

Hamas Media Portrayal of Cultural and Historical Heritage of Palestinian: A Case Study of Al-Aqsa Television Channel

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Article Info	Abstract
Article History Received: December 05, 2020 Accepted: February 02, 2021 Keywords : Political Communication; Palestine; Hamas; Al-Aqsa; Heritage; Culture, Media Portrayal DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.4495617	<i>Purpose of the study: The study intends to examine the revival of Palestinian customs, traditions and rituals related to the historical heritage of Hamas' media coverage. Methodology: This research is descriptive qualitative research, that employs a mixed-method approach used the interview and survey as a tool of data collection. Main Findings: The findings show that Al-Aqsa channel believes that its role is an extension of Hamas Media and its vision in service the Palestinian cause. Based on the survey analysis, Besides the positive aspects of Al-Aqsa TV in the promotion of collective awareness of the Palestinian cause and its national identity. But it was considered as having less attention given to the traditional Palestinian clothing or Popular Proverbs, and cultural and historical heritage, and to allocate more of its programs to focus on heritage and folklore. Applications of this study: This research was conducted on the main bulletins of Al-Aqsa TV channel that affiliated to Hamas and broadcast from Palestine, with the consideration that Al-Aqsa Headquarter located in Gaza City. Novelty/Originality of this study: This study will enable the media practitioners to better understand about the role of Hamas' media toward the Palestinian traditions and rituals related to the historical heritage, and the nature of reflection of its media coverage on the minds, seeking to reach a better distinguish between the reality and what is hoped.</i>

Introduction

Since 1948, the cultural and historical heritage of Palestine is not being protected going against annihilation, globalization, occupation deformation and Judaization. While Palestinians emphasize on the importance of their cultural and historical heritage, since it is what is left to them from the past, Palestinians refuse to give up their traditional dress, dialect, and inherited customs. Regardless of diversities and age of the camps, each refugee maintains their home dialects, customs, and traditions. They believe that the heritage is the only values they should keep for survival reasons, after they lose their land.

Cultural and historical heritage is one of the features of the national identity for any people. It includes several different names, such as customs, traditions, heritage and rituals. It may sometimes be referred to as the historical and cultural heritage. Moreover, it has many aspects that include various aspects of economic, religious, political and social life. The term "heritage" (Fanak, 2016) is derived from the past and inspired by it, it is based on the part of the past, and the present is just a reflection of it.

As for the cultural and historical heritage position in the national identity, it is human action and an effort that propels history towards the future (Barakat, 2004). It expresses the consciousness of one's self and historical destiny in relation to the material and spiritual space that it occupies in the social structure. Furthermore, it is the self and overall social work to improve human consciousness and the position of the community in history. The heritage for (Tjarve, 2011) is also one of the components of national identity, which is represented by what he calls "the evocation of the historical balance, its constant recall and its perpetuation in the memory of generations."

As for the cultural and the historical heritage, Palestinians identify, cultural and historical heritage as an integral part of the Palestinian identity. According to Abdel Fattah and Ahmed (2012) cultural and the historical heritage is defined as the language, customs, traditions and culture, the memory of social displacement, and the collective pursuit of victory over Zionism in all forms and ways and to stand resolutely in front of the fateful issues. They added that the cultural and the historical heritage was also referred to the specific nature of the Palestinians and their level of awareness and education and refers also to resistant nature of the Palestinians against the existence of the Israeli occupation. It is a representative of the Palestinians populations who are geographically separated, economically different, governed by different regimes and of different economic systems, yet they have a historical origin, a memory of uprooting and a constant conflict with hostile ideologies.

Background of Study

Palestinian media needs to be aware of the sensitivity of the heritage due to its diversities, history, and culture. The way the heritage and cultures are portrayed in the media should be consistent to maintain the values in the country. Undoubtedly, the competition occurs that sometimes lead to hostility which eventually portrayed the resistance and the perception of the Palestinian state and the unity of the country. Regarding cultural and historical heritage, it was hard to define the position or to analyze the portrayal clearly, especially when the heritage is not a priority to the media. It was found that the subject of heritage has a much lesser importance than the importance of a prisoners, victims, fighters, and injuries occurred as well as the displacements, Judaization and settlement of the land (Khalidi, 1997).

Having had the above situation, there is a lack of attentions given to the understanding of cultures and heritages and the media portrayal of Palestinian people. Besides, the extent to which the role of the media especially Al-Aqsa TV and its portrayal for the cultural and historical heritage, the ownerships, policies, and identity, is still vague. This article, therefore, wishes to seek an understanding of, firstly, what are the elements used by Al-Aqsa TV to promote the Palestinian cultural and historical heritage? Second, what are the Palestinian public's attitudes towards media coverage of the cultural and historical heritage on Al-Aqsa TV?

The study, therefore, makes attempts to shed light on Hamas' media coverage, and to analyse the extent to which the resistance is portrayed by the media in relation to cultures and historical heritage. In addition to that, this article intends to examine the revival of Palestinian customs, traditions and rituals related to the historical heritage. According to Ihab Awais (2017) Fatah media is more recognized for promoting "peaceful resistance". The Fatah movement and its media use the historical heritage to defend its principles of the Palestinian and promoting itself as the sole representative of the Palestinians.

The Concept of Cultural and Historical Heritage:

The definition of cultural and historical heritage is the basic structure of people, regardless of whether it is an individual or a collective. It is a homogenous group of memories, perceptions, values, symbols, changes, creations and aspirations of the Palestinian society within the framework of its internal dynamics and its ability to give and take. In this sense, cultural and historical heritage is the true representative of the historical Specificity of the Palestinian people.

Cultural and historical heritage is based primarily on oral transmission and communication. Therefore, oral memory and its history acquire great value for the memory of the Nakba and vice versa (Yogrest, 2007). This value is reflected in the social events, and perhaps for this reason, some events gain more value in the historical range than the others. Historians point out that the historical heritage of the Palestinian people is related to the preservation of the collective memory of the Palestinian nation. Some of them even see this memory as a basis to give meaning and to establish a national identity. According to Sabrina (2014), the cultural and historical heritage, as a part of the national identity, is the folklore of all spoken expressions of folk memory, narrative heritage, folk tales, folk proverbs and other forms of expression, including oral folklore in its various forms and folk songs.

As opposed to the historians and sociologists, others perceive the heritage merely as social luxuries, margins on history, or an emotional expression of the past unnecessary. Hamad Saray(2013) points out that the heritage must be protected by the society which includes the historical buildings, the archaeological sites, and the cultural manifestations. It is the symbol that plays a role as a defensive mechanism that is translated into energies, solidarity which must be conserved and protected.

Hamad Saray(2013) adds that the heritage represents a source of confidence and not a static or molded model, although it includes the residues of time, life, behavior, buildings and monuments, and the achievements of poets and writers. However, it also includes the human heritage, and carries the vision of the people about their origins and the events of their history. From these points, the popular heritage is one of the pillars of national identity.

The Use of Media

It is claimed that the world we live nowadays is secluded and the development of media technology has very much exerted influences everyone around the world. When it comes to the Palestinian, it is noteworthy that there is a great concern among the media professionals in delivering messages to the public clearly, transparently, objectively and openly, and in a way that fights the lies and claims of the other party (Christians & Traber, 1997).

Despite of the great interest in discourse and regarding discourse as an integral component in delivering media messages, the objective of media has changed since it has been used to manipulate and the reporting of incidents

has turned out to be untrue. This is evidenced by the visual media usage of special word dictionaries that present the news from a template with its own interpretation perspective (Christians &Traber, 1997).

The subject goes beyond mere manipulation in terms of terminology (such as the security fence instead of the apartheid wall (Fahid,2017), settlements instead of usurped lands, the state of "Israel" instead of occupied Palestine, suicide operations instead of martyrdom operations and vandalizes instead of fighters). Nowadays, reaching the public has become much more demanding than a spoken word, even from the image that has become easy to manipulate(Fehmi, 2017). Apparently, the only way is the media's ability to attract, convince, and reach the heart and mind of the audience, just as the candidate does in the elections.

And even when the media can get closer to the public, it must be careful to highlight the truth as it is, and use this fact to win psychological battles, just as resistant media(Alaqsa channel) used the scenes of bombing to affect the psyche of the Zionist public in the recent Gaza wars. Al-Thuraya (Awais, 2017) believes that the visual and television media have a greater role and responsibilities than the rest of the media due to the different impacts for every words, speech, image, event, video, interview, and that they all overlap to gain influence in conjunction with image, movement and music, not to mention that television can show more than an analytical framework of the event, Which requires greater awareness and a deep personal and critical experience of the possibility of reading between the lines beyond the solid news frames to identify what is correct and what is wrong in the sources and content of the news.

Media TV channels are more accessible and trusted than the social networking sites. Media TV channels have less susceptible to electronic deletion or harassment, confiscation of the account or deletion of links as compared to the social networking site such as Facebook apart from the availability of the archiving feature (Fehmi, 2017), an important element of cultural and historical heritage. But the process of re-awakening history through media can only be through the preservation and re-archiving and publishing it repeatedly so that it become more than just history and memories.

Palestine Media Policy

UNESCO (2017) has provided a global definition of the concept of media policy, which is based on a set of principles and criteria governing the activity of the State towards the organization, management, control, evaluation and harmonization of different communication systems and forms, in particular the means of mass communication and the main means of information in order to achieve the best possible social results, within the framework of the political, social and economic model adopted by the State.

We can draw from this concept the features of the media policy of any institution, and we can regard it as the method that determines the objectives of the institution, the means to fulfil them and the philosophy of the institution, especially if we recognize its role in providing a state of harmony between the institution and the target group. Therefore, the media policy is not random, but systematic and disciplined and subject to accumulated rules and experience .it is planning and employing various human and material resources to achieve the objectives of the institution and raise the level of communication with its audience. Several factors that control the construction of the media policy, include:

- First; media message and quality for its objective of the institution and its vision and methodology of work.
- Second the specific ethics of the work of the institution and its internal and external relations.
- Third; targeted audiences that consist of quality and their geographical, cultural, educational, economic and social integration, and lastly.
- Fourth the customs, traditions and social, educational and cultural effects of the surrounding society.

Based on these factors, media policy must be comprehensive, dynamic, adaptable and quick and flexible with changes. The media policy must be responsive to various means of communication and development in the field of technology and interaction among peoples and groups. Media policy must be determined in the light of public policies and must be reviewed periodically, accurately and tightly, and must reflect the ideology and the vision of the institution clearly and concisely.

Methods

This study employs a mixed method approach which explained the use of interviews and survey as a tool of data collection. Due to the feasibility actors, the study managed to gather a comprehensive data based on the three (3) interviews with the management officer of Al-Aqsa TV Channel to answer the first objective. The officers were selected randomly based on the availability and the authority as granted by the company. The interviews used the semi-structured questions based on eight questions where new questions were raised according to the information given by the respondents on the questions. The interviews were analysed manually which followed

the questions and answers given to the respondents. The answers were organized and explained following the objectives of the research.

a survey was conducted to answer the second objective, the conducts of the survey involved four universities namely University of Birzeit, An-Najah National University; Al-Azhar University; and Islamic University of Gaza. These universities are the most significant Palestinian universities in number, and they also contain the partisan and political multiplicity of the Palestinian society. University students were chosen exclusively as Palestinian youth are among the most age-groups concerned with the political situation and national issues.

The survey used self-administered questionnaire which consisted of two (2) sections altogether. the sample size for the survey, where the population size was 85000 students (2018), at the margin error 5%, so the perfect sample size was 383 respondents. There were 370 respondents altogether collected. The respondents were randomly selected as opposed to purposive sampling which defines the varieties of data itself. The combination of two universities provided significant remarks on the similarities of trends and feedbacks towards the questionnaire.

Findings

Hamas' Media Policy

From the beginning, the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) realized that the media is one of the media that give greater impacts to its audience through the messages delivered to them. Therefore, Hamas made it limited to the Palestinian society in all its different components. Not only to the television and radio, it later targeted all media fields, starting with publications, statements, sermons, graffiti, advocacy magazines, jihad workshops, articles, press articles, radio interviews, even interviews with foreign media. All these media fields were used to convey its messages (Awais,2017).

In reference to Hamas' interest in the media, its website states that the movement perceives the media as powerful, as important as weapons. Hamas uses all possible websites to reach public and to disclose its vision and mission by any means, however, remains fundamental. The most visible media coverage on the movement of the international and regional was linked to the exile to "Marj Al-Zuhour. It began to prepare the establishment of its own media, instead of utilizing to the local media, which were subject to the control of the ownership and authority or to the foreign press under the pressure of the Zionist lobbies (Awais,2017).

It was mentioned that Hamas published the first newspaper "Al-Resala" to express its vision in January 1996, followed by the establishment of Al-Aqsa Radio in June 2003, during Al-Aqsa Intifada and before its access to the government. Al-Aqsa Radio had a great role in addressing the Palestinian public, and until now it has been a platform for the media movement. After the movement won the legislative elections, the movement found it difficult to express itself through the Palestinian media owned by Fatah and the Palestinian Authority. With the declines of television programmes, it established Al-Aqsa TV in 2006 since the movement decided to expand its target audience and communicate with them directly for supports of the armed resistance respectively.

Wael Abdel Aal (2016), in his book "Hamas and the Media: Politics and Strategy", said that the movement regards the media as a critical component of an integrated project, as well as an important tool in raising the awareness of the Palestinian public about its Palestinian cause. Based on the interviews, the movement, under its leadership and its media apparatus, considers the battle for liberation is for the awareness and not the military only. It is a battle of consciousness towards "the word before the bullet," and the decline of the armed resistance as not harmful as the lack of awareness which retreat of the "idea" of resistance in hearts and minds.

According to Abdel-Aal (2016) media policy of Hama's is to spread the "ideology" and culture of resistance among the Palestinian and publics. Besides, it aims at strengthening the spirit of resistance among them, without violating international laws and ethics at the level of the media. Ihab Awais (2017) believes that Hamas media is part of the "media of the Palestinian Islamic movements", which refers to the political forces that made declaration on the adoption of Islam as a reference to their theories and political practices. In addition to that the media should embark on the Palestinian issues, and their attitudes towards Palestinian as well as Arab and international's attitudes towards other political forces in these areas.

Wael Abdel Aal (2016) considers that the media policy is consistent with the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood, and that Hamas' political and media behavior continues to fall under this ideology, even if it is deleted from the charter of the movement and ignored in the new document. Based on this consistency, the media policy aims at:

1. Establishing Arabic and Islamic media among strong Palestinians, in order to liberate the land of Palestine.
2. Spreading Islamic awareness and development according to the concepts of awareness and mobilization.

3. Countering media owned by the authority and the individuals which highlights on its direction and clarifies the misunderstanding that occurs in the country or worldwide.
4. Addressing Western media and reach the publics in relation to the Palestinian causes.
5. Gathering the Arabs towards the Palestinian causes as a priority.
6. Enhancing communication with diaspora on the geographically, humanitarian and media levels.
7. Diversifying the media uses and diversifying the messages to ensure reachability and solve the differences among the audiences.

Over the years, Hamas has sought to develop its media role and means in the light of its knowledge of the tremendous development of the world in the communications world so that it can cope with this development (Awais,2017). It has used all available means of data, writing on walls and mosque platforms, Audio and video to keep up with the new reality.

This approach, which was confirmed by Dr. Salah al-Bardawil, a leader in Hamas (Awais,2017) when he pointed out that his movement attaches great importance to the media because of its importance in influencing the public opinion and industry and create certain beliefs in favor of those who contact with the public audience. He added that "the movement" is aware of the importance of the media for the Palestinian cause and the extent of its urgent need to gain people in different countries for the benefit of our Palestinian cause and need for supporters. This will be achieved only by a strong media message in terms of tools and content that can convince the various target groups and turn them into "true supports" to serve the Palestinian people to achieve their legitimate goals in the liberation of the country.

In an Israeli study titled "Hamas Launches New satellite channel to Support its Media Infrastructure"(2009), translated by the International Center for Futures and Strategic Studies (ICFS), claimed that the Hamas-affiliated broad media infrastructure currently includes two TV channels , Al-Aqsa TV in the Gaza Strip, Al-Quds TV in Lebanon, and a number of radio stations, including Al-Aqsa voice , Holy Quran and daily newspapers " Palestine", and "Al-Resala" , issued in Gaza, and "FilisteenAL Muslima" issued in Britain, and a number of news agencies, and more than 20 websites and forums, especially " Palestine Info", which is issued in eight languages. The study pointed out that this structure is used by Hamas as a central tool in the media battle and the battle over consciousness that it manages and gives superior media capabilities.

Currently, a researcher, Abdel-Aal 2016) asserts that Hamas has established media companies under the slogan "Independent Media" as part of the establishment process. He has made great efforts to establish the linkages with international media organizations, including international news agencies and news networks which aim at maintaining relationship with journalists and international media representatives. Despite the diversity of the media coverage on the movements becoming less due to media objections from the Palestinian Authority and the Israeli occupation forces with the cooperation from Arab and international countries. Unlike Al-Aqsa Intifada, the voice of the resistance provides great impacts.

Abdel-Aal (2016) the audience of Hamas movement into five circles namely the circle of members and associates, the Palestinian public, the Arab and Islamic public, the international public opinion, and the Zionist public opinion. In recent years, especially after the establishment of Al-Aqsa satellite channel (AbuZaanonh, 2017) the movement was able to reach the majority of the Arab countries and the Mediterranean countries. The recent Zionist war on the Gaza Strip provided an outlet for the media to penetrate the enemy's media, decrypt its channels, break into it and publish warnings in Hebrew addressed to the Zionist public, raising terror and weakening its cohesion behind its occupation leadership.

The construction of the media policy of Hamas

In previous interviews with the leader of Hamas, Salah al-Bardawil (Awais, 2017), he revealed that the movement does not adopt its media policies arbitrarily, but rather strengthen this policy. He stressed that the rules that guide the media policy are for those who presence is essential to convey the message which aim at:

1. Establishing various media tools who are capable of determining the public opinion.
2. Establishing professional media staff in capable of achieving the objectives of the media message.
3. Building the most influential media - non-affiliated – towards the resentment discourse.
4. Ensuring that the vision and the message of the movement is well represented at the international media.

According to Awais (2017) Bardawil also stressed that the media department of the movement should be fully coordinated among the media institutions to ensure the quality of the of media messages. The way the messages are delivered should be representative enough to ensure the impact of public opinion and its response to the

visuals involved. Bardawil who has held an important position in Al-Aqsa TV in recent years, said that there were three factors that support the harmony and integration of the media policy of the movement, as follows:

1. The unity of thought and concept of the media institutions towards the awareness and the purposes of the media communication message of the movement.
2. The national message of the movement is based on the principles that are agreed upon by the majority of Palestinians.
3. The sustainability of media management to uphold the status of the media discourses of the movement, its improvement and developments.

It should be noted that the media of Hamas does not take a certain form or geographical orientation. There are media outlets in the diaspora for all Palestinians. There are also newspapers, magazines and radio stations, and even with regard to the wings of the movement such as " the students and the military " wings, there is a media office for each of them, its functions and achievements, and varied message not limited to Gaza, the West Bank or resistance fighters, but also to the civilians.

As mentioned above, one of the most prominent media of the movement, Al- Aqsa TV from the Gaza Strip, and despite the attempt by the organizers to adopt an independent approach, the Islamic approach of the movement is so explicit regarding the message of the channel and its programs , guest and orientations especially since its existence serves a main objective and that is promoting the armed resistance against the anti-armed resentment media of any type and any approach. As evidence of the channel's approach and its position towards the armed resistance, the Israeli air forces bombarded the channel more than one time, killed several journalists, arrested others in the west bank and severely prosecuted them only because they are affiliated to Hamas.

Al - Aqsa satellite Channel

Al-Aqsa TV is one of the most prominent media platforms that serve the policies of Hamas. Despite the vision, programs and the Islamic content of the channel are provided by those who are in charge of the Islamic channel intersecting its objectives and vision with the objectives and visions of Hamas.

Al-Aqsa TV is the first Islamic-oriented channel in Palestine. Following the Islamic Resistance Movement's principles, it was an expression of the Palestinian resistance from the liberated Gaza strip. The idea of establishing an Islamic-oriented media in the Gaza Strip started when Hamas founder, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, instructed Fathi Hammad, a member of the movement, to approve the establishment of an Islamic local radio station and thus Al-Aqsa radio was founded in 2000 (Abu Zaanonh, 2017) As the number of the Islamic-oriented workers increased and so did the media expertise, the board of Al-Aqsa network expanded its activities and established Al-Aqsa TV on 7/12/2005, in conjunction with the anniversary of the movement marking the establishment of the movement and the municipal elections that Hamas participated in for the first time. The channel's experimental operation was via terrestrial broadcasting from Gaza via UHF62. The channel had an important role in the elections of the Palestinian Legislative Council, when it broadcasted the electoral program of Hamas.

Al-Aqsa TV appeared as the second Palestinian satellite channel in the Palestinian territories based in Gaza City and broadcast outside the historic borders of Palestine, including the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in September 2006, The members of the Channel' Council began their meeting in Rabat to elaborate the idea of establishing the channel, the satellite broadcast was completely launched in October in the same year (Abu Zaanonh, 2017).

When Mohammed Al-Thuraya one of the directors of the channel, was asked to define Al-Aqsa TV, he pointed out that the vision is to lead the liberation project and spreading the central message of Moderate Islam in media (Awais, 2017). Based on this vision, the general objectives that the channel seeks to achieve are as follows:

1. To support the liberation of Palestine in the media.
2. To raise the morale of the Palestinian people and influence the Arab and Islamic people by adopting the principle of resistance.
3. To demonstrate the image of the resistance in the finest suit that is able to strike a balance with the enemy.
4. To promote the moral and ethical values in society and to combat corruption in all its forms.
5. To strengthen the elements of steadfastness and culture by invoking the permanent principles of the Palestinian people, especially the right of return and the release of prisoners.

In addition to the Islamic dimension of resistance and the Palestinian national identity adopted by Al-Aqsa channel, it is characterized by a combination of two aspects, the national aspect and the resistant aspect. The channel sheds the light on the Palestinians at all levels, refugees and displaced persons. It also takes into account the issues of the population of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and the conditions of the occupied Palestinian population of 1948. Al-Thuraya believes that Al-Aqsa channel is a complement to the armed resistance, meaning that wherever the resentment is, Al-Aqsa will be there as the official representative of the Palestinian

people and that there is no contradiction between the expression of the attitudes and programs and objectives of the movement, but rather it meets with the objectives of the nation in the liberation of Palestine (Awais, 2017). As for the programs and news purposes, Samir Abu Mohsen, director of programs in the channel, said that the channel presents a number of different programs, each covering a certain aspect. The TV program "EayanA'alaAldifa" (eye on the west Bank) is concerned with the issues of the people of the West Bank and Jerusalem. The TV program "Al-Rasid"(monitor) deals with the Zionist issue and On the other hand there is The " 'AshabAl'ard"(Land owners) TV program, which deals with the issues of the Palestinians in the occupied territories in 1948, in addition to the program "Al'asraaAl'ahrar"(Free Prisoners), which highlights the issues of Palestinian and Arab prisoners in the prisons of the occupation and the program "Lajiuwn" (Palestinian refugees) which is A weekly TV program dealing with the issues of the Palestinian refugees. On the humanitarian aspect, there is "NafidhatAlkhayr"(the goodness way) dealing with humanitarian situations through which financial support is provided to families in need (Awais,2017).

As for the media slogan presented by the channel, Thuraya explains (Awais,2017) that its slogan is "our media is Islamic, objective-oriented and resistant ", coupled with the practical reality of the channel in exposing the crimes of the occupation and supporting the resistance, stressing that the programs of the channel were the reason why the Israeli forces targeted because Israel considered it as one of the most dangerous means in the battle.

Although the Palestinian media is targeted because of its anti-Israeli policy, the Hamas media is targeted due to the opposition stance towards both the occupation and its normalization solutions. Hamas also received threat and arrest and bombing as well as prosecution. Samir Abu Mohsen (Awais, 2017) said in a previous interview with him that the most prominent obstacles are:

1. The occupation's targeting of the channel for more than once, by bombing it headquarter during the war on Gaza and the martyrdom and wounding of a number of its employees.
2. The wave of arrests and confiscation of equipment against the employees in the West Bank through the security services of the Palestinian Authority and the Zionist occupation forces.
3. The difficult economic conditions, and the lack of fixed budget for the channel, in addition to the lack of devices and lack of modernity, especially after the campaigns of bombing and destruction associated with the wars in Gaza.
4. The lack of media material since the archive needs development.
5. The lack of some competencies in the staff of the channel, whether on the professional, administrative or technical, due to the small age of staff and lack of expertise in addition to the impact of the siege on the possibilities of training and modernizing the equipment.

However, these obstacles reveal that the continued operation of the channel until now, its ability to communicate with the public, and the transmission of movement messages are evidences of success and defiance that cannot be underestimated, especially in light of the deterioration of the status of freedoms in the West Bank and the conspiracy of Arab countries against the armed resistance.

The role of Al-Aqsa TV in supporting and developing the Palestinian cultural and historical heritage

The channel's operators such as Thuraya and Abu Mohsen (Awais,2017) point out that al-Aqsa satellite channel served the Palestinian and contributed to strengthen and support the identity of the Palestinian people through a number of media actions and policies:

1. To strengthen the steadfastness of the Palestinian citizens of Israel and
2. To fight the occupation attempts to Judaize the Palestinian culture by allocating a program for the issues of the Palestinians citizens of Israel. The program is to address the issues and to publish their images of steadfastness.
3. To keep the right of return present in the Palestinian mind through a series of programs that prove this right.
4. To prioritize the national issues over the parties' issues by focusing on issues of their right of returns, prisoners of war, settlement and resistance.
5. To strengthen the state of Palestinian Islamic -Christian unity and the unity in liberating the land

The media channel believe that the role of the channel is an extension of Hamas Media Office and its vision in the service of the Palestinian cause and it strengthens the foundations of its existence. Bardawil believes that Hamas's resistance project is based on the Palestinian national identity composed from our history on this land, which gives us the right to defend it and to consider it an occupied land, and that it must be liberated by all means and methods. It is also composed from religion, which is one of the pillars of Palestinian identity, as most of our people are Muslims and have lived with Christians and are united in the goal to liberate and defend the sanctities and the rights.

Bardawil points out (Awais, 2017) that the strategy of the media office primarily focused on serving the Palestinian cause and on making it present in the fields of work for liberation. The media strategy stems from the Palestinian principle of freedom and liberation. The media office of Hamas prioritizes the national-oriented discourse to ensure the preservation and strengthening of the national identity against the Israeli projects such as Judaization, alienation and national fragmentation that can damage the objective of liberation. He also believes that liberation cannot be achieved except by the creation of a strong character and supportive conditions. This character and conditions will only be achieved by the national identity. Therefore, the promotion of national identity is a primary objective of the Media Office, especially in the context of competing projects aimed at the annihilation of national identity.

Consequently, to answer the first objective of the study, Al-Aqsa TV seems to rely on a series of steps to promote national identity and its cultural and historical heritage:

1. The identification of the Palestinian principles as a basic starting point for all media attitudes issued by the movement or by its spokespersons.
2. The daily guidance of the various media on the need to keep the basic Palestinian issues present in the content of the daily media message and not to be preoccupied with secondary issues.
3. Supporting and opening the way for the acquisition of modern media tools to help delivering the Palestinian national media message. This was reflected in the emergence of resistance-oriented drama.

The second objective was looking to the perceptions of respondents towards Media Portrayal by Al-Aqsa TV Channel towards Cultural and Heritage of Palestine from the universities youth' perspective

Based on the analysis, Al Aqsa TV Channel was considered as having less attention given to the traditional Palestinian clothing or Popular Proverbs (71.14%) and cultural and historical heritage for 68.8%. Besides, the majority seems to disagree with the statement which refers to Al-Aqsa TV channel should allocate some of its programs to focus on heritage and folklore, which is equal to 76.86% of the total respondents. The findings provide substantial reason when channel has greater interest in armed resistance, its unified concept of historic Palestine and Jerusalem as the capital of the State of Palestine, which eventually conform the Hamas and its media system in general.

The results also showed weakness on al-Aqsa TV in focusing on the concepts of heritage and folklore, not to mention the fact that young people consider the influence of the channel on cultural and historical concepts weak or even bad, although it is very convenient for operators of Al-Aqsa TV channel to recognize their advanced degree in highlighting the Nakba and reviving it to the media with 82.2%.

A study by Bahjat Ali Abu Zanouna (2017), on the role of the Palestinian TV channels in promoting national education and culture, found that the cultural and historical heritage may be shown through the drama provided by al-Aqsa TV in manners that suit the habits of the Palestinian people and enhance their heritage and customs among refugees, displaced persons and fighters without distinction or discrimination. Through the Ramadan series, (Al Fadaie (The Fedayeen) 1 and Al Fadaie 2, Bawwabat Alsama' (Gate of Heaven) and Al ruwh (the spirit) Series), Al-Aqsa TV channel reaffirmed the Palestinian national identity in a manner different from interviews, reports and news coverage of folklore and heritage events.

Despite this positive result, respondents pointed out that the channel provided political programs over cultural programs by 90.6%. At the same point, more than 98.8% of the respondents called for the publication of national and heritage programs, considering that the emphasis on these types of programs contributes to the emphasis on the national identity, and make the citizen adhere to his/her identity and community, and feel his/her dignity among other peoples of the world, and contribute to the consolidation of unity and stability of society, and reduce the disharmony between different components.

By reviewing the previous figures and studies, we can point to a number of points and results, it is suggested that Al-Aqsa TV sees "Nakba and displacement." As its concept of cultural and historical heritage. In its recollection of the Nakba stories, it sees an adequate reinforcement of heritage. It links this historical period to the current acts of resistance and considers it an extension. Other than that, it nearly addresses the national and cultural heritage, such as reference to the theft of the Palestinian heritage by the Zionists, and the capture of one of the meals of Palestinian cuisine or the stealing of traditional dress, considering that any dealing with any Palestinian heritage should come within the framework of the war of survival and conflict with the occupier, not within the requirements of daily life.

Besides, Al-Aqsa TV seems to refrain from addressing the issues of heritage directly, as a result of the adoption of the Palestinian Authority's media for this approach, and its organization of popular fashion shows, folk dances, and heritage seasons, considering them sufficient and satisfactory part in facing the occupier's invasion and intellectual and human settlement. Hamas has become firmly adherent to the principles of armed resistance as the only way to resist, since the Palestinian authority has supported the concepts of peaceful resistance, such as the dress and popular dances.

The Islamic background of Hamas and the regarding of Al-Aqsa as part of the Palestinian-Islamic media forces it to not identify the images of the cultural and historical heritage presented by the Palestinian authority or any other images. Since the channel's refrain from adopting these images, it makes it look radical against heritage and culture, while, in fact, it is offering authentic art in various locations, from anthem to artistic studios, drama, and movies.

There is an obvious recognition that the cultural and historical heritage occupies little interest in the Palestinian resistance movements and their media, perhaps because they realize that the stage needs much more than heritage to make a qualitative difference on the ground.

the media office of Hamas was subject to a long period of political leadership, and then became an independent organ and the media wing. Based on the development of the media performance and discourse of Arab and Western media, the office has adopted clear media policy, but the shadow of politics remains clear in this media because Hamas's policy is the armed resistance, thus the channel's policy is also the armed resistance.

The separation between nationality and Islam, and heritage and religion are a philosophical policy followed by thinkers in recent years and was implemented regarding the Palestinian parties. Hamas is classified as an Islamic movement, and Fatah movement is a national movement, and others, although the Islamic Hamas does not mean the lack of nationalism, and vice versa, In this case, the priority is the revival of the concept of nationalism for the Islamic dimension, the acceptance of national movements by Islamic movements, and the non-categorization according to geographical or political affiliations, or the fact that their belonging to Islam is incompatible with their belonging to Palestine, or considering that this is the reason why Islamic movements neglect the national heritage and history.

Hamas's neglecting of the cultural and historical dimensions led to the consideration that the affiliation to Hamas is a path towards death and abyss, both in terms of martyrdom, captivity or exile. These concepts are promoted by those who adopt normalization and negotiations. The response is only by linking the resistance to the cultural and historical dimensions as well as considering military orders as a guidance.

Recommendations

In order to allocate several media programs and activities, they should include the cultural and historical heritage dimension in the media policy of Hamas and in the media policy of Al-Aqsa TV channel, separately and accurately. Besides, it is suggested that the expertise in developed expertise from within the movement who are familiar with art and heritage, competent, and able to give the media of movement a shadow of national heritage.

To strengthen the value of the national as well as the Islamic, and to consolidate this concept in the minds of Hamas supporters and thus enhancing the ability to accept national events. Re-considering the concepts of heritage away from the Nakba and displacement concepts, in addition to find a new formula based on the Palestinians desire to live, and a formula that refutes the Israeli narrative that the martyrs and prisoners seek death.

Conclusions

Palestinians emphasize on the importance of their cultural and historical heritage since it is what is left to them from the past, so Palestinian media needs to be aware of the sensitivity of the heritage due to its diversities, history and culture. In this study, that attempted to shed light on Hamas' media coverage and to analyses the extent to which the media portray the resistance in relation to cultures and historical heritage. The result shows that Al Aqsa TV Channel was considered as having less attention given to the traditional Palestinian clothing or Popular Proverbs, and cultural and historical heritage. Besides, the majority call Al-Aqsa TV channel to allocate more of its programs to focus on heritage and folklore. And the channel should provide more cultural programs over political programs. It is worth mentioning that the results showed many positive aspects of Al-Aqsa TV in the promotion of collective awareness of the Palestinian cause and its national identity.

Limitation of the Study:

This study focuses on how Hamas Media Portrayal the Cultural and Historical Heritage of Palestinian, and it's limited to examine the coverage of Al-Aqsa TV as a model from the view of the audience. This study will enable the media practitioners to better understand about the role of Hamas' media toward the Palestinian traditions and rituals related to the historical heritage, and the nature of reflection of its media coverage on the minds, seeking to reach a better distinguish between the reality and what is hoped. Hamas must review its media policy depending on the perspective developed based on results collected from the audience. Future studies on the impact of official TV media on the elements of national identity and What is the role of the Hamas media in creating the desired perception of the Palestinian issue at the international level.

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