian territories occupied in the 1967 war. Although we have many newspapers stationed in the West, such as, Alquds Alarabi and Al-Hayya, the detainees narrative is seemingly absent or behind their concern. This surely leads to the conclusion that the Palestinian Authority does not have a genuine penetration strategy that could get deeper in the Western citizen mind and psyche. Accordingly, it would be wise and fruitful for the Palestinian ministries in concern to coordinate with these prominent newspapers to post news, articles, testimonies and so forth to familiarize the world about the Palestinian detainees ordeal and the density of the Israeli infringement that go in contradiction with the international laws and conventions.

The common conclusion of the political advertising strategy unfolds in bold that the Palestinian advertising strategy is suffering from some impotence and incapacity to catch up with the Israeli propaganda that has been invading the whole world. This estimation agrees with a study that has been conducted by (El-Astal, T. 2013: p29) which shows a remarkable deficiency in the political advertising mechanics throughout the exploitation of the cartoons to reveal the detainees tribulation. The study points out that the hunger strikes and the detainees steadfastness enjoy only 27% of coverage out of the whole cartoons in the local Palestinian newspapers. Thus, it suggests that the Palestinian decision makers are required to construct a counter Israeli advertising strategy to debunk the occupation and promulgate the detainees cause. It is also worthy to mention that the media revolution is on rise which clears the way for us to make a better and sufficient handling in favor of the Palestinian detainees. In addition, the duty is not confined within the classical rule of the Detainees and X-Detainees Commission, but it incorporates all the ministries, agencies and offices functioning in the Palestinian Authority. It, as well, requires some cooperation and coordination between the authority and the political parties involved in the national struggle.

Table (6.3.): Means and Test Values for "Utilizing Political Advertising Strategy"

	Item	Mean	S.D	Proportional Mean (%)	Test Value	P-value (Sig.)	Rank
1.	The Palestinian National Authority PNA adopts the promotional advertising strategy as one of the fundamental priorities in the Palestinian national struggle.	5.03	2.89	50.25	-4.75	0.000*	4
2.	The Palestinian Authority adopts the (contrasting strategy) which shows the illegal and the inhuman Israeli behavior in comparison with the international law.	4.96	2.49	49.64	-5.80	0.000*	5
3.	The Palestinian Authority uses the negative advertising strategy to criticize the occupation and display its outrageous policy against the Palestinian detainees.	4.93	2.54	49.27	-5.85	0.000*	6
4.	The Palestinian Authority uses the broadcasting channels to make the detainees voice salient among the international public.	4.87	2.83	48.69	-5.65	0.000*	8
5.	The Palestinian Authority encourages launching local broadcasting channels that adopt the detainees issue and talk about their ordeal.	5.12	3.02	51.18	-4.08	0.000*	3
6.	Television is one of the primary means to portray the detainees suffering to the world community.	6.36	2.84	63.60	1.78	0.038*	1
7.	The Palestinian Authority directs the variant Palestinian satellite channels to screen the programs and conversations that narrate the detainees case to influence the international community.	4.91	2.74	49.10	-5.61	0.000*	7
8.	The Palestinian satellite channels have a daily regular news bulletin that zooms on the latest developing conditions of the Palestinian detainees in the Israeli jails.	4.74	2.97	47.44	-5.97	0.000*	10
9.	The Palestinian satellite channels screen some shots and scenes to make the detainees issue presentable at the international arena.	5.88	2.64	58.80	-0.64	0.261	2

	Item	Mean	S.D	Proportional Mean (%)	Test Value	P-value (Sig.)	Rank
10.	The Palestinian Authority encourages producing documentary films and series to spot the light on the detainees suffering namely children, women and aging people.	4.61	2.62	46.06	-7.47	0.000*	12
11.	The Palestinian Authority directs daily, quarterly and seasonal newspapers to cover the detainees issue adequately to insight the public opinion.	4.24	2.44	42.37	-10.18	0.000*	14
12.	The Palestinian newspapers set the right space to discuss the detainees' just demands to attract the attention of the international readers and monitors.	4.80	2.52	47.95	-6.75	0.000*	9
13.	The Palestinian Authority invests the Arab and Islamic newspapers and magazines stationed in the West to advertise for the detainees issue and make decent penetration of the Western citizen intellect.	3.91	2.60	39.14	-11.29	0.000*	15
14.	The Palestinian Authority stimulates political cartoon designers to unfold the detainees suffering throughout creative and artistic drawings.	3.88	2.51	38.80	-11.97	0.000*	16
15.	The Palestinian Authority makes a good benefit of the internet and the social media to advertise for the detainees issue and call for their rights.	4.51	2.66	45.05	-7.82	0.000*	13
16.	The Palestinian Authority pays special concern to the territorial and international outdoor advertising to remind the world with the detainee's rights.	4.74	2.72	47.37	-6.46	0.000*	11
	All paragraphs of the field	4.84	2.03	48.43	-8.07	0.000*	

* The mean is significantly different from 6

2. **There is an effective rule less than 0.05 of campaigns on the PNA direction of the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question.**

Table (6.4.) shows the following results:

☒ The mean of paragraph #11 which reads as, "The Palestinian Authority pays high significance to the public opinion in its political campaigns to formulate an optimal public sphere sustainable to the detainees issue," equals 4.47 (44.72%), Test-value = -7.73, and P-value = 0.000 which is smaller than the level of significance $\alpha = 0.05$. The sign of the test is negative, so the mean of this paragraph is significantly smaller than the hypothesized value 6. We conclude that the respondents disagreed with this paragraph.

☒ The mean of paragraph #19 which states, "The Palestinian Authority invests the big sports festivals, such as, the World Cub, the Olympic Games, and other sports activities to launch political campaigns supportive to the detainees issue," equals 3.42 (34.22%), Test-value = -13.48, and P-value = 0.000 which is smaller than the level of significance $\alpha = 0.05$. The sign of the test is negative, so the mean of this paragraph is significantly smaller than the hypothesized value 6. We conclude that the respondents disagreed with this paragraph.

☒ The mean of the field "organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees issue" equals 4.25 (42.53%), Test-value = -10.98, and P-value=0.000 which is smaller than the level of significance $\alpha = 0.05$. The sign of the test is negative, so the mean of this field is significantly smaller than the hypothesized value 6. We conclude that the respondents disagreed to field of "organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees issue."

By contemplating the detainees responses concerning the various items of this section, we can formulate the following reflective and critical reading. Initially, let us observe item 11, which includes, "The Palestinian Authority pays high significance to the public opinion in its political campaigns to formulate an optimal public sphere sustainable to the detainees issue." We find out that the Palestinian detainees have revealed their disagreement. This estimation can be interpreted in association with the common feeling among the detainees that their case is left behind the agenda of the Palestinian Authority. In addition, the detainees are frustrated from the passive response of the international community regarding the Israeli violation of their rights, humanity and dignity. Some also would blame the Palestinian Authority for its static political initiatives in order to stream the detainees issue with the proper dynamism throughout well-established programs and policies.

Item 19 states, "The Palestinian Authority invests the big sports festivals, such as, the World Cub, the Olympic Games, and other sports activities to launch political campaigns supportive to the detainees issue." Although there is a relative solidarity with the

Palestinian narrative at the international level represented in the major word festivals, these acts sound spontaneous and more individual. Many football, basketball and tennis fans have raised the Palestinian flag and the photos of Palestinian martyrs passed away by the Israeli occupation. Our argument here is that these acts lack a mastermind accountable for managing these big incidents in favor of the Palestinian cause. We suggest here that the Ministry of Youth and Sports should have a decent input. They should build up sufficient scenarios to influence the public in these occasions. They can form delegations, have an honor participation, influence the Arab participants and recruit loyalists for our national jargon. To put it in clear terms, the state of sympathy should be transformed from being a public mood to a public policy sustainable to the detainees cause.

Regarding item 1, which tells, "The Palestinian Authority launches systematic and fully-considered political campaigns to influence the international public opinion in favor of the detainees issue." The estimation has evoked negative responses among the detainees. This attitude may be attributed to the common feeling that the Palestinian political campaigning sings in isolation with the big Arab and Islamic political bodies. The Arab League, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), the Islamic Cooperation Organization (ICO) and the like are not engaged in the major issues of the Palestinian struggle namely the detainees question in a satisfactory mode. We would like to claim that by these well-considered involvement, the political campaigning machinery will be more powerful, progressive and even more proactive. At minimum, the joint engagement will help the authority to secure more time, efforts and more resources to resume prospective political campaigns. Moreover, the shrinkage of the campaigning process can be attributed to the increasing waves of wars, siege and the settlements expansion which have burdened the shoulders of the Palestinian diplomacy and left it sometimes dysfunctional to encounter the prevailing occurrences.

By looking at item 8 which is expressed as, "The Palestinian Authority benefits from diverse international parties' efforts in its political campaign and dedicates them for the detainees issue," we correspondingly see that it has been received with a considerable disagreement. Although the Palestinian Authority communicates with some political parties either individual leaders or official institutions, these efforts are mainly directed towards the termination of the Israeli occupation rather than tackling the detainees narrative. We cannot also escape the authenticated notion that the majority of the international parties are biased to the Israeli occupation including the major powers. Accordingly, this will harm the political campaigning performance of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) in comparison with the Israeli urge. Our assessment here is that the grand strategy of the landslide majority of the Arab countries is mainly inter-dependent on the prevailing policies and the common track of the superpower. Unfortunately, the whole Western countries are thrilled by the proclaimed complex of the Jewish Holocaust which functions as the mice trap that catches any Western political leader goes against the current. This Jewish mantra is seemingly productive to have the whole world in their favor. However, the 67 years Israeli Holocaust practiced on Palestinians, ethnic cleansing and racial discrimination are not sufficient to receive sympathy and political actions.

When we come across item 4 that states, "The Palestinian Authority follows diverse tactics and styles in its outdoor political campaigns to make the detainees issue prevalent at the international milieu," we conclude that the Palestinian policy is labeled with rigidity in addressing the Palestinian matters. If a certain territorial or an international institution fail to side with the Palestinian just demands, we should have a variety of tactics on the table. Equally, when we promulgate the detainees jargon, we should recruit activists, employ lawyers, request fact-finding commissions, contact the key acting organizations and so on. This trend will create dynamic diplomacy capable of understanding the diverse situations. Our assumption here is that by this mechanism, we interact fruitfully with the contingent instances that have been occupying the detainees issue. We would like to assert here that if the Palestinian detainees are left in solitary confinement, receive maltreatment and suffer from health care neglect without organizing intensive political campaigns; we can conclude that the Palestinian political performance is on the brink of a major failure. We would like also to stress that the rule of the game is not in our favor. However, this should be an impetus to cross our fingers in order to reinvent new tactics and give rise to alternative mechanisms to address the detainees tribulation.

Let us wonder of item 5, which articulates, "The Palestinian Authority moves throughout obvious and prospective goals in its political campaigns and invests it in favor of the detainees in the Israeli jails." It appears that the detainees have responded with dissatisfaction. At first, nobody regardless of his political affiliation would argue that the principle goal of the Palestinian Authority is to release the detainees from the Israeli jails. Nonetheless, this objective lacks the necessary technical, managerial and political procedures which is believed vital to get our goal in actual implementation. Moreover, the goal should be in fit with a definite timeline in order to avert any misstatement or misrepresentation. Furthermore, the proposed goals have to be revised constantly and should be subject to our reconsideration to identify the areas of health and the areas of sickness. Our argument here is that the Palestinian Authority should balance between the transitional and strategic goals to keep the detainees issue vivid and presentable.

Let us dive in item 9 which utters, "The Palestinian Authority acts conveniently to vary its political campaigns and reinvent new mechanisms to make the world closer to the detainees ordeal." We want to present here an argument that the Palestinian Authority structure is centered on definitive political minds and the one-man show philosophy is relatively dominating the whole scene. In this context, it so hard to build up a flexible strategy that could learn the various situations. In many times, it is not attainable to shift from one strategy or tactic to another without consuming money and resources. Our point here is that many political officials are reluctant to reconsider the former strategy due to their persuasion, political affiliation, the circumstances and the nature of the relationship with the international community. It is presumably convenient to claim that the bilateral or the trilateral negotiations are a mechanism of the political campaigning. However, this strategy should be reinforced with variant tactics in order to siege the occupation and get the intended outcomes.

When we read the percentage given to item 14 that announces, "The Palestinian Authority trains cadres and upgrades experienced teams capable of executing a professional

campaigns to advocate the detainees in the Israeli jails," we see that the detainees have revealed their disagreement. Initially, it seems that the Palestinian Authority is not concerned with formulating professional cadres equipped with the skill and the field experience to conduct effective political campaigns. The major efforts are directed towards conducting shallow training which is subject to the amount of funding and the general track of the minister or the political leader. But, we do not want to go beyond our fare judgment by asserting that in many instances, the Palestinian Authority sent some representatives to explain the detainees ordeal to the world public. Our assessment here that and throughout my researching track, we can conclude that the Palestinian cadres have the enthusiasm, faith and the readiness to give a decent presentation, but they need the government efforts and attention to produce a satisfactory making. In addition, the authority should coordinate with the various NGOs association acting in the Palestinian political arena in order to upgrade professional personnel in the detainees field. We would like also to suggest that the cadres should be in well-command of the new media technology and social media in definitive terms. My conclusive remark regarding this notion is that the human resources are a vital pillar upon which the various programs, strategies, tactics and plans are constructed.

Sometimes, it is wise to let others talk on your behalf and this is what is intended by item 15 that speaks, "The Palestinian Authority pursues the indirect political campaign to recruit sympathists and friends to convince larger spectrum of the international spectators." Many countries in the West and Egypt lately after the military coup, which toppled down the legitimate and the legal president, Mohamed Morsi, have resorted to campaign their policies and agendas throughout marketing offices, agencies, institutions and so like. In the same tone, the Palestinian Authority should contract with some parties in order to campaign the Palestinian narrative and the detainees case in definite. Some would assert that these acts are beyond the capacity of the newly emerging authority in terms of resources since it relies mainly on the donating countries. The best answer is that we should try and think out of the box and remember the old saying, 'where is a well, there is a way.' What is also significant about these coordination offices is that they are more alert to the local culture of each country. Besides, it understands the major breakthroughs by which it can pass its political campaign and influence the citizens and the political leaders alike.

To zoom on item 12 which includes, "The Palestinian Authority constructs its political campaigns on comprehensive database and regular feedback to create a new sphere and recognition of the detainees issue," we find out that the Palestinian official archive lacks the necessary data about the detainees which hinders any potential attempt to draft a plan or formulate a strategy. It's not surprising if we say the official bodies, represented in the past in the Ministry of Detainees and X-Detainees which has been changed into a commission following the donating countries threats of suspending the financial aids granted to the Palestinian Authority, does not have a comprehensive database about the detainees including the vital details. It is also surprising if we say that the total registered detainees in the official body in Gaza is less than 2000 out of hundreds of thousands released from the Israeli jails. However, there are recent efforts from some newly established institutions concerned in the detainees issue to prepare more data in order to fulfill the detainees' needs and answer their calls. Increasingly, there are also some attempts

from the Palestinian researchers to document and record data in association to the detainees to be a reference for the concerned parties and institutions alike. The information that has been posted in all the websites relevant to the detainees in particular the Commission of Detainees and X-Detainees Affairs should be updated regularly.

Item 7 reads as, "The Palestinian Authority does its best to secure the necessary fundraise needed for its political campaigns to keep up pressure on Israel to respect the detainee's right." Frankly speaking, we should attach this item with the principle revenues of the Palestinian Authority treasury. In this sense, we explore that the main source of the Palestinian fund is presented to the authority throughout the donating countries mainly the EU and the World Bank. These funds are subject to so many political extortions which sometimes lead to a financial deficiency for the authority. In many times, the European Union, the World Bank and the major donating countries have suspended their cash inflow to mount the pressure on the Palestinian decision makers and get some concessions. It was apparently seen after Hamas had won the legislative elections in 2006. At that moment, the Palestinian government was incapable of paying the salaries of the public sector. Our argument here is that the Palestinian economy is reliant on the occupation and we need much time to get rid of the trap of the international fund which formulates the major shares of the Palestinian treasury. Thus, it is hard to establish a promising political campaigning in detachment from a sufficient fund in order to finance the programs and activities designed by the planning department.

By jumping to item 13 which narrates, "The Palestinian Authority evaluates its political campaigns systematically to approach the optimal mechanisms in handling the detainees issue in the Israeli jails." We find out that this item has been received with noticeable disagreement. Until, the latest years, the evaluation had been dropped from the Palestinian managerial and political agenda. Recently, the Palestinian public sector started thinking of evaluating its programs and policies. However, this new trend is done in a plastic surgery mode and lacks the genuine implementation and execution. Within these circumstances, it is probably persuasive to find that the detainees case is badly influenced by counterproductive managerial behavior. Unless we have a constant evaluation mechanism to highlight the pros and cons, we hardly could build up a genuine prospective policy that could alleviate the detainees suffering.

Item 16 which reveals, "The Palestinian Authority encourages the whole Palestinian political parties to launch political campaigns to sustain the detainees issue." Since the establishment of the Palestinian Authority in 1994, we observe a wide gap between the authority and the political parties. Although this gap can be attributed to the unilateral implementation of Oslo Accord by the PLO and the ruling Fatah Party, still the authority has failed to contain the opposition parties to the common Palestinian cause. In the same mode, we find out that the opposition parties mainly Hamas and the Islamic Jihad are skeptical about the intentions of the Palestinian Authority. We think that the best way here is to integrate the political parties in the big umbrella of the PLO in order to establish new political campaigning model that could make good usage of all the efforts and talents within a convenient margin of coordination and cooperation.

By wondering item 18 which includes, "The Palestinian Authority deploys the political symbolism, including signs, items, and drawings that narrate the detainees suffering to attract the international sphere," we observe that the Palestinian struggle deploys many political symbols to reveal the Palestinian urge for liberation. In this respect, we all know the Palestinian 'Kufiyah' that has been used in reference to the Palestinian revolution and the right of the Palestinians to return to their homelands and villages. We also remember the 'olive branch' which had been used by the former Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat in the United Nations to express the desire of the Palestinian people to achieve peace and end up the phase of military confrontation. However, the detainees symbolism suffers from an apparent shrinkage in the Palestinian media especially the local newspapers. This argument agrees with the study held by (El-Astal, T. 2013: p29) on the rule of the political cartoons and driving the political symbolism. The study shows that the detainees uniform, bars, handcuffs, the prison darkness and the Palestinian flag are portrayed by the cartoonists. Still, the campaigning coverage is not occupying the whole instances of the detainees struggle. It should be noted that these symbols are more likely to influence the mass population rather than the official leaders since it evokes immediate and spontaneous passion among the recipients.

With respect to item 17, which speaks, "the Palestinian Authority orchestrates an adequate presentation of the detainees issue in the Palestinian national learning curriculum to familiarize the students with their struggle." We find out that the detainees ordeal has poor presence in the Palestinian national curriculum which is not consistent with their struggle as well as the students required knowledge. Although the syllabus is a mere national product prepared by Palestinian academicians, it does not involve the sufficient national jargon that could promote the detainees cause in an expedient fashion. According to a research conducted by (Elwan, A. 2013: p28) on the Arabic language curriculum for the primary stage in respect to campaigning the detainees question, the quantitative and the qualitative investigation revealed that only 33% of the detainees issue is presentable either directly or indirectly in these disciplines. Besides, many of the lessons are not presented in an apparent mode to the elementary school students in a way that takes into consideration the sufficient distribution of the lessons in the curriculum. What is noticed about these books is that they do not present the detainees issue in separate lessons and lack the sufficient organization. In another study conducted by (Kaloob, F. 2013: p25) on the national education curriculum for the basic stage has shown that the disciplines mentioned the detainees case and some definitions related to the same matter 11 times with a relative percentage of 28.2, whereas the first four grades lack thoroughly any information or lessons about the detainees. The study also shows that the child and the woman are mentioned in rare instances in the fifth-grade curriculum which indicates that the syllabus suffers from poor campaigning of the detainees tribulation. This deficiency will construct insufficient knowledge competence, which is deemed counterproductive to the required comprehensive political campaigning. We would like to stress here on the notion that the Palestinian universities, colleges and faculties should have vital rule in reinforcing the detainees case in the academic environment. In a study prepared by (Assaf, M. & Khalifa, S. 2013: p26) on the rule of the Palestinian universities in reinforcing the detainees issue in the Israeli jails unfolded that the Islamic University shows 43% of concern in building a cultural

environment supportive to the detainees ordeal while the Al-Quds University shows only 29% of attention. This may be attributed to the fact that the Islamic University and the students council are more engaged in the detainees campaigning issue and participate in the variant occasions related to their suffering. In addition, the Islamic University attracts more students while Al-Quds University relies mainly on distance learning. Accordingly, it sounds clear that the presentation of the detainees in the Palestinian national curriculum is not campaigning the case in the proper mode which might digs a deep gap in the students' national recognition.

To conclude, concerning section 2 that narrates, "Organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees issue." It discloses that the whole percentage is below the detainees satisfaction. This poor estimation can be attributed to the notion that the Palestinian Authority does not have a clear prospective vision in order to formulate its political campaigns. Moreover, the political campaigning should be functional in all levels and the diverse political arenas should not be confined within a definitive methodology. The authority should build up an internal culture sufficient to launch an international campaigning capable of moving the calm water. Our assessment here also is that political campaigns should take into consideration the variant niches of the international public and target them with the proper messages in order to create a more productive and effective political campaigning environment.

Table (6.4.): Means and Test Values for "Organizing Political Campaign Strategy Supportive to the Detainees Issue"

	Item	Mean	S.D	Proportional Mean (%)	Test Value	P-value (Sig.)	Rank
1.	The Palestinian Authority launches systematic and fully-considered political campaigns to influence the international public opinion in favor of the detainees issue.	4.47	2.62	44.70	-8.20	0.000*	2
2.	The Palestinian Authority follows an apparent and systemized strategy in its political campaigns to reinforce the detainees issue in the Israeli jails.	4.36	2.65	43.57	-8.76	0.000*	6
3.	The Palestinian Authority gives special consideration for transitional and strategic planning to terminate the detainees suffering.	4.23	2.81	42.31	-8.80	0.000*	12
4.	The Palestinian Authority follows diverse tactics and styles in its outdoor political campaigns to make the detainees issue prevalent at the international milieu.	4.40	2.81	43.99	-8.02	0.000*	4

	Item	Mean	S.D	Proportional Mean (%)	Test Value	P-value (Sig.)	Rank
5.	The Palestinian Authority moves throughout obvious and prospective goals in its political campaigns and invests them in favor of the detainees in the Israeli jails.	4.37	2.65	43.70	-8.68	0.000*	5
6.	The political campaigns conducted by the Palestinian Authority reveal an insightful transitional vision of the detainees ordeals and demands.	4.24	2.68	42.39	-9.24	0.000*	11
7.	The Palestinian Authority does its best to secure the necessary fundraise needed for its political campaigns to keep up pressure on Israel to respect the detainee's rights.	4.21	2.67	42.12	-9.42	0.000*	13
8.	The Palestinian Authority benefits from diverse international parties efforts in its political campaign and dedicates them for the detainees issue.	4.45	2.61	44.49	-8.34	0.000*	3
9.	The Palestinian Authority acts conveniently to vary its political campaigns and reinvent new mechanisms to make the world closer to the detainees ordeal.	4.33	2.55	43.32	-9.21	0.000*	7
10.	The Palestinian Authority follows regular and permanent political campaigns, not seasonal in its engagement with the detainees issue.	4.18	2.62	41.79	-9.72	0.000*	16
11.	The Palestinian Authority pays high significance to the public opinion in its political campaigns to formulate an optimal public sphere sustainable to the detainees issue.	4.47	2.77	44.72	-7.73	0.000*	1
12.	The Palestinian Authority constructs its political campaigns on a comprehensive database and regular feedback to create new sphere and recognition of the detainees issue.	4.26	2.71	42.60	-9.00	0.000*	10
13.	The Palestinian Authority evaluates its political campaigns systematically to approach the optimal mechanisms in handling the detainees issue in the Israeli jails.	4.21	2.71	42.12	-9.28	0.000*	13

	Item	Mean	S.D	Proportional Mean (%)	Test Value	P-value (Sig.)	Rank
14.	The Palestinian Authority trains cadres and upgrades experienced teams capable of executing professional campaigns to advocate the detainees in the Israeli jails.	4.32	2.68	43.17	-8.86	0.000*	8
15.	The Palestinian Authority pursues the indirect political campaigns to recruit sympathists and friends to convince larger spectrum of the international spectators.	4.27	2.67	42.73	-9.11	0.000*	9
16.	The Palestinian Authority encourages the whole Palestinian political parties to launch political campaigns to sustain the detainees issue.	4.19	2.91	41.89	-8.70	0.000*	15
17.	The Palestinian Authority orchestrates an adequate presentation of the detainees issue in the Palestinian national learning curriculum to familiarize the students with their struggle.	3.92	2.60	39.23	-11.17	0.000*	18
18.	The Palestinian Authority deploys the political symbolism, including signs, items, and drawings that narrate the detainees suffering to attract the international sphere.	4.12	2.55	41.18	-10.32	0.000*	17
19.	The Palestinian Authority invests the big sports festivals, such as, the World Cub, the Olympic Games, and other sports activities to launch political campaigns supportive to the detainees issue.	3.42	2.65	34.22	-13.48	0.000*	19
	All paragraphs of the field	4.25	2.25	42.53	-10.98	0.000*	

* The mean is significantly different from 6

3. **There is an effective rule less than 0.05 of public relations on the PNA direction of the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question.**

Table (6.5.) shows the following results:

⌧ The mean of paragraph #6 which tells, "The Palestinian Authority participates in the international conferences to explain the detainees issue and market their suffering," equals 5.15 (51.54%), Test-value = -4.10, and P-value = 0.000 which is smaller than the level of significance $\alpha = 0.05$. The sign of the test is negative, so the mean of this paragraph is significantly smaller than the hypothesized value 6. We conclude that the respondents disagreed with this paragraph.

- ☒ The mean of paragraph #10 which informs, "The Palestinian Authority has a contingent plan to encounter the developing and changing conditions of the detainees in the Israeli jails," equals 4.04 (40.36%), Test-value = -10.69, and P-value = 0.000 which is smaller than the level of significance $\alpha = 0.05$. The sign of the test is negative, so the mean of this paragraph is significantly smaller than the hypothesized value 6. We conclude that the respondents disagreed with this paragraph.

- ☒ The mean of the field "Employing public relations and political networking strategy" equals 4.52 (45.19%), Test-value = -9.12, and P-value=0.000 which is smaller than the level of significance $\alpha = 0.05$. The sign of the test is negative, so the mean of this field is significantly smaller than the hypothesized value 6. We conclude that the respondents disagreed to field of "Employing public relations and political networking strategy."

After having a profound reading on the percentages that have been given by the Palestinian detainees to the items below, we can present the following analytical impression. Item 6 states, "The Palestinian Authority participates in the international conferences to explain the detainees issue and market their suffering". Although the detainees have shown their disagreement concerning the item, we cannot dispute about the official rule of the Palestinian Authority in representing the Palestinian ordeal at the international level. Annually, we see the world leaders are gathered from each angle to discuss international and bilateral matters, which are deemed vital to their common interests. In these instances, it would be advantageous to narrate the detainees tribulation and scandalize the Israeli occupation. However, we are so skeptical about the stamina of the Arab countries diplomacy to adopt the Palestinian demands and reinforce them. In addition, the Arab countries are not at one concerning the Palestinian Israeli conflict which harms the potential outputs of the international meetings and conferences in regard to the detainees question. Sometimes we blame the Palestinian Authority for not having a clear and deliberately learned agenda that could tackle in bold the areas of concern and work on them. Our assessment here is that the international conferences are taking place in ceremonial and decorative modes that do not have any immediate gains. We can somehow excuse the Palestinian officials because the world is loaded with crisis and conflicts which have been estimated a severe threat to the world safety. Therefore, the detainees narrative barely could be heard by the world leaders and immediate responses hardly could be managed.

If we think of item 10, which says, "The Palestinian Authority has a contingent plan to encounter the developing and changing conditions of the detainees in the Israeli jails," we feel that the detainees are angry at the general performance of the authority because they feel that their profile is somehow lost or mismanaged. However, this judgment may not be accurate because the authority in some occasions has been involved in the contingent situations in order to recap with the new updates. In the same tune, we feel right to claim that the Palestinian Authority does not have a drafted contingent plan ready to be implemented on the spot when the circumstances go against the detainees current. Planning will also reinforce the rule of the political public relations and make it more dynamic in orchestrating the public agenda.

Item 4 states, "The Palestinian Authority encourages writing articles that shed the light on the hard detention experience that the detainees are exposed to in the Israeli jails." Initially, it is unfair to think for even a while that the Palestinian intellectuals and media arenas suffer a severe shrinkage in writing articles that promote the detainees jargon. When you read any newspaper, you are more likely to find a posted article that illustrates the hard detention experience in the Israeli jails. Our view here is that the Palestinian Authority should provide the Palestinian writers with new invented margins to promulgate the case. In addition, it would be more fruitful to have an independent newspaper specialized in all the issues in association with the detainees. We also suggest that the authority should encourage the Palestinian writers to use the 'lingua franca' (English) in order to address larger crowd. The Ministry of Media and Ministry of Culture should post these articles in their official websites with the two languages not only in the Detainees Day but in a constant mode.

Let us also think about the percentage given to item 5, which declares, "The Palestinian Authority makes significant visits to the influential world capitals to explain the Israeli violation against the detainees namely the chronically ill." If we monitor the news, the newspapers and the internet, we find out that the Palestinian officials tour many territorial and international countries. However, we do not know how many times have they traveled to explain the detainees ordeal. We also want to say that many of these countries are hardly influenced by the Israeli lobby which keeps up pressure in order to hinder the Palestinian visits. It is also convenient to restate again that the Palestinian public agenda is centered on the establishment of the Palestinian state and ending up the occupation rather than addressing the concerns of the Palestinian detainees. Meanwhile, the internal political split and the wave of the Arab counter-revolutions led by the old guards have been a fundamental weakness for the Palestinian politics in the recent 5 years.

Item 14 reveals, "The Palestinian Authority invests the variant national occasions to make visits to the detainees families." Somebody would make sarcasm of such notion since the Palestinian Authority is responsible for 6800 detainees in the Israeli jails. How could the authority manage visits to these terrible numbers and how much time and efforts do they consume? The best answer is that the authority should form teams, train cadres and recruit loyalists and activists in order to interact and communicate more effectively and adequately. It should rely on the volunteers and reinforce the rule of the NGOs associations acting in this field. We would like also to document a solid fact that the former Palestinian Yasser Arafat used to visit the families of the key detainees who have been spending long-term detention in the feasts or in the big occasions. Although the seeds of the notion of this argument are viable, still it requires the well, stamina and hard preparation.

To contemplate item 8 that reads as, 'The Palestinian Authority issues regular reports that shed light on the detainees conditions and document the Israeli breaches that go in disparity with the International Law," we observe that the item is received with dissatisfaction among the respondents. To start with, no one can go against the inherent fact that reports are very essential in promoting the detainees case and scandalizing the occupation. On the other side, if we have deeper look at the websites of the different ministries and the ones in concern, we conclude that there is a little effort directed in this

field. Reporting is the most proper mode to document the experiences, suffering and the stories of the Palestinian detainees. Lately, there is a growing trend among the human rights institutions to issue reports highlight the conditions of the detainees. The pioneering institutions are the Al-Dameer Human Rights Center, the Palestinian Center for Human Rights (PCHR), the Independent Commission for Human Rights and many others. These reports are published in both languages which make it more presentable for international readers and followers. In addition, there are some international institutions seek their feet and publish regular reports which should give the authority more courage and insight to launch major political public relations in this field.

Item 3 states, "The Palestinian Authority issues regular press releases to brief the world with the detainee's conditions in the Israeli jails." We somehow disagree about the detainees perspective concerning this item. The Commission of Detainees and X-Detainees Affairs makes some press releases regarding the recent developing conditions of the detainees. Moreover, the Department of the Negotiation Affairs also makes some releases with the two languages (Arabic and English) directed to the international public. Some would complain that these releases are not constant and comprehensive to cover the whole story. Our assumption is that these releases should be more regular and immediate to the developing conditions. We suggest also that these releases should be distributed in a larger scale throughout the mass media and the print media in order to create more effective outcomes.

Item 12 narrates, "The Palestinian Authority throughout its political officials conducts TV interviews to explain the detainees case for the international community." If we notice the 44.74 estimation given to the item, we explore that the detainees still disagree with the Palestinian officials' performance. Wisely speaking, we cannot keep oblivious to the fact that we see the Palestinian officials in the local and Arab satellite channels talking about the detainees issue. Yet, this appearance is seemingly associated with the Detainees Day, fundamental occasions or the latest updates in reference to the detainees question. Significantly, too, the Palestinian officials do not have any noticeable presence in the Western media which is contrary to the Israeli officials who are hosted in many instances in the CNN, BBC, Fox News and dozens of satellite channels. The question here is why should not the Palestinian officials coordinate with some international satellite channels to make permanent interviews since the detainees issue is on rapid development? We would like to claim that this trend is attainable. However, it requires planning a prospective program that matches the detainees needs and aspirations.

Let us go to item 11 which includes, "The Palestinian Authority recruits journalists, political activists, notable intellectuals and opinion leaders to view in close the detainees ordeal in the Israeli jails." We want to assert at first that the Palestinian issue is attractive to a considerable score of journalist working in the field of media and news reporting. On the other side, the majority of the journalists do not cover objectively the Israeli crimes against the Palestinian people because the satellite channels and newspapers in the West are generally biased in favor of the occupation. Additionally, the journalists and opinion leaders are visiting Palestinian following wars or contingent incidents and not throughout planned strategy prepared by the Palestinian Authority. We should have regular recruitment

of the world opinion leaders in order to keep the Palestinian narrative presentable in the Western environment. Our argument here is that we should prepare for future conferences, host seminars, and run ceremonies and other occasions that address the detainees issue and work for their future.

Item 13 voices, "The Palestinian Authority relies on its embassies and diplomatic representation offices to contact with politicians, community activists and notable media icons to scandalize the occupation and unfold its reality at the international level." This item has scored 44.12 according to the detainees respondents. Although the Palestinian Authority has enlarged the sphere of its diplomatic representation in a wide scale following the implementation of Oslo Accord, the efforts have been confined within the classical scope of the state establishment rather than a national liberation struggle fighting for releasing the detainees. We would like to claim that many of the ambassadors and the political representatives have been chosen to the post according to their political affiliation more than their career experience or professionalism. We suggest that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should prepare a comprehensive plan to promulgate the detainees case and encourage the variant embassies and the representation offices to carry it out.

Our insight concerning item 2 which tells, "The Palestinian Authority holds regular press conferences to insight the international community with the latest updates concerning the detainees issue." It appears that the detainees have received the item with a great disagreement. To strike the truth, the Palestinian officials hold press conferences to attract the world's attention to the recent development of the detainees. These conferences are usually aired on the Palestinian Satellite Channel which is the official voice of the Palestinian Authority. Unfortunately, we do not have a joint satellite coverage that incorporates all the channels of both the Palestinian Authority and the political parties alike regardless of their political orientation. Moreover, the Palestinian Authority and the political parties should encourage the Arab satellite channels to air these press conferences in broader rhythm. We suggest that the press conferences are more fruitful if we hold them in both languages to reach the international monitor more rapidly and smoothly.

Item 9 states, "The Palestinian Authority enjoys a decent relationship with key international celebrities to reinforce the detainees case presence and push forward its dynamism worldwide." This item has evoked the detainees dissatisfaction. Primarily, by tracking the Palestinian Authority behavior and intellect, these technical tactics are behind the recognition of the political leaders. They may believe that such actions are superfluous and do not achieve any noticeable influence on the Israeli occupation. Furthermore, this orientation requires time, money and the communicative power to penetrate their sentiments. However, we think that it is good to make friends, recruit loyalists and attract notable sympathists to diversify the pressure techniques used against the occupation.

Generally speaking, if we wonder of section 3 which insights, "employing public relations and political networking strategy." We sum up that the whole section has been received with a significant disagreement. By this assumption, we say that the Palestinian Authority suffers a severe deficiency in the formulation of a public relations strategy that would makes some potential breakthroughs in the international arena. In a study conducted by (Hammad, A & Abed, Z. 2013: P32-35) on the rule of the public relations in building

recognition of the detainees issue in the Israeli jails, the study reveals that there is an important role in formulating and directing the recognition regardless of some deficiencies that could be treated and handled. The public relations also has participated in clarifying some misconceptions and misunderstandings in association with the detainees case. In addition, the study shows that the public relations deals with the detainees equally without any prior consideration to the political parties. On the other hand, it shows that the public relations has weak performance regarding some media communication tools such as the publicity and the usage of the posters. It also shows that the Palestinian public relations is suffering from poor financial resources which hinder so many activities and programs. In light of these two different judgments, we should develop the public relations departments in the ministries in concern and provide them with the professional and experienced teams. The public relations agenda should be mainly directed towards the international milieu and has the power and stamina to launch permanent public relations campaigns. Our argument here is that the political public relations strategy is not confined within the classical rule of the Palestinian Authority, but it should incorporate the political parties to have their say in developing the Palestinian struggle and promoting the public relations urge. However, the authority should act as the maestro who guides the others and provides them with advice and support.

Table (6.5.): Means and Test Values for "Employing Public Relations and Political Networking Strategy"

	Item	Mean	S.D	Proportional Mean (%)	Test Value	P-value (Sig.)	Rank
1.	The Palestinian Authority gives high concern to public relations to reinforce the detainee's issue presence at the international level.	4.28	2.67	42.82	-8.97	0.000*	12
2.	The Palestinian Authority holds regular press conferences to insight the international community with the latest updates concerning the detainees issue.	4.30	2.57	42.97	-9.25	0.000*	11
3.	The Palestinian Authority issues regular press releases to brief the world with the detainee's conditions in the Israeli jails.	4.59	2.60	45.89	-7.63	0.000*	6
4.	The Palestinian Authority encourages writing articles that shed the light on the hard detention experience that the detainees are exposed to in the Israeli jails.	4.73	2.63	47.30	-6.75	0.000*	2

	Item	Mean	S.D	Proportional Mean (%)	Test Value	P-value (Sig.)	Rank
5.	The Palestinian Authority makes significant visits to the influential world capitals to explain the Israeli violation against the detainees namely the chronically ill.	4.70	2.73	46.97	-6.67	0.000*	3
6.	The Palestinian Authority participates in the international conferences to explain the detainees issue and market their suffering.	5.15	2.88	51.54	-4.10	0.000*	1
7.	The Palestinian Authority organizes intellectual seminars to invest the experiences in developing a decent and sophisticated strategy to empower the detainees steadfastness.	4.56	2.66	45.62	-7.52	0.000*	7
8.	The Palestinian Authority issues regular reports that shed light on the detainees conditions and document the Israeli breaches that go in disparity with the International Law.	4.65	2.84	46.53	-6.63	0.000*	5
9.	The Palestinian Authority enjoys a decent relationship with key international celebrities to reinforce the detainees case presence and push forward its dynamism worldwide.	4.18	2.64	41.81	-9.57	0.000*	13
10.	The Palestinian Authority has a contingent plan to encounter the developing and changing conditions of the detainees in the Israeli jails.	4.04	2.57	40.36	-10.69	0.000*	14
11.	The Palestinian Authority recruits journalists, political activists, notable intellectuals and opinion leaders to view in close the detainees ordeal in the Israeli jails.	4.42	2.74	44.21	-8.10	0.000*	9
12.	The Palestinian Authority throughout its political officials conducts TV interviews to explain the detainees case for the international community.	4.47	2.68	44.74	-7.98	0.000*	8

	Item	Mean	S.D	Proportional Mean (%)	Test Value	P-value (Sig.)	Rank
13.	The Palestinian Authority relies on its embassies and diplomatic representation offices to contact with politicians, community activists and notable media icons to scandalize the occupation and unfold its reality at the international level.	4.41	2.94	44.12	-7.52	0.000*	10
14.	The Palestinian Authority invests the variant national occasions to make visits to the detainees families.	4.66	2.93	46.56	-6.21	0.000*	4
	All paragraphs of the field	4.52	2.28	45.19	-9.12	0.000*	

* The mean is significantly different from 6

4. There is an effective rule less than 0.05 of lobbying on the PNA direction of the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question.

Table (6.6) shows the following results:

☒ The mean of paragraph #19 which states, "The Palestinian Authority contacts the international health organizations to provide the urgent and significant health care for the Palestinian detainees in the Israeli jails," equals 5.07 (50.66%), Test-value = -4.20, and P-value = 0.000 which is smaller than the level of significance $\alpha = 0.05$. The sign of the test is negative, so the mean of this paragraph is significantly smaller than the hypothesized value 6. We conclude that the respondents disagreed with this paragraph.

☒ The mean of paragraph #5 which reads as, "The Palestinian Authority exercises an immediate grassroots lobbying on the Western and European citizen to mobilize larger spectrum to side by the detainees issue," equals 3.78 (37.78%), Test-value = -12.13, and P-value = 0.000 which is smaller than the level of significance $\alpha = 0.05$. The sign of the test is negative, so the mean of this paragraph is significantly smaller than the hypothesized value 6. We conclude that the respondents disagreed with this paragraph.

☒ The mean of the field "Mobilizing interest/pressure groups and forming alliances," equals 4.35 (43.54%), Test-value = -9.64, and P-value=0.000 which is smaller than the level of significance $\alpha = 0.05$. The sign of the test is negative, so the mean of this field is significantly smaller than the hypothesized value 6. We conclude that the respondents disagreed with the field of "Mobilizing of interest/pressure groups and forming alliances."

Undoubtedly, if we have an investigative look at the percentages that have been given by the Palestinian detainees, we can develop the following illustration. Our discussion is not a documented personal experience but an analytical context produced in light of definitive data and certain estimations.

Let us consider item 19 that tells, "The Palestinian Authority contacts the international health organizations to provide the urgent and significant health care for the Palestinian detainees in the Israeli jails." It sounds that the Palestinian Authority is not exerting enough efforts in this context which stimulated the detainees to pose their dissatisfaction. However, we want to draw the attention that the Israeli occupation acts above the international laws and conventions. Consequently, it is more presumable that the occupation will reject this trend under some fabricated slurs. In addition, the occupation authorities are somehow cautious and worried that they might be caught in the mice trap if the international testimonies were released and reports were published to insight the world with their terrible experience. Likewise, we would like to point out that many of the international health organizations will be hesitant to seek this political matter and afraid that they will be subject to the Israeli interrogation and extortion. Still, the authority should do its best to communicate with the international health organizations in order to provide the decent hearth care to the detainees in the Israeli jails. We suggest that the authority should use the international agreements and conventions to keep up pressure on the occupation in order to force it to give major concessions in this regard.

Item 5 states, "The Palestinian Authority exercises an immediate grassroots lobbying on the Western and European citizen to mobilize larger spectrum to side by the detainees issue." Wisely speaking, the Palestinian Authority does not have the sufficient capacity and stamina to direct an immediate grassroots lobbying in isolation from the Arab support. To target the Western citizen directly, you should have a robust media networks, research institutions, notable think tanks and so many activities. We should recruit the Arab and the Muslim citizens in the West to carry out planned programs that come closer to the international citizen. Our argument is that the authority should concentrate on the Arab/Western friendship associations in order to pass its agenda and recruit many loyalists. We admit that it is not an attainable task in the near or the foreseeable future. On the contrary, it requires time, efforts and professional talents in order to accomplish it in the proper manner.

If we insight item 11 which utters, "The Palestinian Authority asks for international fact-finding commissions to have their say concerning the scandalous occupation policies against the detainees," we find out that the item is below the detainees agreement or satisfaction. Although the Israeli crimes, violations and wars are countless and hardly could we manage to calculate them, there are limited instances where the fact-finding commissions arrived to investigate the situation and prepare their reports. Contrary to the common notion, the Palestinian Authority had dropped down the Goldstone report following the first Israeli war on Gaza in 2008/2009 which criminalized the occupation forces and accused them of committing war crimes against the innocent armless Palestinians in the Strip. This irrational policy has eradicated the principle of holding Israel accountable and laying political siege against its officials and military commanders. We

hear the Palestinian officials request the Security Council to prepare a fact-finding commission to investigate the Israeli crimes. Unfortunately, these appeals are not accompanied by serious efforts at the international level to get these calls fulfilled regardless of the fore granted fact and the inherent knowing that the international mood is in favor of the occupation.

Let us go to item 18 which narrates, "The Palestinian Authority invests the Arab Lawyers Union and the other human rights parties to prepare a comprehensive profile documenting the Israeli violation against the Palestinian detainees." Initially, nobody can escape the fact that the Palestinian Authority has filed the International Criminal Court (ICC) with a comprehensive report that criminalizes the occupation in an attempt to sentence the Israeli commanders who are responsible for committing war crimes in Gaza. However, the authority has not signed it with the final draft yet in a way that that could get the convention effective. Another notion is that the authority shows less attention to the international human rights institutions, which could hold Israel accountable. My point here is that the authority should rely on both the international as well as the territorial institutions to promote its political jargon in general and the detainees question in definitive terms. Why should not the authority contact the Arab legal bodies to scale up its presence and weight in the international human rights institutions?

If we dig deeper in the percentage given to item 16 which confirms, "The Palestinian Authority exercises political lobbying on the occupation throughout its ties with key icons of the national liberation movements who enjoy heavy asset of respect and clean political experience," we find out that these icons are not engaged immediately in the world major conflicts. It may be attributed to the historical confrontation between the colonial narrative and the national liberation stamina which left severe injuries. Significantly, too, many of the national liberation icons enjoy mainly symbolic presence at the international arena. Another striking fact is that many of the national liberation movements have dissolved or settled, and many national liberation figures have passed away. Still, we need their efforts, wisdom and advice because they have a heavy weight among the world citizens. The essence of our notion here is that we should diversify our tactics and deploy all methods in order to make better being for the detainees case.

Item 14 involves, "The Palestinian Authority coordinates with the interest groups counter to the Israeli occupation to orchestrate decent lobbying for the detainees issue." Although the general attitude in the West stands in harmony with the Israeli story, other groups stay in disparity with the Israeli agenda. They consider the Israeli occupation illegal and immoral, and adopt the Palestinian ordeal. Recently, these groups are getting on rise after the waves of the Israeli wars, siege and aggressions against the Palestinian people. Accordingly, we should make decent benefit of the developing circumstances to lobby in favor of the detainees. The authority should coordinate with these groups and provide them with the urgent inputs to build a progressive agenda that matches the detainees suffering. Why should not the authority coordinate with the boycott associations and unions to lobby for the detainees and insight the world with their tribulation?

Item 13 includes, "The Palestinian Authority acts efficiently to build confidence with the key political parties in the world and exert demanding efforts to persuade them

with the detainees just issue." Some parties in the West claim that they have common jargon with the Arab and the Palestinian people in specific. They are represented mainly by some of the leftist parties who think that Israel should withdraw from the 1967 Occupied Territories. Although these parties are not the mirror of the mainstream politics in Europe, it appears healthy to communicate with these parties and construct a relatively common narrative. Why should not we use these parties as a vehicle to penetrate the Western political arena and lobby for our cause? Subsequently, the Palestinian Authority shows dissatisfactory performance in building confidence with these political parties and should resort to this trend to diversify the lobbying mechanics against the occupation.

Let us deliberate item 12, which says, "The Palestinian Authority enjoys an intimate relationship with a great deal of notable political unions and liaisons and invests them to mount pressure on the occupation in favor of the detainees issue." We find out that the item has been received with disapproval. Although the Palestinian Authority is thrilled to establish an independent state after an intense and long-lasting armed struggle with the occupation, the diplomatic actions are relatively poor and below average. The world is loaded with unions, liaisons, and spheres especially after the end of the Cold War and the Collapse of Berlin Wall. The world became flat and the globalization revolution broke down the political, economic, ethnic and cultural boundaries. What is so noticeable is that the Palestinian Authority has confined itself with a financial relationship with the European Union subject to extortion and preconditions. Within this context, the Europeans play unsatisfactory political rule via acting in favor of the occupation regardless of their announced policy of boycotting the settlements products. Yet, there are other unions, liaisons and spheres to communicate and insight them with our agenda.

To think behind the percentage given to item 3 which says, "The Palestinian Authority exercises pressure on the key and influential parliaments in the world to lay political siege over the occupation to mitigate the detainees suffering," we observe that this item has evoked noticeable disagreement among the Palestinian detainees. Although the world parliaments are among the most considerable layers of power to execute the lobbying agenda, the Palestinian Authority has poor performance in this field. On the other side, we cannot keep oblivious to the fact that the authority has some ties with the European Parliament that includes 751 members representing 500 million citizens in the euro zone. Still, these diplomatic relationships are muddy and require extra efforts and political engagement. There is the Italian, Spanish, Swedish and many others where we can establish our lobbying mechanics in favor of the detainees narrative. Furthermore, we would like to point out that the Arab parliaments namely the gulf countries can empower the position of the Palestinian cause among the international parliaments. The Palestinian MPs should tour the Arab countries and communicate with counterparts to formulate an expedient lobby in order to encounter the Israeli hegemony. We should mention here that the Arab parliaments have scored a progressive position after Israel had arrested the Palestinian MPs following the capture of the Israeli soldier in Gaza in 2006.

Item 15 holds, "The Palestinian Authority invests the variant religious institutions to scandalize the arbitrary Israeli procedures that go in disparity with the whole divine faiths." In contrary to our prognostication, this item has been scored down by the detainees. Wisely

speaking, the common narrative of the Palestinian Authority addresses the religious institutions and the top religious icons to side by the vulnerable Palestinians. Moreover, the current head of the Palestinian Authority, 'Mahmoud Abbas', had observed a prayer ceremony with the Pop and the former Prime Minister of the Israeli occupation, 'Shimon Peres', in 2014 in an attempt to clear the circumstances for new tours of negotiation that could lead to the establishment of the Palestinian state. However, we cannot claim that the detainees ordeal is present or the Palestinian decision makers have jumped over the classical track of terminating the Israeli occupation. It sounds that the detainees are frustrated and have negative passions concerning the mechanisms by which their issue is presented and their suffering is promoted to the international public.

Item 9 narrates, "The Palestinian Authority organizes protests and demonstrations in the European capitals to call for the detainee's rights in the Israeli jails." In the recent years, the Western political environment has been witnessing a noticeable increase in the demonstrations, protests, boycott campaigns and so many other vindictive policies against the Israeli occupation. This newly developing spirit is mounted after the horrifying images and the terrifying scenes in the late three Israeli wars on Gaza. In addition, these waves are orchestrated, planned and funded from the Muslims and the Arabs who live in the West as well as groups of sympathists including solidarity groups and associations. To our best knowledge, the authority shows very little involvement in these activities and rarely could make symbolic participation. Thus, we suggest that the authority and political officials should make good investment of such instances to penetrate the Western common mainstream politics.

We are eager to shift to item 8, which reads as, "The Palestinian Authority forms parallel strategic alliances to mount pressure and tighten the stranglehold over Israel to revive the detainees issue." By this item, territorial strategic alliances, which incorporate the effective Arab and regional countries, is in fact meant rather than international strategic ones. Affirmatively, we claim that the territorial trends are relatively attainable due to the religious, linguistic, cultural and ethnic sharing. Besides, the whole area is perilously threatened by the expansionist policy of the Israeli occupation which has been stealing large parts of the Arab countries so far. In these circumstances, we admit that there is an explicit strategic alliance between the authority and some Arab states. However, it is not invested directly in favor of the Palestinian struggle and the detainees issue in definitive wording. Ironically, this territorial strategic formation is mainly directed towards certain internal crises after the downfall of the legitimate and legal governments in some of the Arab countries.

Let us ponder of item 7 says, "The Palestinian Authority invests its ties with the political think tanks and research institutes in the West to lobby for the detainees issue." This item is not indeed qualified by the Palestinian detainees. It goes without saying that the successful and promising state, authority or any political entity should rely on deliberately prearranged policies and strategies prepared and published from considerable think tanks and research institutions. In a more progressive orientation, it should also communicate information and knowledge with the international think tanks and lobby them in favor of our narrative. We can prepare professional studies, formulate strategies and

161

direct a sufficient lobbying agenda by the assistance of these institutions. Our argument here is that the Palestinian Authority should establish a national political think tank sponsored by the government and equipped with professional cadres who are capable of producing genuine policies. We admit here that there are some research centers sponsored by the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). Still, they are relatively dysfunctional and dropped down from the Palestinian political concern. We suggest that we can invest the experience, the talent and the advice of key Arab and Muslim scholars who are working in many research centers in the West and across the globe.

To have a profound reading on item 10 which states, "The Palestinian Authority exercises' pressure on the key and influential international organizations to influence the world public opinion in favor of the detainees issue," it appears that the efforts made in this regard are met with negative estimation. To commence with, there are dozens of Security Council resolutions concerning the Israeli occupation that have been defused by the American veto. In addition, the Arab Group is not heavy-handed due to the dominance of the Five Major Power on the Security Council. Nonetheless, the Palestinian diplomacy should mount its efforts after it has gained an observer membership in the United Nations. This assumption agrees with a study conducted by (Shahin, A. & Saleh, A. 2013: p28) which investigates the implementation of Israel for the Geneva conventions on the Palestinian detainees. It shows that the new observer membership position in the United Nations is not accompanied by any change in the legal status of the detainees as an introductory step for their release. The authority should make beneficial lobbying by investing the new privileges accompanied by this position. It should sign up the Rome's Convention in order to siege the occupation and hold the Israeli victimizers accountable. The Arab League (AL), the Islamic Cooperation Organization (ICO) and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) should be at the heart of the considerable drivers of the Palestinian agenda at the international milieu.

Let us dive to the implicit scenes of item 4 which narrates, "The Palestinian Authority invests the International Law to prosecute the Israeli war criminals responsible for murdering and torturing the Palestinian detainees at the International Criminal Courts (ICC)." Although this item has been tackled with some interpretations, it is presumably convenient to enrich our discussion with some additional remarks. At the outset, the International Criminal Court (ICC) is not the only legal body where we can criminalize the occupation, but there are many Western countries that have independent judicial systems permit to prosecute the war criminals of the Israeli occupation. Therefore, the authority should activate this method throughout full coordination with recognizable international lawyers. The authority should contact the international judicial organizations in order to get the advice, the experience and necessary logistics. The human rights institutions are among the essential players of the game namely the ones showing some sympathy to the Palestinian narrative. We suggest here that there are many Arab and Muslim lawyers and human right activists who are in harmony with our just cause. In a study prepared by (Eshtayya, I. & Eleian, H. 2013: P38), we find that it matches our conclusion. It points out that Israel is not implementing the Geneva conventions on the Palestinian detainees which gives the occupation the green light to commit crimes against them. It also insights us to the

poor performance of the authority in keeping pressure on the international institutions in order to oblige the occupation to put the Geneva conventions in effect.

To sum up, we discover that section 4 which articulates, "Mobilizing of interest/pressure groups and forming alliances," has scored 43/54 which indicates the detainees disagreement on the lobbying strategy carried by the authority. In this context, the Palestinian Authority should establish a lobbying strategy in light of the variant variables, drivers and dominators that shape the international arena. Moreover, the authority should rely on the territorial efforts to influence the international community and formulate a good lobby supportive to the Palestinian cause. Wisely speaking, not only is the lobbying agenda basically poor but also missed out of the diplomatic course. We do also admit the process is not in fact attainable in the foreseeable future, but it requires intensive efforts and reinventing new mechanisms relevant to the prevailing international politics.

Table (6.6.): Means and Test Values for "Mobilizing of Interest/Pressure Groups and Forming Alliances"

	Item	Mean	S.D	Proportional Mean (%)	Test Value	P-value (Sig.)	Rank
1.	The Palestinian Authority makes a great deal of benefits from the lobbying methods and techniques to promulgate the detainees issue and make the international public in recognition.	4.44	2.64	44.42	-8.28	0.000*	5
2.	The Palestinian Authority exercises pressure on the states governments in the territorial and international milieu to create political positions supportive to the detainees issue.	4.09	2.69	40.88	-9.92	0.000*	17
3.	The Palestinian Authority exercises pressure on the key and influential parliaments in the world to lay political siege over the occupation to mitigate the detainees suffering.	4.36	2.85	43.62	-8.06	0.000*	9
4.	The Palestinian Authority invests the International Law to prosecute the Israeli war criminals responsible for murdering and torturing the Palestinian detainees at the International Criminal Court (ICC).	3.87	2.83	38.69	-10.59	0.000*	18

	Item	Mean	S.D	Proportional Mean (%)	Test Value	P-value (Sig.)	Rank
5.	The Palestinian Authority exercises an immediate grassroots lobbying on the Western and European citizen to mobilize larger spectrum to side by the detainees issue.	3.78	2.58	37.78	-12.13	0.000*	19
6.	The Palestinian Authority drafts letters to the international officials to explain the detainees conditions in the Israeli jails.	4.33	2.80	43.32	-8.35	0.000*	10
7.	The Palestinian Authority invests its ties with the political think tanks and research institutes in the West to lobby for the detainees issue.	4.18	2.73	41.83	-9.33	0.000*	15
8.	The Palestinian Authority forms parallel strategic alliances to mount pressure and tighten the stranglehold over Israel to revive the detainees issue.	4.20	2.78	42.04	-9.04	0.000*	14
9.	The Palestinian Authority organizes protests and demonstrations in the European capitals to call for the detainee's rights in the Israeli jails.	4.22	2.76	42.17	-9.09	0.000*	13
10.	The Palestinian Authority exercises pressure on the key and influential international organizations to influence the world public opinion in favor of the detainees issue.	4.17	2.81	41.68	-9.14	0.000*	16
11.	The Palestinian Authority asks for international fact-finding commissions to have their say concerning the scandalous occupation policies against the detainees.	4.69	2.86	46.87	-6.46	0.000*	2
12.	The Palestinian Authority enjoys an intimate relationship with a great deal of notable political unions and liaisons and invests them to mount pressure on the occupation in favor of the detainees issue.	4.37	2.78	43.71	-8.21	0.000*	8

	Item	Mean	S.D	Proportional Mean (%)	Test Value	P-value (Sig.)	Rank
13.	The Palestinian Authority acts efficiently to build confidence with the key political parties in the world and exert demanding efforts to persuade them with the detainees just issue.	4.38	2.78	43.78	-8.18	0.000*	7
14.	The Palestinian Authority coordinates with the interest groups counter to the Israeli occupation to orchestrate a decent lobbying for the detainees issue.	4.40	2.82	44.04	-7.97	0.000*	6
15.	The Palestinian Authority invests the variant religious institutions to scandalize the arbitrary Israeli procedures that go in disparity with the whole divine beliefs.	4.32	2.72	43.23	-8.60	0.000*	11
16.	The Palestinian Authority exercises political lobbying on the occupation throughout its ties with key icons of the national liberation movements who enjoy heavy asset of respect and clean political experience.	4.52	2.78	45.15	-7.49	0.000*	4
17.	The Palestinian Authority enjoys intimate ties with the influential media outlets in the West to exercise lobbying in favor of the detainees issue.	4.24	2.79	42.42	-8.76	0.000*	12
18.	The Palestinian Authority invests the Arab Lawyers Union and the other human rights parties to prepare a comprehensive profile documenting the Israeli violations against the Palestinian detainees.	4.66	2.83	46.63	-6.61	0.000*	3
19.	The Palestinian Authority contacts the international health organizations to provide the urgent and significant health care for the Palestinian detainees in the Israeli jails.	5.07	3.12	50.66	-4.20	0.000*	1
	All paragraphs of the field	4.35	2.41	43.54	-9.64	0.000*	

* The mean is significantly different from 6

Conclusive Estimation

Table (6.7.) shows the mean of all paragraphs equals 4.48 (44.75%), Test-value =-10.04 and P-value =0.000 which is smaller than the level of significance $\alpha = 0.05$. The mean of all paragraphs is significantly different from the hypothesized value 6. We conclude that the respondents disagreed to all paragraphs of the questionnaire.

By viewing the general percentage that has been scored by the Palestinian detainees for all the sections of the questionnaire, we discover that they are dissatisfied with the current promotion strategy used in defending their cause. They probably feel that the authority does not have a strategy to address the detainees suffering or at the best circumstances, the Palestinian officials lack the prerequisites to formulate it. On either ways, we find a severe gulf between the detainees expectations and the actual conditions. At the worst scenarios, some would conclude that the authority is not concerned to promote the detainees narrative and keeps lagging behind the occupation. We think that this assumption is not accurate because the authority had released a great deal of detainees after the implementation of Oslo Accord. In addition, it has been providing the detainees with some facilities in order to sustain their being. However, this estimation entails that the authority should orchestrate a radical transformation in its political infrastructure in order to address the demands of these segments in the national liberation struggle. Hence, the advertising mechanics, the campaign techniques, the public relations philosophy and the lobbying paradigm should be reformulated to match the Israeli threats posed against the detainees. Regrettably, all the sections are disqualified by the detainees which also signify that the detainees feel a sense of injury and bitterness from the Palestinian official body.

Table (6.7.): Means and Test Values for All Paragraphs

No.	Item	Mean	S.D	Proportional Mean (%)	Test Value	P-value (Sig.)	Rank
1.	Utilizing political advertising strategy	4.84	2.03	48.43	-8.07	0.000*	1
2.	Organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees issue	4.25	2.25	42.53	-10.98	0.000*	4
3.	Employing public relations and political networking strategy	4.52	2.28	45.19	-9.12	0.000*	2
4.	Mobilizing of interest/pressure groups and forming alliances	4.35	2.41	43.54	-9.64	0.000*	3
		4.48	2.15	44.75	-10.04	0.000*	

*The mean is significantly different from 6

5. There are statistically significant differences in the evaluation of the effectiveness of promotion strategies used by the PNA in directing the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question ascribed to personal information (place of birth, age, health status, education level, political affiliation, sentence duration, actual duration of detention, date of detention, times of detention and cause of release) at a level of statistical significance ($\alpha \leq 0.05$).

This hypothesis can be divided into the following sub-hypotheses:

☒ There are statistically significant differences in the evaluation of the effectiveness of promotion strategies used by the PNA in directing the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question ascribed to personal information (place of birth, age, health status, education level, political affiliation, sentence duration, actual duration of detention, date of detention, times of detention and cause of release) at a level of statistical significance ($\alpha \leq 0.05$).

☒ Table (6.8.) shows that the P-value (Sig.) is smaller than the level of significance $\alpha = 0.05$ for each field, then there is a significant difference among the respondents toward each field ascribed to their political label (detainee/political activist). We conclude that the personal characteristic of "political label" has an effect on each field.

If we wonder the percentage given by the political activists, it goes beyond the percentage scored by the Palestinian detainees. It may be interpreted to the idea that the political activists are more engaged in promoting the detainees narrative. They are in fact open to the local, regional and international environment and have the capacity to get the updates. This is in reality persuasive if we state that the majority of the political activists are at the prime of their age and they can access the internet and social media more professionally and smoothly. We would like to claim that the political activists are more energetic and ready to show effective participation. On the other side, the detainees are exposed to the suffering and physical abuse rather than the political activists. It can be also attributed to the common assumption that there are many detainees who are left behind the recognition of the authority.

☒ For all fields, the mean of "political activists" is higher than the detainees' one. Then we conclude that political activists respondents agree with these fields much more than the detainees do.

The comparative percentage between the political activists and the detainees in section 2 shows, "Organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees issue" has been received with the highest disagreement from the detainees. When we say the term campaign and political campaigning, we immediately refer to the most effectual element that influences the public opinion and enables the Palestinian detainees to construct their perspective. By its nature, campaigns are more noticeable and felt by the general public rather than public relations or lobbying. Thus, it may not be easy to judge the degree of the lobbying stamina that the authority is carrying out. However, it sounds somehow attainable

to establish a relative judgment concerning the vitality of the campaigning process. This assumption is also smart if we take into consideration that the campaigning tools are more close to the detainees rather than other promotion strategies which entail more technical, procedural and managerial skills as well as experience to realize it. On the other side of the story, we find that the political activists score concerning "Utilizing political advertising strategy" is near the degree of significance. Fundamentally, many of the activists are on constant contact with mass media including the satellites TV channels, newspapers, magazines, the internet and the other advertising mechanics. Accordingly, they are more likely to formulate a macroscopic image in light of their up to date monitory of the detainees ordeal. Even though the activists are not in satisfaction with the campaigning performance of the Palestinian Authority, the detainees reveal more bitterness and a sense of injury.

Table (6.8.): Independent Samples T-test Test of the Fields and their P-values for the Detainees and Political Activists

No.	Field	Means		Test Value	Sig.
		Detainees	**Political Activists**		
1.	Utilizing political advertising strategy	4.61	5.77	-3.317	0.001*
2.	Organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees issue.	3.99	5.28	-3.325	0.001*
3.	Employing public relations and political networking strategy	4.29	5.45	-2.915	0.004*
4.	Mobilizing of interest/pressure groups and forming alliances	4.09	5.40	-3.139	0.002*
	All Paragraphs	4.22	5.48	-3.392	0.001*

* The mean difference is significant a 0.05 level

☒ **There are statistically significant differences in the evaluation of the effectiveness of promotion strategies used by the PNA in directing the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question ascribed to place of birth at a level of statistical significance (α≤ 0.05).**

☒ Table (6.9.) shows that the P-value (Sig.) is smaller than the level of significance α = 0.05 for each field. Then there is a significant difference among the respondents toward each field ascribed to place of birth. We conclude that the personal characteristic of place of birth has an effect on each field.

168

☒ For all fields, the mean of "Gaza" is higher than the mean of "West Bank/1948 Land/ Diaspora." Then, we conclude that Gaza respondents agree with these fields much more than the respondents of "West Bank/1948 Land/ Diaspora."

One would ask why the detainees who were born in Gaza agree more than the detainees who were born in the West bank, Jerusalem and Diaspora. Our answer is not isolated from the general paradigm of the Palestinian promotional methodology. To put it in bold terms, the Palestinian promotional mechanism is more internally-centered rather than internationally-oriented. On equal footing, the Palestinian media channels, detainees associations and even the academic institutions are adopting a more domestic narrative rather than gearing to the international public. Another notion which is deemed significant is that many of the detainees who had been born in the West bank, Jerusalem and Diaspora were forced to come into Gaza after Hamas had carried out the resistance exchange deal in 2011. Even though the detainees are kept within the domain of the Palestinian geopolitics, they are strangled in an isolated and sieged territory that revives their memory of the solitary confinement that they left behind. Frankly speaking, we smell that the detainees are rebellious against their current situation in which Israel had sent them to exile in Gaza in fulfillment of the preconditions of their release. Thus, it is not in fact strange or unusual to find this diversity among the Gaza detainees and the detainees of the West bank, Jerusalem and Diaspora.

Table (6.9.): Independent Samples T-test Test of the Fields and their P-values for Place of Birth

No.	Field	Means		Test Value	Sig.
		Gaza	West Bank/1948 Land/ Diaspora		
1.	Utilizing political advertising strategy	4.88	3.31	5.139	0.000*
2.	Organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees issue	4.31	2.44	5.584	0.000*
3.	Employing public relations and political networking strategy	4.60	2.77	4.948	0.000*
4.	Mobilizing of interest/pressure groups and forming alliances	4.39	2.64	4.180	0.000*
	All Paragraphs	4.52	2.77	5.299	0.000*

* The mean difference is significant a 0.05 level

☒ **There are statistically significant differences in the evaluation of the effectiveness of promotion strategies used by the PNA in directing the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question ascribed to age at a level of statistical significance (α≤ 0.05).**

☒ Table (6.10.) shows that the P-value (Sig.) is greater than the level of significance α = 0.05 for each field. Then there is an insignificant difference among the respondents towards each field ascribed to age. We conclude that the personal characteristic of age has no effect on each field.

When we study any given phenomena, we always pay much consideration to the personal characteristic of age due to its direct impact on the idea subject to our investigation. Even though there are some differences among the detainees in terms of the aging category which may influence their experience, orientation and judgment, they all have relatively equal perspective concerning the effectiveness of the promotion strategy used in directing the Palestinian politics. In the same mood, this finding matches (Hammad, A. & Abed, Z. 2013: P32) study, in which there is an insignificant difference among the respondents ascribed to age. Either the young or the adult employees in the Ministry of Detainees and the relevant institutions hold the same assumption regarding the rule of the public relations in building awareness of the detainees narrative. Another notion is that either the young, the middle age or the aging detainees are not isolated from the general scene. They are attached to their national issue and perceive it in association with their identity. Some would claim that age variation entails immediately some diversification in their culture which sound healthy and reasonable. Yet we touch relatively a state of dissatisfaction about the performance of the Palestinian Authority. The aging detainees are more dragged by experience and long-term detention while the young detainees are more hauled by their enthusiasm, passion and their aspiration to find a just settlement for their ordeal.

Table (6.10.): ANOVA Test of the Fields and their P-values for Age

No.	Field	Means			Test Value	Sig.
		Less Than 40	40 – Less Than 50	50 & More		
1.	Utilizing political advertising strategy	4.27	4.83	4.61	1.216	0.299
2.	Organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees issue	3.78	4.22	3.73	0.820	0.442
3.	Employing public relations and political networking strategy	4.10	4.41	4.30	0.289	0.750
4.	Mobilizing of interest/pressure groups and forming alliances	4.02	4.24	3.78	0.391	0.677
	All Paragraphs	4.03	4.40	4.05	0.570	0.567

☒ **There are statistically significant differences in the evaluation of the effectiveness of promotion strategies used by the PNA in directing the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question ascribed to health status at a level of statistical significance (α≤ 0.05).**

☒ Table (6.11.) shows that the P-value (Sig.) is smaller than the level of significance α = 0.05 for the fields "Utilizing political advertising strategy and organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees issue." Then there is a significant difference among the respondents toward these fields ascribed to health status. We conclude that the personal characteristic of health status has an effect on these fields.

☒ For the fields "Utilizing political advertising strategy and organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees issue." The mean of "fit" is higher than "chronically ill/with disability." Then we conclude that fit respondents agree with these fields much more than "chronically ill/with disability."

☒ For the other fields "Employing public relations and political networking strategy and Mobilizing of interest/pressure groups and forming alliances." the P-value (Sig.) is greater than the level of significance α = 0.05. Then there is an insignificant difference among the respondents toward these fields ascribed to health status. We conclude that the personal characteristic of health status has no effect on the other fields.

We think that it is indeed right and persuasive to find the level of agreement of the fit detainees more than the chronically ill and the disabled. This estimation should be interpreted within the amount of concern that the Palestinian Authority has paid to keep the detainees in better health conditions. Many detainees have been subject to serious illness, such as, Diabetes, Cancer, Kidney Failure, Pressure and the like. Sadly, they have been deprived of their fundamental rights to get the sufficient treatment in the Israeli hospitals. In worse scenarios, some detainees are subject to Quadriplegia due to the intentional Israeli policy of neglect and poor healthcare. After their release, neither the chronically ill nor the disabled could enjoy a sufficient rehabilitation programs administered by the government. This methodology is not in fact strongly present in the agenda of the authority which makes the detainees on urgent need for some health services and logistical facilities. This assumption agrees with a study conducted by (Eshtayya, I. & Eleian, H. 2013: P38) on the X-detainees released from the Israeli jails in 2012 in Jerusalem and Hebron. It shows that 50% of the X-detainees have not joined any rehabilitation centers and 82.6% of the respondents appeal the authority to find the suitable programs. In addition, 87% of the X-detainees show their readiness to join any rehabilitation program and 82.4% of X-detainees believe that these programs should help them to integrate in the society. What is so striking is that 80% of them give credit to having a decent rehabilitation programs more than receiving monthly financial allocations.

Table (6.11.): Independent Samples T-test Test of the Fields and their P-values for Health Status

No.	Field	Means		Test Value	Sig.
		Fit	Chronically Ill/ With Disability		
1.	Utilizing political advertising strategy	4.83	3.73	2.802	0.006*
2.	Organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees issue	4.20	3.18	2.336	0.021*
3.	Employing public relations and political networking strategy	4.45	3.62	1.842	0.067
4.	Mobilizing of interest/pressure groups and forming alliances	4.24	3.50	1.587	0.114
	All Paragraphs	4.41	3.47	2.273	0.024*

* The mean difference is significant a 0.05 level

☒ **There are statistically significant differences in the evaluation of the effectiveness of promotion strategies used by the PNA in directing the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question ascribed to education level at a level of statistical significance (α≤ 0.05).**

☒ Table (6.12.) shows that the P-value (Sig.) is greater than the level of significance α = 0.05 for each field. Then there is an insignificant difference among the respondents toward each field ascribed to education level. We conclude that the personal characteristic of education level has no effect on each field.

Some would ask why the educational level does not have an effect on the four fields? Our interpretation is not isolated from the nature and the prevalence of the subject matter in the political as well as the physical environment. To put it in practical context, the detainees narrative is in reality a national oriented culture rather than an academic instructed discipline delivered in the university or the college. In addition, many detainees have obtained their knowledge about their question throughout the constant session that the detainees have conducted in the Israeli jails more than the official reading. Thus, the pre high school, the high school, the diploma, the bachelor and the higher study holders are engaged in equal footing to obtain the significant knowledge and culture about their issue in order to encounter the Israeli victimizers. We would like to argue here that the national jargon is more likely to live and stay in the human memory rather than the formal academic sessions. We also wish to denote that the detainees case is a prevalent culture that we can be influenced by in the television, newspaper, the internet, the radio, the street, the family, the friends and so like. In other terms, we are communicated constantly and on the daily basis because it is a principle component of our political environment.

Table (6.12.): ANOVA Test of the Fields and their P-values for Education Level

No.	Field	Means				Test Value	Sig.
		High School & Less	Diploma	Bachelor	Higher Studies		
1.	Utilizing political advertising strategy	4.64	4.50	4.46	5.20	0.708	0.549
2.	Organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees issue	4.10	3.85	3.78	4.66	0.867	0.460
3.	Employing public relations and political networking strategy	4.37	4.14	4.07	5.04	1.005	0.392
4.	Mobilizing of interest/pressure groups and forming alliances	4.10	4.02	3.93	4.70	0.532	0.661
	All Paragraphs	4.28	4.09	4.05	4.87	0.814	0.488

⊠ **There are statistically sigificant differences in the evaluation of the effectiveness of promotion strategies used by the PNA in directing the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question ascribed to political affiliation at a level of statistical significance (α≤ 0.05).**

⊠ Table (6.13.) shows that the P-value (Sig.) is smaller than the level of significance α = 0.05 for each field. Then there is a significant difference among the respondents toward each field ascribed to political affiliation. We conclude that the personal characteristic of political affiliation has an effect on each field.

⊠ For all fields, the mean of the category of "Fatah" respondents has the highest percentage among the other political affiliation categories. Then we conclude that the category of "Fatah" respondents agrees with these fields much more than other political affiliation categories.

By contemplating the percentages of the detainees, we discover that Fatah category has shown a noticeable agreement on the variant items in the questionnaire. That is for sure right because Fatah is the ruling party of the Palestinian Authority. Besides, many of Fatah detainees have been working in the authority institutions. Although some detainees express their wrath concerning the performance of the authority, the vast majority are committed to the general frame of its track and official politics. What we also observed during our data collection is that many detainees of Fatah Party are reluctant to criticize the authority in order not to be subject to a harsh insult from the opposition parties. On the other side, if we think deeper of the estimations that have been presented by Hamas party, we find that they are shocking and frustrating. However, it is also reasonable if we read them in the general

scope of the Palestinian context. Moreover, many of Hamas detainees have been subject to detention, assaults and physical abuse by the Palestinian Security Forces. Tragically, the party went in a bloody and violent intera-Palestinian conflict which led to the downfall of the authority from the Gaza Strip. Since then the Palestinian political arena has been subject to severe political and media confrontations and the notion of confidence has gun with the wind. Many of Hamas detainees complain that they are deprived of their salaries and financial rights due to their political affiliation. Among these paradoxical perspectives, we find the Islamic Jihad and the Popular Front are caught in-between. Regardless of the diversity of their ideological orientations, the two parties are not in a direct engagement in the internal conflict. Likewise, they enjoy some relationships with the two conflicting parties, which opened the window for some coordination in the critical matters. To sum up, the political affiliation is among the influential factors if not the most in creating the detainees judgment regarding the performance of the Palestinian Authority.

Table (6.13.): ANOVA Test of the Fields and their P-values for Political Affiliation

No.	Field	Means				Test Value	Sig.
		Hamas	Fatah	The Islamic jihad	The Popular Front		
1.	Utilizing political advertising strategy	2.92	6.24	4.59	4.69	26.590	0.000*
2.	Organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees issue	2.24	6.00	3.78	3.95	29.034	0.000*
3.	Employing public relations and political networking strategy	2.60	6.02	4.25	4.29	21.025	0.000*
4.	Mobilizing of interest/pressure groups and forming alliances	2.28	6.00	4.01	4.07	23.172	0.000*
	All Paragraphs	2.48	6.06	4.12	4.23	28.630	0.000*

* The mean difference is significant a 0.05 level

☒ **There are statistically significant differences in the evaluation of the effectiveness of promotion strategies used by the PNA in directing the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question ascribed to sentence duration at a level of statistical significance (α≤ 0.05).**

☒ Table (6.14.) shows that the P-value (Sig.) is smaller than the level of significance α = 0.05 for the fields "Employing public relations and political networking strategy and Mobilizing of interest/pressure groups and forming alliances." Then there is a significant difference among the respondents toward these fields ascribed to sentence

duration. We conclude that the personal characteristic of sentence duration has an effect on these fields.

☒ For the fields "Employing public relations and political networking strategy and Mobilizing of interest/pressure groups and forming alliances," the mean for the category "3 – less than 10" respondents has the highest percentage among the other sentence duration categories. Then we conclude that the category "3 – less than 10" respondents agrees with these fields much more than other sentence duration categories.

☒ For the other fields "Utilizing political advertising strategy and organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees issue," the P-value (Sig.) is greater than the level of significance $\alpha = 0.05$. Then there is an insignificant difference among the respondents toward these fields ascribed to sentence duration. We conclude that the personal characteristic of sentence duration has no effect on the other fields.

If we contemplate the personal characteristic of sentence duration, we would find that there is significant variations among the respondents toward these fields. What is noticeable about the results is that the detainees who spent the highest duration in the jails are showing their disagreement about the performance of the Palestinian Authority more than the ones who spent shorter terms. We cannot isolate this estimation from the common notion, which narrates that the more duration the detainees serve in the Israeli jails; the more they accumulate experience about their national matters. In this respect, we find common traditions among the detainees in which they nominate their companion who spent the longest durations to carry their demands and represent them when they talk to the Israeli administrative authority. By nature, they will be more competent and well-versed concerning abundant matters in association with their rights. After their release, many of them especially the experienced ones resort to engage in the Palestinian political institutions as well as civil associations supportive to the detainees matters. This attitude has helped them to be in constant contact with the latest updates which sound in rapid development. We would like to highlight to a more a significant assumption that many of the detainees who served long time of detention are more presentable in the media. This has cleared the way for them to be in alert to so many matters in relationship to their issue and their long-lasting struggle in the Israeli jails.

Table (6.14.): ANOVA Test of the Fields and their P-values for Sentence Duration

N o.	Field	Means				Test Value	Sig.
		3 –Less Than1 0	10– Less Than 5	15 – Less Than 25	25 & More		
1.	Utilizing political advertising strategy	4.96	4.96	4.25	4.09	2.150	0.096
2.	Organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees issue	4.38	4.36	3.86	3.28	2.381	0.072
3.	Employing public relations and political networking strategy	4.85	4.73	3.88	3.54	3.393	0.020*
4.	Mobilizing of interest/ pressure groups and forming alliances	4.65	4.43	3.79	3.29	3.127	0.028*
	All Paragraphs	4.71	4.62	3.93	3.53	2.923	0.036*

* The mean difference is significant a 0.05 level

☒ **There are statistically significant differences in the evaluation of the effectiveness of promotion strategies used by the PNA in directing the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question ascribed to actual duration of detention at a level of statistical significance (α≤ 0.05).**

☒ Table (6.15.) shows that the P-value (Sig.) is smaller than the level of significance α = 0.05 for each field. Then there is a significant difference among the respondents toward each field ascribed to actual duration of detention. We conclude that the personal characteristic of actual duration of detention has an effect on each field.

☒ For all fields, the mean of the category "10 – less than 15" respondents has the highest percentage among the other actual duration of detention categories. Then we conclude that the category "10 – less than 15" respondents agree with these fields much more than other actual duration of detention categories.

Across the long Palestinian struggle, the detainees case has been influenced by two conflicting political orientations which are the classical armed struggle and the notion of a prosperous peace. Throughout these stages, many detainees were released from the Israeli jails before the termination of their detention duration. As a common custom, the detainees will show variant persuasions which have been inspired from the timing that they have effectively served in the Israeli jails. In this context, the detainees released before the implementation of Oslo Accord are more likely to give a high credit for the armed struggle and the resistance because they are the effective cause behind their release before they terminate their detention. In similar mood, the detainees released in the recent resistance exchange deal are more likely to show the same spirit. On the other hand, the detainees

released throughout political bargains after the implementation of Oslo Accord are more committed to the common narrative of the Palestinian Authority. It sounds obvious that the nature of the national jargon towards the occupation has influenced the orientation of many detainees towards the termination of their suffering. Thus, it is convenient and reasonable to conclude that the personal characteristic of actual duration of detention is effective in the fields.

Table (6.15.): ANOVA Test of the Fields and their P-values for Actual Duration of Detention

No.	Field	Means			Test Value	Sig.
		3– Less Than 10	10 – Less Than 15	15 & More		
1.	Utilizing political advertising strategy	4.75	5.19	3.84	4.744	0.010*
2.	Organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees issue	4.09	4.64	3.25	3.840	0.024*
3.	Employing public relations and political networking strategy	4.46	5.01	3.31	6.081	0.003*
4.	Mobilizing of interest/pressure groups and forming alliances	4.27	4.83	3.11	5.647	0.004*
	All Paragraphs	4.37	4.89	3.36	5.560	0.005*

* The mean difference is significant a 0.05 level

☒ **There are statistically significant differences in the evaluation of the effectiveness of promotion strategies used by the PNA in directing the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question ascribed to the date of detention at a level of statistical significance (α≤ 0.05).**

☒ Table (6.16.) shows that the P-value (Sig.) is greater than the level of significance α = 0.05 for each field. Then there is an insignificant difference among the respondents toward each field ascribed to date of detention. We conclude that the personal characteristic of date of detention has no effect on each field.

By observing the personal characteristic of date of detention, we find out that it is not effective in the variant fields. Although the Palestinian Territories had witnessed new transformations after the arrival of the Palestinian Authority, the Israeli arbitrary procedures did not change. Even during the days of the honeymoon between Israel and the Palestinian Authority, many assassinations and arrests were committed against the Palestinian resistance personals. To put it in this assumption, the detainees jailed during the second intifada and after the second intifada are detained within the context of an armed struggle and resistance confrontations. Therefore, they are more likely dissatisfied with the behavior of the authority because it did not shield them and provide them with the adequate

protection since many of them were arrested in areas controlled by the Palestinian personals. On the other hand, the detainees arrested after the implementation of Oslo Accord would feel that they have been deceived and caught in a sudden by the false mantra of the permanent peace. Accordingly, they will gear their wrath against the authority which appears incompetent in front of the Israeli arrogance. As one would say, "we go to prison in war, but how we would go to prison in peace!" Thus, it is deemed persuasive to observe relatively common reflections concerning the date of detention.

Table (6.16.): ANOVA Test of the Fields and their P-values for Date of Detention

No.	Field	Means				Test Value	Sig.
		Before the First Intifada	During the First Intifada	PNA Arrival Time	During the Second Intifada & After		
1.	Utilizing political advertising strategy	4.81	4.71	4.53	4.31	0.430	0.732
2.	Organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees issue	3.77	4.29	4.01	3.60	0.915	0.435
3.	Employing public relations and political networking strategy	4.14	4.49	4.30	4.03	0.394	0.758
4.	Mobilizing of interest/pressure groups and forming alliances	3.90	4.29	4.31	3.76	0.528	0.664
	All Paragraphs	4.12	4.42	4.27	3.90	0.527	0.664

⌧ **There are statistically significant differences in the evaluation of the effectiveness of promotion strategies used by the PNA in directing the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question ascribed to times of detention at a level of statistical significance (α ≤0.05).**

⌧ Table (6.17) shows that the P-value (Sig.) is greater than the level of significance α = 0.05 for each field. Then there is an insignificant difference among the respondents toward each field ascribed to times of detention. We conclude that the personal characteristic of times of detention has no effect on each field.

Although the detainees have been subject to detention for one time, two times, three times and more, it sounds that, this personal characteristic does not have an effect among the respondents. Immediately, we can attribute this estimation to the apparent and notable weakness of the Palestinian Authority concerning the promotion and the promulgation of the detainees issue. Even though the Fatah party is the dominator and the top voice in the Palestinian Authority, we cannot dismiss this poor performance and the inability of the authority to accomplish the task in the proper mode. Although the detainees struggle have witnessed some political as well as resistance exchange deals, we do not notice a shocking

and radical transformation that could lead to a break-even point between the Israeli aggression and the Palestinian promotion policy.

Table (6.17.): ANOVA Test of the Fields and their P-values for Times of Detention

No.	Field	Means			Test Value	Sig.
		One	Two	Three & More		
1.	Utilizing political advertising strategy	4.76	4.65	4.30	0.707	0.495
2.	Organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees issue	4.25	3.96	3.59	1.116	0.330
3.	Employing public relations and political networking strategy	4.51	4.20	3.99	0.735	0.481
4.	Mobilizing of interest/pressure groups and forming alliances	4.36	3.95	3.79	0.828	0.439
	All Paragraphs	4.45	4.15	3.91	0.887	0.414

☒ **There are statistically significant differences in the evaluation of the effectiveness of promotion strategies used by the PNA in directing the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question ascribed to cause of release at a level of statistical significance ($\alpha \leq 0.05$).**

☒ Table (6.18.) shows that the P-value (Sig.) is smaller than the level of significance $\alpha = 0.05$ for each field. Then there is a significant difference among the respondents toward each field ascribed to cause of release. We conclude that the personal characteristic of cause of release has an effect on each field.

☒ For all fields, the mean of the category "political exchange deal (Oslo)" respondents has the highest percentage among other cause of release categories. Then we conclude that the category "political exchange deal (Oslo)" respondents agree with these fields much more than other cause of release categories.

If we contemplate the cause of release, we discover that the detainees released due to political exchange deals (Oslo) agree more than the detainees released owing to the termination of detention or resistance swapping. This variation can be attributed to the fact that the vast majority of the detainees of the political exchange deal are affiliated to the dominant Fatah Party which is leading the Palestinian political arena. Certainly, they have a sense of gratitude to the authority which succeeded to terminate their suffering in the Israeli jails. Our judgment also has to do with the general track of the Palestinian Authority after the implementation of Oslo Accord. The political exchange deals and the political talks are becoming the sole and only propellers to regain the Palestinian rights. The classical armed struggle and the military confrontation are no longer viable after the establishment of the Palestinian Authority. In contrast, we find out the detainees released after a resistance swapping are showing the lowest agreement. Absolutely, they regard that the track of the

resistance and the direct engagement with the Israeli occupation is the sole and only mechanism to clear up the jails. Significantly, too, they observe that the political exchange deals have not yet succeed to release the detainees who were labeled (blood-handed) by Israel while the resistance swapping has. Within these paradoxical perspectives, we discover that the detainees released after they terminate their detention are caught in-between. They hold the assumption that neither the political deals nor the resistance swapping has drawn an end for their suffering so far.

Table (6.18.): ANOVA Test of the Fields and their P-values for Cause of Release

No.	Field	Means			Test Value	Sig.
		Termination of Detention Period	Political Bargain (Oslo)	Resistance Exchange Deal		
1.	Utilizing political advertising strategy	4.92	5.53	3.69	10.642	0.000*
2.	Organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees issue	4.44	4.85	2.93	11.089	0.000*
3.	Employing public relations and political networking strategy	4.71	5.12	3.26	9.835	0.000*
4.	Mobilizing of interest/pressure groups and forming alliances	4.67	4.83	2.91	11.668	0.000*
	All Paragraphs	4.67	5.06	3.17	12.078	0.000*

* The mean difference is significant a 0.05 level

Chapter Seven
Conclusion and Recommendations

7.1. Introduction

7.2. Conclusion

7.3. Recommendations

7.4. Challenges and Milestones

7.5. Proposed Prospective Studies

7.1. Introduction

This chapter lists the conclusions, results of this research, some recommendations based on these results, and suggestions for future researches in order to improve the promotional strategies used by the Palestinian authority PNA to promulgate the detainees' narratives and alleviate their suffering in the Israeli jails.

7.2. Conclusion

The objective of this research is to investigate the effectiveness of the promotion strategies adopted by the Palestinian Authority to draw the world's attention to the detainees' ordeal. It also aspires to develop counter Israeli-promotion strategies that could be adequate to attract large audience in the Western markets. In this sense, it is deemed decently worthy to detect the areas of strength and weakness in the Palestinian promotion performance in relation to reinforcing the presence of a parallel struggle supportive to the classical armed struggle. Our concern is mainly directed towards generating genuine and unconventional marketing strategies that could be used by the diverse Palestinian bureaucratic institutions to thrust ahead the detainees jargon. The overall conclusion that could be drawn out of this research is that there is no effective rule of the promotion strategies used by the PNA in directing the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question. Hence, it is reasoned expedient to brief bellow the principle results of this research:

1. The results of this research have shown that there is no effective rule of promotion strategies in association to 'utilizing political advertising strategy' on the PNA direction of the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question. This result can be interpreted in view of the following facts: initially, the detainees indicate that the PNA suffers a notable shrinkage in having a considerable promotional advertising strategy sufficient to encounter the Israeli propaganda that have been streaming worldwide. Neither are the promotional and contrasting advertising strategies presentable nor the negative ones functional in the Palestinian political arena. Although the Palestinian satellites channels are received with little agreement among the respondents, still they assert that these TV advertising should be improved by producing films, series, shots, clips, and promos that narrate the detainees ordeal. Equally, the results show that radio advertising is not functioning in a proper mode in promoting the detainees issue at the domestic level. The respondents unfold their disregard concerning the local newspapers advertising as well as the PNA stamina to make parallel penetration for the Arab and the Islamic newspapers stationed in the West. The research also reveals that the internet and the virtual sphere are not handled sufficiently in a way that could stimulate the international audience rapidly and smoothly.

2. The results have unveiled that there is no effective rule of promotion strategies concerning 'organizing political campaign strategy' on the PNA direction of the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question. This finding can be attributed to

some areas of pitfalls in the Palestinian bureaucratic body. To commence with, the study reveals that the PNA does not have a campaign strategy to drive ahead the detainees discourse throughout clear objectives, plans, programs and policies. Moreover, the respondents outline that the PNA does not have a transitional and strategic vision concerning the detainees, or at the best scenarios, these two stages are equivocal. Significantly, too, the research points out that the PNA shows relatively seasonal rather than strategic campaigning, which appears in definitive instances and occasions. The detainees also state that the PNA is not paying enough attention to the international public opinion to scandalize the occupation and reveals its aggression against them. In more progressive perspective, the research shows that the PNA is not training the cadres, building experiences and developing skills reasonably in order to launch sophisticated campaigns sustainable to the detainees' narrative. The respondents also denote that the Palestinian government institutions act in absence of a comprehensive database and the relevant information that are judged counterproductive to the Palestinian decision makers. Outdoor campaigning is essential and vital to approach the international audience. However, the Palestinian campaigning paradigm is more domestic centered rather than internationally oriented within the Palestinian geopolitical sphere and hardly could stimulate the international sentiments.

3. The results have unfolded that there is no effective rule of promotion strategies in attachment with 'employing public relations and political networking strategy' on the PNA direction of the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question. This result should be dealt with in reference to some cons that the Palestinian public relations structure is passing through after two decades of the establishment of the PNA. Initially, the research shows that the Palestinian public relations strategy is caught in the trap of a relative impotence and incapacity to catch up with the Israeli counterpart. In addition, the detainees reflect their dissatisfaction concerning the mechanisms and the techniques that have been followed by the Palestinian senior politicians to promote their long-lasting tribulation. They feel that the international public sphere is not exposed to a sufficient and promising public relation waves that could act functionally and productively to their cause. The research outlines some progressive measures such as: holding press conferences, issuing reports and making press releases to zoom the world's attention on the detainees issue in light of apparent and undisputed information including databases, testimonies and official documents. The research finds that the PNA is not paying an ample regard to hold conferences, organize seminars and make visits to the influential countries and the key players in the international milieu. The detainees indicate also that the Palestinian performance in association with recruiting the world celebrities and creating political fans is underweight. The respondents point out that neither the diplomatic missions nor the representation offices or the embassies

are functional in making major breakthroughs to penetrate the Western market and influence their political culture in favor of the detainees cause.

4. The results have revealed that there is no effective rule of promotion strategies in relevance to 'Mobilizing interest/pressure groups and forming alliances' on the PNA direction of the Palestinian politics regarding the detainees question. This outcome is essentially in match with the principal remarks and the notable question marks that are associated with the lobbying philosophy and the magnetic power used to seduce loyalists and sympathists at the international arena. In fact, the research denotes that there is no apparent and precise lobbying strategy designed by the PNA to mount intense pressure on the key-acting institutions at the international sphere. It sounds reasonable if we trace the lobbying behavior of the Palestinians in comparison with the Israeli lobbying which enjoys heavy appearance in the West. The detainees indicate also that the PNA is not lobbying on the three political layers including the executive, the legislative and the judicial governments of the influential countries in the West to improve the detainees image and build some realizations. The respondents also indicate that the PNA is not serious to prosecute the Israeli criminals by joining the International Criminal Court (ICC) definitely after the barbaric war against the Gaza strip in 2014. They probably feel that the international law is not invested in an adequate mechanism to corner the occupation and plant the seeds for intensive international political boycott. The research hints to the critical notion that the explicit Palestinian territorial alliance with some Arab countries at minimum should go in consistency with the national liberation struggle rather than involving in definitive regional conflicts. The research unfolds farther that a great deal of the lobbying mechanics are seemingly dropped down from the Palestinians agenda. In this respect, the PNA does not have intimate ties with the influential institutions, liaisons, and unions and direct them towards supporting the detainees ordeal. The respondents also think that the fact-finding commission are called in rare instances and even their reports are not exploited professionally and in accordance with the top Palestinian interest. Demonstrations, settings and protests are not relatively encouraged and sustained from the official Palestinian bodies in order to gain the desired momentum. The research insights that the Palestinian authority is somehow hesitant to penetrate the Western environment throughout establishing relationship with some interest groups and political parties officials by the assistance of the Arab and the Muslim lobby who are lately getting on rise.

5. **The results of personal characteristics:**

- Place of birth: results have shown that there is a significant difference among the respondents toward each field (utilizing political advertising strategy, organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees' issue, employing public

184

relations and political networking strategy and Mobilizing interest/pressure groups and forming alliances). We conclude that the personal characteristic of place of birth has an effect on each field.

- Age: concerning the personal characteristic of age, results have shown that there is an insignificant difference among the respondents toward each field (utilizing political advertising strategy, organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees' issue, employing public relations and political networking strategy and Mobilizing interest/pressure groups and forming alliances). We conclude that the personal characteristic of age has no effect on each field.

- Health status: by viewing the personal characteristic of health status, results have shown that there is a significant difference among the respondents toward two fields (utilizing political advertising strategy and organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees' issue) We conclude that the personal characteristic of health status has just an effect on these two fields. On the other hand, in reference to the other fields (employing public relations and political networking strategy and Mobilizing interest/pressure groups and forming alliances), there is an insignificant difference among the respondents toward these fields ascribed to health status. We conclude that the personal characteristic of health status has no effect on the other fields.

- Education level: on the subject of the personal characteristic of education level, results have shown that there is an insignificant difference among the respondents toward each field (utilizing political advertising strategy, organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees' issue, employing public relations and political networking strategy and Mobilizing interest/pressure groups and forming alliances). We conclude that the personal characteristic of education level has no effect on each field.

- Political affiliation: by detecting the personal characteristic of political affiliation, results have shown that there is a significant difference among the respondents toward each field (utilizing political advertising strategy, organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees' issue, employing public relations and political networking strategy and Mobilizing interest/pressure groups and forming alliances). We conclude that the personal characteristic of political affiliation has an effect on each field.

- Sentence duration: with respect to the personal characteristic of sentence duration, the fields (employing public relations and political networking strategy and Mobilizing interest/pressure groups and forming alliances), there is a significant

difference among the respondents toward these fields. We conclude that the personal characteristic of sentence duration has an effect on these two fields. With respect to (utilizing political advertising strategy and organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees issue), there is an insignificant difference among the respondents toward these fields ascribed to sentence duration. We conclude that the personal characteristic of sentence duration has no effect on the other fields.

- Actual duration of detention: in reference to the personal characteristic of actual duration of detention, results have shown that there is a significant difference among the respondents toward each field (utilizing political advertising strategy, organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees' issue, employing public relations and political networking strategy and Mobilizing interest/pressure groups and forming alliances). We conclude that the personal characteristic of actual duration of detention has an effect on each field.

- Date of detention: concerning the personal characteristic of date of detention, results have shown that there is an insignificant difference among the respondents toward each field (utilizing political advertising strategy, organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees' issue, employing public relations and political networking strategy and Mobilizing interest/pressure groups and forming alliances). We conclude that the personal characteristic of time of detention has no effect on each field.

- Times of detention: by contemplating the personal characteristic of times of detention, results have shown that there is an insignificant difference among the respondents toward each field (utilizing political advertising strategy, organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees' issue, employing public relations and political networking strategy and Mobilizing interest/pressure groups and forming alliances). We conclude that the personal characteristic of times of detention has no effect on each field.

- Cause of release: by wondering the personal characteristic of cause of release, results have shown that there is a significant difference among the respondents toward each field (utilizing political advertising strategy, organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees' issue, employing public relations and political networking strategy and Mobilizing interest/pressure groups and forming alliances). We conclude that the personal characteristic of cause of release has an effect on each field.

7.3. Recommendations

In view of the illustrated discussion, the conclusive results and the personal political experience in this area of inquiry, it sounds inevitable to outline some recommendations that could be advantageous to the Palestinian decision makers. Although the researcher recommendations are indispensable for the PNA actors, still the political leaders, the political activists, the research centers, the academic institutions and other relevant parties will taste the cream of the crops.

- The researcher recommends that the PNA should formulate a national political promotion strategy to market the detainees suffering locally, territorially and internationally. The promotion strategy should pay high regard to political advertising, campaigning, public relations and lobbying throughout the diverse political ministries and public institutions and not confined with the classical domains of the Commission of Detainees and X-Detainees Affairs.

- The Palestinian Authority should construct an apparent transitional and strategic vision in regard to the detainees matter that strikes a balance between the urgent necessity of the detainees and the long-lasting objective of their release. We also encourage the authority to make constant revision for its vision to detect any potential deviation.

- The Palestinian Authority should give high credit to the public opinion and invest its territorial and international ties and influence to create political public sphere sympathetic with the detainees cause. We suggest that diverse political promotion mechanisms should be functional in order to reshape sufficient political realization receptive to the detainees jargon. We believe that the diverse ministries, embassies and the presidential body as well as the political parties are required to engage in the process rather than laying the burden over the shoulder of a definitive institution or separate political party.

- The Palestinian Authority is recommended to orchestrate noticeable breakthroughs by penetrating the international judicial body. In this respect, the researcher suggests that the authority should be more serious to join the International Criminal Court (ICC) to prosecute the Israeli war criminals as well as the notorious human rights masterminds who inflected enormous torture against the Palestinian detainees in the Israeli jails. The researcher thinks that the authority should also takes progressive trend by suing the Israeli officials in some domestic judicial systems in Europe and other parts of the world.

- The researcher would like to point out that the authority should construct its strategies, plans, tactics and vision in light of comprehensive database and precise information

about the detainees in order to thrive ahead the right decisions. Consequently, the researcher proposes that the authority should encourage research centers, universities, and academicians and so like to give high concern to the statistical data and the academic information in association with the detainees' narrative.

- The research proposes that the PNA should reconsider its decision of cancelling the Ministry of Detainees and turning it into public commission. The researcher thinks that this political transformation is counterproductive to the legal, political and representational positioning of the detainees issue and may downsize the amount of services provided to them. The research recommends that the promotion stamina would be more efficient with the presence of sovereign ministry rather than a public commission, which usually receives little attention.

- In light of the given results, the Palestinian authority is recommended to train cadres and upgrade experienced teams capable of executing a professional promotion campaigns to advocate the detainees in the Israeli jails. The researcher thinks that it may be worthy to conduct professional training courses for some public cadres in the relevant ministries in order to acquire the skills, tactics and the tools necessary to approach the international public. The research also suggests that the authority should also recruit international experts and talents salient in this field to transfer their experiences to the Palestinian national team accountable for promulgating the detainees discourse.

- The researcher also advises the Palestinian Authority to orchestrate an adequate presentation of the detainees issue in the Palestinian national learning curriculum to familiarize the students with their struggle. The researcher suggests that we should engage the detainees' narrative in various disciplines including the national education, Arabic language and even history in a more systematic and deliberate mode in terms of coverage and intensity. The researcher thinks that English language curriculum should involve subjects in association to the detainees matter. Moreover, the authority should direct the local universities to schedule separate university requirements that tackle the detainees struggle.

- The researcher proposes that the PNA should engage the political parties in a more dynamic mode in an attempt to upgrade the Palestinian public performance concerning the detainees' case. On equal footing, the whole political parties either the opposing or ruling parties should find a common ground to vitalize the detainees discourse at the international environment. The research also suggests that dual representation may be deemed disadvantageous to the Palestinian question and the detainees case in definite.

- Within the horizon of the conclusive outcomes, the researcher believes that the PNA should communicate with the international health institutions to conduct constant checking for the Israeli jails to observe in close the health status of the Palestinian

detainees. Accordingly, the authority should contact the international health organizations to monitor the Israeli violation against the detainees and improve the level of healthcare to avert serious ailments in the future.

- According to the mentioned discussion, the PNA should pay more attention to the political outdoor promotion to zoom on the detainees question and scandalize the Israeli arbitrary procedures that go in disparity with the international laws, agreements and conventions. In this sense, the researcher advises the Palestinian decision makers to activate the rule of the embassies, the representation offices and the diplomatic missions to market the detainees cause in the Western milieu. They should also convene with Western politicians, activists, opinion leaders and notable media icons to create salient discourse supportive to the detainees' ordeal.

- Following the conclusive remarks in reference to the performance of the PNA to promote the detainees tribulation, the researcher suggests that the PNA should invest the diverse media promotion mechanics to market the detainees jargon. Therefore, it is evident to recommend the authority to make fruitful usage for these mechanics including television, radio, newspapers, magazines, internet, social media and so forth. Significantly, too, they are advised to penetrate the Arab and Muslim mass media to stimulate the international sentiments in favor of our question.

7.4. Challenges and Milestones

Across the researching journey, we have encountered some headaches and hindrances due to the intersectional nature of the study, the deficiency of the literature review and the methodology used by the researcher. To commence with, the political promotion strategies that are investigated are in fact hybrid and interdisciplinary which integrate and incorporate many subjects including politics, marketing, communication, public affairs, public policy, public administration and the like. Accordingly, it is not an easy task to strike an apparent dividing line among these blared disciplines. As a consequence, the researcher relied on intensive reading and the mentor experience in order to fragment some overlapped items. Moreover, the promotion strategies are constructed around political issue in association with the detainees' cause which sounds more demanding and challenging than treating business related subjects.

In view of these situations, the researcher resorts to make some adaptations and accommodations to fill the gap that may arise from the conflicting nature of business and politics. Because the nature of political promotion and political marketing is so intricate and contentious, the vast majority of the studies are qualitative and relying on interviews to find out the truth. However, the researcher used the quantitative and analytical methodology, which sounds relatively unprecedented or rare at minimum.

Another barricade is that the official ministries and relevant institutions do not have comprehensive database for the detainees released from the Israeli jails. For that reason, the researcher established a hot line with many institutions and activists in order to catch the

detainees and fill the questionnaire. It is vital to assert here that the researchers, academicians and the institutions do not trace the detainees issue in its relationship with the promotion strategies including advertising, campaigns, public relations, lobbying and so on. Besides, the sweeping majority of the literature tries to document the detainees experience in a psychological, social and historical context.

Another millstone is that some X-detainees of the dominant Fatah Party show their rejection to fill the questionnaire because they are caught in the trap of prejudgment that the research seeks to criticize the PNA greater than criminalizing the Israeli occupation. In spite of these apparent challenges and adventurous journey towards establishing the solid truth, the researcher is equipped with patience, determination and willingness to accomplish the task in the proper mode.

7.5. Proposed Prospective Studies

- The rule of political advertising in creating public opinion supportive to the international boycott against the Israeli occupation.

- The impact of the Palestinian lobbying in constructing public sphere to prosecute the Israeli occupation at the International Criminal Court (ICC).

- Evaluation of the effectiveness of the Palestinian campaigning in building international realization against the Israeli settlements expansion in the West Bank.

- The rule of the Palestinian ministries in developing public relations strategy sustainable to the detainees jargon: case study on the ministry of foreign affairs.

- The relationship between the Palestinian lobbying agenda and the performance of the embassies in the West: case study on the Palestinian embassy in France.

- The impact of Al-Aqsa satellite channel advertising in creating political environment sympathetic to the Palestinian ordeal: case study on the Palestinian Israeli 2014 war.

- How do national liberation movements market their cause? Case study on the Palestinian struggle from 1970 to 1990.

- The rule of political marketing in the Palestinian general election in 2006: comparative study between Hamas and Fatah parties.

- The rule of the political advertising strategy in promoting the 2008 war against Gaza: comparative study between the Palestinian and the Israeli narrative.

- Evaluation of the effectiveness of the political communication strategies used by the Palestinian authority to scandalize Gaza siege from 2007 to 2015.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Arabic Questionnaire

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الجامعة الإسلامية – غزة

عمادة الدراسات العليا

ماجستير إدارة الأعمال

عزيزي / الأسير المحرر من سجون الاحتلال، تحية طيبة وبعد؛

أنا الموقع أدناه: معاذ محمد سلمان الحاج أحمد، طالب دراسات عليا MBA في قسم إدارة الأعمال، كلية التجارة في الجامعة الإسلامية. وفق متطلبات الحصول على درجة الماجستير، يقوم الطالب بإجراء بحث بعنوان **(تقييم الاستراتيجيات الترويجية المستخدمة في توجيه السياسات الفلسطينية: دراسة حالة لديناميكية السلطة الفلسطينية في معالجة قضية الأسرى)**". يأخذ الطالب من قضية الأسرى نموذجا لدراسة الحالة كونها الأكثر حيوية وإلحاحا في الآونة الأخيرة.

يرمي البحث إلى تقييم مدى فعالية الاستراتيجيات التي تتبعها السلطة الوطنية الفلسطينية في التعاطي مع هذه القضية ويُبرز دورها في مواجهة سياسات الاحتلال الإسرائيلي، كما يسعى البحث أيضا إلى تطوير بعض الاستراتيجيات المناهضة للاحتلال لفضحه في الفضاء الدولي. يكشف البحث النقاب عن نقاط القوة في الاستراتيجيات الفلسطينية المتبعة من أجل تقويتها ومعرفة خانات الضعف والإخفاق بُغية معالجتها والتصدي لها. وفي النهاية، يقدم الباحث مجموعة من التوصيات المقترحة لإعادة الحيوية والزخم لهذه القضية الهامة لتفعيلها بطريقة ناجعة وناجزة. تعاونكم في انجاز هذا البحث سيعود بالفائدة على الأسرى خلف القضبان، وكذلك على صناع القرار ومراكز الأبحاث والعاملين في هذا الميدان الوطني العظيم.

عزيزي الأسير المحرر/ نلفت عنايتك الكريمة إلى أنه تم اختيارك لتعبئة هذه الاستبانة لموافاتك لشروط العينة. نود إعلامك أيضا بأن البحث ممول ذاتيا ولا توجد قنوات تمويل خارجية خاصة بالبحث. رغم أنني أرحب بمشاركتك، إلا انه لك كامل الحق في عدم المشاركة أو الانسحاب في أي وقت تريد. لا توجد إجابات صحيحة أو إجابات خاطئة، أجب وفق ما تشعر به. جزيل الشكر لتخصيص 20 دقيقة من وقتك للإجابة عن الأسئلة. المعلومات ستبقى سرية وسيتم استخدامها فقط لأغراض البحث العلمي ولن تقدم لأي جهة رسمية أو غير رسمية. سيتم التعاطي مع البيانات والمعلومات على شكل مجموعات ولن يشار لأي أحد باسمه أو لقبه أو مسماه الوظيفي أو موقعه الاجتماعي.

شكراً لحسن تعاونكم،،،

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القسم الأول:

المعلومات الشخصية:

الرجاء وضع علامة (√) أمام الإجابة التي تنطبق عليك:

1. مكان الميلاد: ☐ غزة ☐ الضفة الغربية ☐ أراضي عام 1948 ☐ الشتات

2. العمر: ☐ أقل من 30 عام ☐ 30-أقل من 40 ☐ 40-أقل من 50 ☐ 50 فأكثر

3. الحالة الاجتماعية: ☐ أعزب ☐ متزوج ☐ أرمل ☐ مطلق

4. الحالة الصحية: ☐ معافى ☐ مريض ☐ ذوي إعاقة

5. المستوى التعليمي: ☐ ما قبل الثانوية العامة ☐ ثانوية عامة ☐ دبلوم متوسط ☐ بكالوريوس ☐ دراسات عليا

6. طبيعة العمل الحالي: ☐ موظف حكومي ☐ موظف مؤسسة غير حكومية NGOs ☐ أعمال حرة
☐ أعمال تطوعية ☐ عاطل عن العمل

7. الانتماء السياسي: ☐ حماس ☐ فتح ☐ الجهاد الإسلامي ☐ الجبهة الشعبية ☐ أخرى

8. مدة الحكم : ☐ 3-أقل من 10 أعوام ☐ 10-أقل من 15 ☐ 15-أقل من 25 ☐ أكثر من 25 عام

9. مدة الاعتقال الفعلي: ☐ 3-أقل من 10 أعوام ☐ 10-أقل من 15 ☐ 15-أقل من 25 ☐ أكثر من 25 عام

10. زمن الاعتقال: ☐ قبل الانتفاضة الأولى ☐ خلال الانتفاضة الأولى ☐ فترة قدوم السلطة
☐ خلال الانتفاضة الثانية ☐ بعد الانتفاضة الثانية

11. عدد مرات الاعتقال: ☐ مرة واحدة ☐ اثنتان ☐ ثلاث مرات ☐ أكثر من ذلك

12. سبب الخروج من الأسر: ☐ انقضاء مدة الإعتقال ☐ تفاهمات سياسية (أوسلو) ☐ صفقة تبادل ☐ إضراب عن الطعام

205

القسم الثاني:

محاور الدراسة:

من (1) إلى (10)

الرجاء وضع الرقم المناسب (1-10) أمام كل عبارة:

(حيث1 أصغر قيمة و10أكبرقيمة)

م	العبارة	
	المحور الأول: استراتيجية تسخير الدعاية السياسية	
1	تتبنى السلطة استراتيجية الترويج الدعائي لقضية الأسرى بوصفها إحدى الأولويات النضالية للمشروع الوطني الفلسطيني.	
2	تتبنى السلطة استراتيجية (التباين)، والتي يظهر من خلالها السلوك الإسرائيلي اللاإنساني وغير القانوني مقارنة بالقانون الدولي.	
3	تعمد السلطة إلى استخدام الاستراتيجية الدعائية السلبية بهدف انتقاد الاحتلال وكشف سياساته المهينة بحق الأسرى.	
4	تستخدم السلطة الوطنية الفلسطينية الإذاعات لإيصال صوت الأسرى إلى العالم الخارجي.	
5	تشجع السلطة إطلاق إذاعات محلية تتبنى قضية الأسرى وتتحدث عن معاناتهم.	
6	يعتبر التلفاز من الوسائل المستخدمة في رسم صورة معاناة الأسرى في السجون الإسرائيلية.	
7	تقوم السلطة بتوجيه القنوات الفضائية الفلسطينية المختلفة لعرض البرامج والحوارات الداعمة لقضية الأسرى من أجل التأثير على المجتمع الدولي.	
8	تخصص القنوات الفضائية الفلسطينية نشرة إخبارية للأسرى في سجون الاحتلال لمواكبة الظروف اليومية التي يعيشها الأسرى داخل السجون.	
9	تقوم القنوات الفضائية الفلسطينية بعرض بعض المشاهد واللقطات اللافتة من أجل إبراز قضية الأسرى وإبقائها حاضرة في أذهان الجميع.	
10	تشجع السلطة إنتاج الأفلام الوثائقية والمسلسلات والأفلام التسجيلية لتسليط الضوء على معاناة الأسرى خاصة النساء والأطفال وكبار السن.	
11	تقوم السلطة بتوجيه الصحف اليومية والأسبوعية والفصلية لتغطية قضية الأسرى بشكل مناسب وتزويد الرأي العام بآخر المستجدات.	
12	تخصص الصحف الفلسطينية مساحة مناسبة لإفراد قضية الأسرى ومطالبهم العادلة بالعرض والنقاش لجذب اهتمام القارئ والمتابع الخارجي.	
13	تستثمر السلطة الصحف والمجلات العربية والإسلامية الموجودة في الغرب من أجل الدعاية لقضية الأسرى والوصول إلى ذهنية المواطن الغربي.	

	العبارة	م
تحفز السلطة الفلسطينية مصممي الكاريكاتير السياسي على إبراز قضية الأسرى من خلال رسومات فنية وإبداعية هادفة.		14
تستفيد السلطة وبشكل متزايد من الانترنت ووسائل التواصل الاجتماعي في النشر والدعاية لقضية الأسرى والمطالبة بحريتهم.		15
تهتم السلطة بالدعاية الخارجية في المجال الإقليمي والدولي لتذكير العالم بحقوق الأسرى الفلسطينيين.		16
المحور الثاني: استراتيجية تنظيم الحملات السياسية الداعمة لقضية الأسرى		
العبارة		**م**
تطلق السلطة الوطنية حملات سياسية بشكل منظم ومدروس للتأثير على الرأي العام لتوجيهه نحو قضية الأسرى.		1
تسير السلطة وفق استراتيجية واضحة وممنهجة في حملاتها السياسية الداعمة لقضية الأسرى داخل السجون الإسرائيلية.		2
تهتم السلطة بالتخطيط المرحلي والاستراتيجي لقضية الأسرى من أجل إنهاء معاناتهم.		3
تتبع السلطة تكتيكات وأساليب متعددة في حملاتها السياسية الخارجية لتعزيز حضور قضية الأسرى في المجال الدولي.		4
تسير السلطة وفق أهداف واضحة ومخطط لها مسبقا في حملاتها السياسية وتستثمرها لصالح قضية الأسرى داخل السجون.		5
تعبر الحملات السياسية التي تقوم بها السلطة عن رؤيا مرحلية مدركة لواقع الأسرى الفلسطينيين ومطالبهم.		6
تسعى السلطة جاهدة إلى تجنيد الأموال اللازمة لدعم حملاتها السياسية للضغط على الاحتلال وإجباره على احترام حقوق الأسرى.		7
تستفيد السلطة من جهود العديد من الجهات الدولية في حملاتها السياسية وتكرسها لصالح قضية الأسرى.		8
تعمل السلطة على التنويع في حملاتها السياسية واستحداث أساليب مبتكرة لاطلاع العالم عن قرب على معاناة الأسرى.		9
تتبع السلطة طريقة الحملات السياسية الدائمة والمتواصلة وغير الموسمية فقط في التعاطي مع قضية الأسرى.		10
تولي السلطة الرأي العام أهمية كبيرة باعتباره المجال الحيوي الأمثل لصياغة حملات سياسية مساندة للأسرى.		11
تبني السلطة حملاتها السياسية على قاعدة شاملة من المعلومات والتغذية الراجعة لبناء فضاء معرفي متفهم لقضية الأسرى.		12
تقوم السلطة بتقييم حملاتها السياسية بشكل مستمر للوصول إلى أفضل السبل في معالجة قضية الأسرى في سجون الاحتلال.		13
تعمل السلطة على تدريب الكوادر وبناء الخبرات السياسية القادرة على القيام بحملات تدافع عن حقوق الأسرى داخل سجون الاحتلال.		14

	العبارة	م
	تنتهج السلطة طريقة الحملات السياسية غير المباشرة لتجنيد المتعاطفين والأصدقاء لإقناع أكبر قدر ممكن من الجمهور الخارجي.	15
	تشجع السلطة الفلسطينية الأحزاب السياسية على إطلاق حملات لدعم قضية الأسرى.	16
	تفرد السلطة مساحات مناسبة في المنهاج التعليمي الفلسطيني لتعريف الطالب بقضية الأسرى ونضالهم خلف القضبان.	17
	تسخر السلطة في حملاتها (الرمزية السياسية) من: إشارات وعبارات ورسومات وأشكال دالة على معاناة الأسرى لجذب اهتمام المحيط الدولي.	18
	تستثمر السلطة المحافل الرياضية الكبرى مثل: مباريات كأس العالم والدورات الأولمبية والأنشطة الرياضية المختلفة لتوجيه حملاتها السياسية الداعمة لقضية الأسرى.	19

المحور الثالث: إستراتيجية توظيف العلاقات العامة والتشبيك السياسي		
	العبارة	م
	تولي السلطة الفلسطينية العلاقات العامة عناية خاصة لدعم وتعزيز حضور قضية الأسرى في الميدان الدولي.	1
	تعقد السلطة مؤتمرات صحفية دورية لتزويد المجتمع الدولي بآخر المستجدات والتطورات التي تتناول قضية الأسرى.	2
	تصدر السلطة بيانات صحفية دورية لوصف أحوال الأسرى في السجون الإسرائيلية.	3
	تشجع السلطة كتابة المقالات الصحفية التي تلقي الضوء على محنة الاعتقال القاسية التي يتعرض لها الأسرى.	4
	تجري السلطة بعض الزيارات الهامة لبعض العواصم الدولية المؤثرة لشرح معاناة الأسرى وانتهاكات الاحتلال بحقهم خاصة المرضى داخل الأسر.	5
	تحرص السلطة على المشاركة في المؤتمرات الدولية من أجل عرض قضية الأسرى والتسويق لها.	6
	تنظم السلطة الندوات المتخصصة للوصول إلى الاستراتيجيات الناجعة واستثمار الخبرات من أجل دعم صمود الأسرى.	7
	تحرص السلطة على إصدار التقارير الدورية التي تعنى بشؤون وأحوال الأسرى وتسلط الضوء على خروقات الاحتلال بحقهم.	8
	تتمتع السلطة بعلاقة وطيدة مع مجموعة جيدة من المشاهير على مستوى العالم لتعزيز حضور قضية الأسرى والتفاعل معها دوليا.	9
	يوجد لدى السلطة الفلسطينية خطة علاقات عامة طارئة للتعامل مع الظروف المستجدة والمتغيرة للأسرى في السجون.	10
	تعمل السلطة على استقطاب الصحفيين والنشطاء السياسيين وأصحاب الرأي البارزين لتعريفهم عن قرب بمعاناة الأسرى في السجون الإسرائيلية.	11

	العبارة	م
	تحرص السلطة ومسؤوليها السياسيين على إجراء المقابلات التليفزيونية والصحفية لشرح قضية الأسرى أمام المجتمع الدولي.	12
	توظف السلطة السفارات والممثليات الدبلوماسية للتواصل مع الساسة والإعلاميين والنشطاء المجتمعيين لكشف أكاذيب الاحتلال وإظهار حقيقته أمام العالم.	13
	تحرص السلطة على تنظيم زيارات خاصة للأسرى وأسرهم في المناسبات المختلفة.	14

المحور الرابع: إستراتيجية تطويع جماعات الضغط والنفوذ وتشكيل التحالفات		
	العبارة	م
	تستفيد السلطة وبشكل لافت من العديد من طرق وسائل الضغط والتأثير لنشر قضية الأسرى وتعريف الجمهور الدولي بها.	1
	تمارس السلطة الضغط السياسي على حكومات الدول في المحيط الإقليمي والدولي من أجل انتزاع مواقف سياسية مؤيدة لقضية الأسرى.	2
	تمارس السلطة الضغوط على البرلمانات الفاعلة والمؤثرة في العالم وتستثمرها بهدف محاصرة الاحتلال سياسيا لتخفيف معاناة الأسرى.	3
	تستفيد السلطة من القانون الدولي والمحاكم الجنائية لمقاضاة مجرمي الاحتلال المسؤولين عن تعذيب وقتل الأسرى داخل السجون.	4
	تمارس السلطة التأثير والضغط على المواطن الغربي مباشرة لحشد أكبر طيف ممكن من المناصرين لقضية الأسرى.	5
	تقوم السلطة بتوجيه الرسائل الخطية إلى المسؤولين الدوليين لشرح ظروف الأسرى في السجون الإسرائيلية.	6
	تمارس السلطة الضغط والتأثير لصالح قضية الأسرى من خلال علاقاتها بمراكز الفكر والأبحاث والسياسة في الغرب.	7
	تسعى السلطة إلى تشكيل وبناء التحالفات الاستراتيجية الموازية لمضاعفة الضغوط على إسرائيل وتضييق الخناق عليها لوقف ممارساتها التعسفية بحق الأسرى.	8
	تدعم السلطة تنظيم المظاهرات والاحتجاجات في العواصم الأوروبية والغربية للمطالبة بحقوق الأسرى في السجون الإسرائيلية.	9
	تمارس السلطة الضغط على المنظمات الدولية والأممية الفاعلة والبارزة للتأثير في الجمهور والرأي العام العالمي لصالح قضية الأسرى.	10
	تحث السلطة لجان تقصي الحقائق الدولية للقيام بدورها من أجل الضغط على الاحتلال وفضح ممارساته غير الإنسانية بحق الأسرى الفلسطينيين.	11
	تتمتع السلطة بعلاقات وطيدة بالعديد من الاتحادات الفاعلة والتجمعات السياسية المؤثرة في العالم وتستثمرها لممارسة الضغوط على الاحتلال لصالح قضية الأسرى.	12

تسعى السلطة إلى مد جسور الثقة بالأحزاب السياسية البارزة في العالم وتبذل جهودا حثيثة لإقناعها بعدالة قضية الأسرى.	13	
تنسق السلطة مع مجموعات المصالح المناهضة للاحتلال الإسرائيلي من أجل الضغط والتأثير لصالح الأسرى وقضيتهم.	14	
تستثمر السلطة المؤسسات الدينية المختلفة لفضح سلوك الاحتلال التعسفي بحق الأسرى الفلسطينيين في السجون والذي يتناقض مع جميع الشرائع السماوية.	15	
تمارس السلطة الضغط السياسي على الاحتلال من خلال علاقاتها بقادة حركات التحرر الوطني البارزين الذين يتمتعون برصيد وافر من الاحترام والتقدير الدولي والخبرة السياسية النظيفة.	16	
تتمتع السلطة بعلاقات مميزة بالعديد من المنابر الإعلامية في الغرب من أجل ممارسة الضغوط لصالح قضية الأسرى.	17	
تستثمر السلطة اتحاد المحامين العرب والجهات الحقوقية الأخرى من أجل إعداد ملف متكامل بتجاوزات الاحتلال بحق الأسرى الفلسطينيين.	18	
تخاطب السلطة المؤسسات الصحية الدولية للقيام بدورها في توفير الرعاية الصحية المناسبة للأسرى الفلسطينيين داخل السجون.	19	

تم بحمد الله،،،

The Islamic University - Gaza

Faculty of Higher Studies

MBA

To your noble kindness:

The Palestinian X-detainees released from the Israeli jails

I am the undersigned: Moaz M. S. el-Haj Ahmed, a student at the MBA program at the Islamic university of Gaza IUG. As you presumably know, the student is entitled to make a research paper in partial fulfillment for the degree of master in human resources HR. The student is conducting a research titled: **evaluation of the promotion strategies used in directing the Palestinian politics: case study on the PNA dynamism for the detainees question.** The detainees issue is taken to be the case study in order to unfold their real ordeal to the world.

The research seeks to assess the effectiveness of the promotion strategies adopted by the Palestinian National Authority PNA to draw the world attention to the detainee's case. It also wishes to develop a counter Israeli-promotion strategy that could be adequate to attract large audience in the Western markets. Most notably, the research detects the areas of strength and weakness in the Palestinian political promotion performance as well as proposes the necessary recommendations that are fruitful to decision makers, party officials and political leaders.

Your contribution in the research will achieve a significant gain for the detainees issue, the PNA officials, research centers and concerned parties in wider perspective. You are chosen to fill a questionnaire since you are framed within the boundaries of the research population sample. The research is self-financed and does not have any external funding. Although I do welcome your participation in the research, it is your rightful decision to regret or withdraw at any time. Please, there is no true or false answer. Your response should match your feeling, persuasion and understanding.

Thank you for scheduling 20 minutes to fill the questionnaire. The answers are merely for researching purposes and will not be subject to misrepresentation or mishandling. The data will be dealt in group as well as the research will refrain from pointing definitely to an exact name, title, personality, or social position.

May Allah Clear Your Mind & Warm Your Heart

Section one:

Personal information:

Please tick (√) to the answer which is equivalent to you

1. Place of birth: ☐ Gaza ☐ West Bank ☐ 1948 Land ☐ Diaspora

2. Age: ☐ less than 30 ☐ 30 – less than 40 ☐ 40 – less than 50 ☐ 50 & more

3. Social status: ☐ married ☐ single ☐ widowed ☐ divorced

4. Health status: ☐ fit ☐ chronically ill ☐ with disability

5. Education level: ☐ pre-high school ☐ high school ☐ diploma ☐ bachelor
   ☐ higher studies

6. Current career: ☐ government employee ☐ NGO'S employee ☐ free work
   ☐ voluntary work ☐ jobless

7. Political affiliation: ☐ Hamas ☐ Fatah ☐ the Islamic jihad ☐ the Popular Front

8. Sentence duration: ☐ 3 – less than 10 ☐ 10 – less than 15 ☐ 15 – less than 25
   ☐ 25 & more

9. Actual duration of detention: ☐ 3 – less than 10 ☐ 10 – less than 15 ☐ 15 – less
   than 25 ☐ 25 & more

10. date of detention: ☐ before the first intifada ☐ during the first intifada ☐ PNA
    arrival time (1994-2000) ☐ during the second intifada (2000-2004) ☐ after the
    second intifada

11. Times of detention: ☐ one ☐ two ☐ three ☐ more

12. Cause of release: ☐ termination of imprisonment period ☐ political bargain
    (Oslo) ☐ resistance exchange deal ☐ hunger strike

Section two:

Study parts:

1 is the loWest estimate

While 10 is the highest one

Please, give the right estimate to each item bellow:

Part 1: utilizing political advertising strategy		
n	**Item**	
1	The Palestinian National Authority PNA adopts the promotional advertising strategy as one of the fundamental priorities in the Palestinian national struggle.	
2	The Palestinian Authority adopts the (contrasting strategy) which shows the illegal and the inhuman Israeli behavior in comparison with the International Law.	
3	The Palestinian Authority uses the negative advertising strategy to criticize the occupation and display its outrageous policy against the Palestinian detainees.	
4	The Palestinian Authority uses the broadcasting channels to make the detainees voice salient among the international public.	
5	The Palestinian Authority encourages launching local broadcasting channels that adopt the detainees issue and talk about their ordeal.	
6	Television is one of the primary means to portray the detainees suffering to the world community.	
7	The Palestinian Authority directs the variant Palestinian satellite channels to screen the programs and conversations that narrate the detainees case to influence the international community.	
8	The Palestinian satellite channels have a daily regular news bulletin that zooms on the latest developing conditions of the Palestinian detainees in the Israeli jails.	
9	The Palestinian satellite channels screen some shots and scenes to make the detainees issue presentable at the international arena.	
10	The Palestinian Authority encourages producing documentary films and series to spot the light on the detainees suffering namely children, women and aging people.	
11	The Palestinian Authority directs daily, quarterly and seasonal newspapers to cover the detainees issue adequately to insight the public opinion.	
12	The Palestinian newspapers set the right space to discuss the detainees just demands to attract the attention of the international readers and monitors.	
13	The Palestinian Authority invests the Arab and Islamic newspapers and magazines stationed in the West to advertise for the detainees issue and make decent penetration of the Western citizen intellect.	
14	The Palestinian Authority stimulates political carton designers to unfold the detainees suffering throughout creative and artistic drawings.	
15	The Palestinian Authority makes good benefits of the internet and the social media to advertise for the detainees issue and call for their rights.	
16	The Palestinian Authority pays a special concern to the territorial and international outdoor advertising to remind the world with the detainee's rights.	

Part 2: organizing political campaign strategy supportive to the detainees issue		
n	**Item**	
1	The Palestinian Authority launches systematic and fully-considered political campaigns to influence the international public opinion in favor of the detainees issue.	
2	The Palestinian Authority follows an apparent and systemized strategy in its political campaigns to reinforce the detainees issue in the Israeli jails.	
3	The Palestinian Authority gives special consideration for transitional and strategic planning to terminate the detainees suffering.	
4	The Palestinian Authority follows a diverse tactics and styles in its outdoor political campaigns to make the detainees issue prevalent at the international milieu.	
5	The Palestinian Authority moves throughout obvious and prospective goals in its political campaigns and invests them in favor of the detainees in the Israeli jails.	
6	The political campaigns conducted by the Palestinian Authority reveal an insightful transitional vision of the detainees ordeals and demands.	
7	The Palestinian Authority does its best to secure the necessary fundraise needed for its political campaigns to keep up pressure on Israel to respect the detainee's rights.	
8	The Palestinian Authority benefits from diverse international parties efforts in its political campaign and dedicate them for the detainees issue.	
9	The Palestinian Authority acts conveniently to vary its political campaigns and reinvent new mechanisms to make the world closer to the detainees ordeal.	
10	The Palestinian Authority follows a regular and permanent political campaign, not seasonal in its engagement with the detainees issue.	
11	The Palestinian Authority pays high significance to the public opinion in its political campaigns to formulate an optimal public sphere sustainable to the detainees issue.	
12	The Palestinian Authority constructs its political campaigns on comprehensive database and regular feedback to create new sphere and recognition of the detainees issue.	
13	The Palestinian Authority evaluates its political campaigns systematically to approach the optimal mechanisms in handling the detainees issue in the Israeli jails.	
14	The Palestinian Authority trains cadres and upgrades experienced teams capable of executing professional campaigns to advocate the detainees in the Israeli jails.	
15	The Palestinian Authority pursues the indirect political campaigns to recruit sympathists and friends to convince larger spectrum of the international spectators.	
16	The Palestinian Authority encourages the whole Palestinian political parties to launch political campaigns to sustain the detainees issue.	
17	The Palestinian Authority orchestrates an adequate presentation of the detainees issue in the Palestinian national learning curriculum to familiarize the students with their struggle.	

18	The Palestinian Authority deploys the political symbolism, including signs, items, drawings that narrate the detainees suffering to attract the international sphere.	
19	The Palestinian Authority invests the big sports festivals, such as, the World Cub, the Olympic Games, and other sports activities to launch political campaigns supportive to the detainees issue.	

Part 3: employing public relations and political networking strategy		
n	**Item**	
1	The Palestinian Authority gives high concern to public relations to reinforce the detainee's issue presence at the international level.	
2	The Palestinian Authority holds regular press conferences to insight the international community with the latest updates concerning the detainees issue.	
3	The Palestinian Authority issues regular press releases to brief the world with the detainee's conditions in the Israeli jails.	
4	The Palestinian Authority encourages writing articles that shed the light on the hard imprisonment experience that the detainees are exposed to in the Israeli jails.	
5	The Palestinian Authority makes significant visits to the influential world capitals to explain the Israeli violations against the detainees namely the chronically ill.	
6	The Palestinian Authority participates in the international conferences to explain the detainees issue and market their suffering.	
7	The Palestinian Authority organizes intellectual seminars to invest the experiences in developing a decent and sophisticated strategy to empower the detainees steadfastness.	
8	The Palestinian Authority issues regular reports that shed light on the detainees conditions and document the Israeli breaches that go in disparity with the International Law.	
9	The Palestinian Authority enjoys a decent relationship with key international celebrities to reinforce the detainees case presence and push forward its dynamism worldwide.	
10	The Palestinian Authority has a contingent plan to encounter the developing and changing conditions of the detainees in the Israeli jails.	
11	The Palestinian Authority recruits journalists, political activists, notable intellectuals and opinion leaders to view in close the detainees ordeal in the Israeli jails.	
12	The Palestinian Authority throughout its political officials conducts TV interviews to explain the detainees case for the international community.	
13	The Palestinian Authority relies on its embassies and diplomatic representation offices to contact with politicians, community activists and notable media icons to scandalize the occupation and unfold its reality at the international level.	
14	The Palestinian Authority invests the variant national occasions to make visits to the detainees families.	

Part 4: mobilization of interest/pressure groups and forming alliances		
N	**Item**	
1	The Palestinian Authority makes great deal of benefits from the lobbying methods and techniques to promulgate the detainees issue and make the international public in recognition.	
2	The Palestinian Authority exercises pressure on the states governments in the territorial and international milieu to create political positions supportive to the detainees issue.	
3	The Palestinian Authority exercises pressure on the key and influential parliaments in the world to lay political siege over the occupation to mitigate the detainees suffering.	
4	The Palestinian Authority invests the International Law to prosecute the Israeli war criminals responsible for murdering and torturing the Palestinian detainees at the international criminal courts.	
5	The Palestinian Authority exercises an immediate grassroots lobbying on the Western and European citizen to mobilize larger spectrum to side by the detainees issue.	
6	The Palestinian Authority drafts letters to the international officials to explain the detainees conditions in the Israeli jails.	
7	The Palestinian Authority invests its ties with the political think tanks and research institutes in the West to lobby for the detainees issue.	
8	The Palestinian Authority forms parallel strategic alliances to mount pressure and tighten the stranglehold over Israel to revive the detainees issue.	
9	The Palestinian Authority organizes protests and demonstrations in the European capitals to call for the detainee's rights in the Israeli jails.	
10	The Palestinian Authority exercises pressure on the key and influential international organizations to influence the world public opinion in favor of the detainees issue.	
11	The Palestinian Authority asks for international fact-finding commissions to have their say concerning the scandalous occupation policies against the detainees.	
12	The Palestinian Authority enjoys an intimate relationship with a great deal of notable political unions and liaisons and invests them to mount pressure on the occupation in favor of the detainees issue.	
13	The Palestinian Authority acts efficiently to build confidence with the key political parties in the world and exert demanding efforts to persuade them with the detainees just issue.	
14	The Palestinian Authority coordinates with the interest groups counter to the Israeli occupation to orchestrate a decent lobbying for the detainees issue.	
15	The Palestinian Authority invests the variant religious institutions to scandalize the arbitrary Israeli procedures that go in disparity with all the divine beliefs.	

16	The Palestinian Authority exercises political lobbying on the occupation throughout its ties with key icons of the national liberation movements who enjoy heavy asset of respect and clean political experience.	
17	The Palestinian Authority enjoys intimate ties with the influential media outlets in the West to exercise lobbying in favor of the detainees issue.	
18	The Palestinian Authority invests the Arab Lawyers Union and the other human rights parties to prepare a comprehensive profile documenting the Israeli violations against the Palestinian detainees.	
19	The Palestinian Authority contacts the international health organizations to provide the urgent and significant health care for the Palestinian detainees in the Israeli jails.	

May Allah Guide You to the Right Course

Appendix C: Arbitrators

No.	Name	Place Of Work
1.	Marwan Alagha	Associate professor in marketing at Al-Azhar University
2.	Nabil Alloh	Associate professor in human resources at Al-Quds Open University
3.	Sami Abou-Al-Ross	Associate professor in human resources at IUG
4.	Mohammed Salem	Associate professor in marketing at UCAS
5.	Bassam Abu Hamad,	Associate professor in human resources management at Al-Quds University
6.	Tawfque Abu Naim	President of the administration board for Wa'aed association
7.	Ibrahem Ibrach	Professor in political science at Al-Azhar University and the former minister of culture
8.	Ahmed Al Wadeya	Associate professor in political philosophy at Management & Politics Academy for Postgraduate Studies
9.	Mukhaimer Abusada	Professor in political science at Al-Azhar University
10.	Ahmed Yousef,	Senior political advisor for PM Ismail Haniyeh, deputy of foreign ministry, and head of board of trustees
11.	Mohsen Saleh	Associate professor in modern and contemporary history, the general manager of al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies and Consultations
12.	Khadir Aljammal	Assistant professor in public relations and media at UCAS