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Global Media Monitoring Project

2025

Palestine

NATIONAL REPORT



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2025

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Acknowledgements

This report is produced within the framework of the partnership with the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC), as part of the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP). It represents the outcomes of the research and professional efforts led by the Women's Development and Media Organization – TAM, in its capacity as the national partner and the institution responsible for preparing the GMMP national report in Palestine.

The Women's Development and Media Organization – TAM extends its sincere appreciation to WACC for its continued support of the GMMP, and for providing this global framework, which enables the analysis of media coverage from a critical gender perspective and facilitates the linkage between the Palestinian media context and international media and human rights debates.

The organization also expresses its deep appreciation to the national monitoring team for their high level of professional commitment and for carrying out the monitoring and analysis process under exceptional circumstances, including the ongoing genocidal war, the direct targeting of journalists and media institutions, and the intense fieldwork and security-related pressures. This work is recognized as a collective effort aimed at producing critical knowledge on media and gender in Palestine, contributing to the accountability of local media practices, and situating them within the broader political and human rights context.

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PREFACE

Global Context

The year 2025 represented an intensified continuation of an increasingly unstable global trajectory, marked by the escalation of United States dominance and the reinforcement of a unipolar political order. This period was characterized by the expansion of global confrontation, positioning the United States on one side and much of the world on the other, alongside growing attempts to consolidate control over global resources. At the same time, poverty levels increased and the cost of living rose worldwide, while the Russia–Ukraine war continued with no clear political horizon. Armed conflicts also expanded across multiple regions, most notably the qualitative escalation of the war on Gaza, which entered its second year with unprecedented levels of destruction and collective violence.

These developments coincided with the return of Donald Trump to the presidency of the United States, accompanied by the strengthening of nationalist discourse, an explicit retreat from multilateral commitments, and a tangible weakening of international law and human rights institutions. Such transformations did not remain confined to the political sphere; rather, they were clearly reflected in the global media landscape, influencing news priorities, dominant narratives, and decisions regarding whose voices are granted visibility and legitimacy within the public sphere.

Within this context, global media did not stand outside the crisis but formed part of its structural dynamics. Despite the growing international discourse on gender justice and women's rights, findings from global media monitoring continue to reveal persistent structural imbalances in representation. Women account for no more than one quarter of individuals appearing in news content worldwide and are most frequently portrayed as victims or as subjects of human-interest stories, rather than as expert sources, political actors, or decision-makers.

This imbalance reflects prevailing editorial frameworks that treat politics, war, and the economy as "gender-neutral" domains, while in practice these fields remain defined through masculine norms. As a result, women are systematically excluded from spaces of agency, interpretation, and meaning-making within news production.

Regional Context

At the regional level, the year 2025 unfolded amid a broad deterioration in political, economic, and social stability. The impacts ranged from the escalation along Lebanon's southern borders, to the continued erosion of state institutions in Syria, a severe economic situation in Egypt, and the ongoing war in Sudan. Beyond their implications for security and governance, these crises have significantly affected the environment for free and independent media, which has for several years faced mounting challenges, including political restrictions, economic dependency, and pressure from dominant political narratives.

According to UNESCO reports, independent journalism in the region is confronted with economic and political risks that threaten its sustainability and diversity, thereby weakening the role of the media as an objective platform for addressing issues of justice, including gender justice.

Within the Arab world, official discourse on Palestine continues to follow a highly regulated pattern, characterized by limited political engagement and a controlled humanitarian framing that rarely extends beyond statements condemning torture or violence. In contrast, Arab societies have witnessed broad popular mobilization reflecting strong public demands for justice and equality, including widespread support for the Palestinian cause. This tension between official positions and popular sentiment is also reflected in media coverage, where women's issues and gender-related transformations remain largely marginalized within formal media outlets.

With regard to the status of women, despite progress achieved in some Arab countries across selected gender indicators—such as women's representation in parliaments or participation in the labour force—significant disparities persist. Global data indicate that women's parliamentary representation remains relatively low in most countries in the region, and that progress in ministerial positions and senior political leadership roles continues to be slow. Within this context, Arab media face additional challenges in ensuring fair and inclusive representation of women, both in news content and within journalistic working environments.

This regional landscape produces a constrained media environment that tends to reproduce gender stereotypes and limits the space allocated to gender issues, even before meaningful change reaches policy frameworks or daily professional practice. Under conditions shaped by political control, legal barriers, and economic pressure, gender representation in the media remains far from achieving the justice frequently articulated in official and regional discourse—whether in relation to Palestine or to the lived realities of Arab women across other domains.

National Context

This report is situated within a highly complex Palestinian national context, in which it is no longer possible to separate gender conditions, media performance, and the structures of news production from the colonial system that governs daily, political, and economic life alike. In 2025, Palestine did not operate as a national space under conditions of sovereignty or relative stability. Instead, it constituted an open arena of genocide in Gaza and accelerated settler-colonial escalation in the West Bank, including areas formally classified under the authority of the Palestinian Authority. Palestinian cities and villages have become increasingly fragmented by an expanding system of military checkpoints and movement restrictions. This spatial fragmentation has reshaped the public sphere, social relations, modes of media practice, and the boundaries of political participation, including women's participation.

At the level of international indicators, Palestine is classified among countries with high gender inequality according to the Gender Inequality Index (GII) issued by the United Nations Development Programme. Such indicators are often used to assess women's status through a technical and developmental lens. In this report, however, these indicators are approached with critical caution—not to dismiss their relevance, but to reframe their meaning. Gender inequality in Palestine cannot be understood in isolation from settler colonialism as a comprehensive structure that obstructs the "normal" trajectory of social development. The occupation does not affect only the economy or freedom of movement; it actively reproduces gendered inequalities through policies of resource confiscation, family fragmentation, criminalization of political action, and systematic targeting of life-sustaining structures. Any gender analysis detached from colonial conditions therefore remains structurally incomplete.

Within this context, national policies related to women cannot be examined independently of their objective limitations. Palestine has witnessed official and institutional initiatives, most notably through the Ministry of Women's Affairs, which has adopted national strategies and action plans addressing women's empowerment, political participation, media representation, and commitments stemming from the Beijing Platform for Action—particularly the section on "Women and the Media"—in addition to engagement with international mechanisms and the submission of periodic reports. However, this report adopts a clear position regarding the framing of these efforts as "developmental." In the Palestinian case, the concept of development as articulated in international literature is fundamentally contested, as occupation undermines the very foundations upon which development depends. Development presupposes

sovereignty, stability, and the capacity for long-term planning, whereas the Palestinian reality is one of permanent crisis management under violence, siege, and destruction. Accordingly, while these policies carry important symbolic and political value, they operate within a severely constrained space and function more as mechanisms of resilience and loss management than as pathways toward sustainable transformative change.

This contradiction is sharply evident in the realities of 2025. In Gaza, according to reliable human rights reports, the number of those killed exceeded 67,000 by October 2025, including more than 20,000 children and approximately 10,000 women, in addition to nearly 10,000 persons reported missing under the rubble and over 170,000 injured. The number of displaced persons reached approximately 1.9 million—nearly 90 per cent of the population of the Gaza Strip—amid repeated displacement and the near-total collapse of infrastructure. In the West Bank, the escalation of occupation and settler violence resulted in large-scale forced displacement, including the complete displacement of 44 herding communities and the partial displacement of 10 others, affecting a total of 2,932 individuals, among them 1,326 children. This was accompanied by unprecedented increases in administrative detention and dozens of deaths in prisons due to torture and medical neglect. These conditions collectively shape a reality that reconfigures gender roles, family dynamics, and patterns of public participation.

Within this coercive context, Palestinian women cannot be reduced to the position of victims alone. While women are subjected to multiple and intersecting forms of violence, the reality also reveals resilience and significant shifts in gender roles—particularly in Gaza—where women have been compelled to assume primary breadwinning responsibilities, engage in household decision-making, manage scarce resources, and organize community-based support networks amid the near-total absence of institutional structures. These transformations should not be interpreted as automatic progress toward gender equality; rather, they expose the fluidity of gender roles and raise a fundamental question: will these roles be treated as temporary exceptions linked to war, or can they be socially and politically normalized should conditions of liberation emerge? This remains an open question—one shaped not only by lived realities, but also by policy choices and media narratives.

At the international level, a stark contradiction persists. While global discourse increasingly frames gender justice and women's rights as moral and political priorities, the experiences of women in Gaza remain largely confined to documentation and monitoring, without translation into concrete mechanisms of accountability or political pressure. This dynamic reflects a

persistent global divide between women in the Global North and women in the Global South, whereby Palestinian women's suffering is transformed into humanitarian archival material rather than recognized as a political issue requiring structural intervention. This international silence, in turn, impacts the Palestinian media environment, which operates within an ethical vacuum and is compelled to prioritize violent events as the primary publishable and circulable news frame.

All of the above helps to explain—though not justify—the findings presented in this report regarding Palestinian media coverage: the dominance of violence-oriented narratives, the marginalization of women from political and economic reporting, and their heightened visibility primarily as victims rather than as agents. These patterns do not stem from isolated professional choices, but rather constitute direct reflections of a colonial national context that constrains media practice and limits its capacity to produce alternative, analytical, or future-oriented narratives. Consequently, interpreting the monitoring results requires a deep understanding of the Palestinian national context as an abnormal condition—one in which development is suspended, gender roles are continually tested, and media practice is reshaped under genocide and occupation, rather than under the standards of sovereignty and stability

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The report is grounded in the understanding that the performance of Palestinian media cannot be analysed in isolation from the settler-colonial structure that shapes the political sphere and imposes coercive conditions on news production. Accordingly, gender representation is approached not as a separate equality issue, but as part of broader power relations operating under occupation, war, and international impunity.

The monitoring results show that violence — specifically the violence of the Israeli occupation and settlers — dominates the news agenda across all media platforms. This dominance does not merely reflect the escalation of events, but reorganises journalistic practice around urgency, continuous updates, and rapid documentation, thereby limiting opportunities for analysis and the construction of interpretive narratives. Within this context, news is transformed into a tool of urgent witnessing rather than a space for understanding the political structures that produce violence.

Under these conditions, gender inequality emerges as a structural rather than incidental outcome. Women are almost entirely absent from political and economic coverage in traditional media, while their limited presence in digital media does not translate into real narrative authority within news texts. When women do appear, they are most often framed through narratives of loss, displacement, and suffering, rather than as political actors or decision-makers.

The analysis of news sources further reveals a strong reliance on official and male-dominated sources, alongside the marginalisation of women as experts or official spokespersons. Women's presence is largely confined to local and everyday contexts, reinforcing a symbolic separation between women and sovereign political issues such as negotiations, governance, and post-war futures.

At the level of journalistic practice, the report demonstrates a near-total absence of gender equality perspectives in coverage of politics, economics, science, and health. Gender is invoked in most cases only within stories of violence, often as a humanitarian or moral reference, rather than as an analytical lens for understanding how war and occupation produce differentiated forms of harm and power.

The structure of news production itself further exposes a clear separation between visibility and narrative authority. Despite the high numerical presence of women in television, their roles remain concentrated in presentation and on-screen visibility, while men dominate field reporting, editorial work, and political and economic coverage. This division helps explain why women's presence in newsrooms does not translate into changes in news content or the dismantling of entrenched gender stereotypes

A DAY IN THE NEWS IN PALESTINE

The monitoring day of 6 May 2025 took place within an exceptionally dense and high-pressure news environment, shaped by the ongoing genocidal war on the Gaza Strip, which had entered its second year, alongside continuous escalation in the West Bank, particularly in its northern refugee camps. This day was not exceptional in itself, but rather represented an intensified version of what has become an "ordinary" news day within an open colonial reality, where events accumulate at a pace that exceeds the media's capacity for comprehensive coverage or analytical deconstruction.

Coverage of Israeli military and settler violence dominated the news agenda, functioning as the primary frame organizing nearly all reported stories. In Gaza, news items repeatedly focused on bombardment, numbers of those killed and injured, attacks on residential areas and infrastructure, the siege, and ongoing food and humanitarian aid crises. This coverage was largely presented through rapid news updates prioritizing immediacy over narrative depth. In the West Bank, reporting concentrated on the forced displacement of northern refugee camps, home demolitions and forced evictions, the intensification of military checkpoints, and daily settler attacks, reflecting the transformation of the West Bank from a perceived "secondary arena" into a parallel open front.

The news sample included in the monitoring—drawn from online media outlets such as Wattan News Network, Al-Quds Network, and Al-Fajr Television (online platform)—reveals a dominant coverage pattern based on the rapid accumulation of short news items, condensed headlines, and heavy reliance on official or urgent field-based sources. Events are not presented as extended social or political processes, but rather as successive isolated incidents unfolding under coercive conditions shaped by the acceleration of events, the pressure of immediacy, and the simultaneity of multiple open fronts.

On this day, issues associated with everyday civilian life were almost entirely absent. There was no economic coverage outside the logic of war, no education reporting beyond disruption and suspension, and no social issues detached from violence. Even politics did not appear as a space of deliberation or decision-making, but rather as a shadow of violence or as statements directly linked to it. As a result, the news day appeared to operate within a closed cycle in which violence continually reproduces itself as the central news frame, while opportunities for analysis, in-depth storytelling, and the visibility of social actors beyond the position of victim steadily diminish.

This context helps explain why news topics were heavily concentrated within the category of crime and violence, why women were largely absent from political and economic coverage, and why their presence appeared primarily within narratives of suffering rather than agency. What the monitoring captured on this day constitutes a condensed expression of a media environment operating under conditions of genocide, where news becomes an urgent tool of documentation rather than a space for reconstructing meaning or questioning the structures that produce violence itself. In this sense, "a day in the news" in Palestine does not offer merely a snapshot in time; rather, it situates the reader within the structural conditions that shape the

entire media discourse. These conditions form the necessary starting point for understanding the gender indicators and statistical findings presented in the monitoring tables that follow.

THE CONTEXT

Palestinian media operate within an exceptionally complex environment marked by structural targeting, shaped primarily by the conditions of occupation and ongoing war, and further constrained by accumulated material and political restrictions on freedom of expression and access to information. In 2025, the media landscape remained directly affected by the consequences of the genocidal war on the Gaza Strip and the escalation of violence in the West Bank, transforming journalistic work from a conventional professional practice into an act of direct confrontation and documentation of violations.

Within this context, the Palestinian Center for Media Development and Freedom of Expression (MADA) documented more than 537 violations against media freedom during the first half of 2025 alone—an increase of 64 per cent compared to the same period in 2024. These violations included killings, injuries, arrests, and the forced confiscation of journalistic equipment, occurring in the absence of effective legal protection for journalists. According to the Reporters Without Borders Press Freedom Index, Palestine's ranking declined to 163 out of 180 countries, classifying it among the most dangerous environments for media workers, particularly due to direct targeting during field coverage.

This reality is reflected in the nature of news coverage itself. News is not produced within a neutral media sphere or open analytical space, but rather under conditions exhausted by daily attacks, movement restrictions, security surveillance, and the absence of accountability. As a result, journalism in Palestine—particularly in Gaza—has become a high-risk practice. In addition to security threats, Palestinian media face technical and structural challenges stemming from the destruction of infrastructure and repeated disruptions to communications and basic services, especially in the Gaza Strip. These conditions have directly affected the timeliness of news transmission and compelled journalists and media institutions to seek alternative tools and platforms.

These challenges have coincided with national discussions on digital transformation and media resilience, as reflected in initiatives such as the Palestine Digital Activism Forum 2025. Within this landscape, Palestinian media have remained a central space for documenting violations,

while simultaneously facing additional constraints, including digital censorship, content removal, and restrictions on Palestinian narratives across global platforms. This has contributed to the growing role of citizen journalism and digital media as alternative channels for disseminating information.

The Palestinian media environment is further shaped by distinct gender-related challenges affecting women journalists and women's participation in media. Data from the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics indicate that women constitute only approximately 20.5 per cent of journalists registered with the Palestinian Journalists Syndicate, while women hold just 17.6 per cent of editorial leadership positions. The majority of these positions are concentrated in the West Bank, with no comparable representation in Gaza, reflecting a clear gap in both representation and decision-making power within local media institutions. This structural imbalance is reflected in coverage patterns and the allocation of voice, where women are more frequently positioned as those affected by events rather than as decision-makers, policy analysts, or authoritative sources.

Amid the war and ongoing escalation, field-based and digital targeting of women journalists has also intensified. According to the Palestinian Journalists Syndicate, 37 Palestinian women journalists were targeted by the end of 2025, facing daily threats, attempts to hack personal devices, and systematic disruption of their professional work. In response, the Syndicate launched national advocacy campaigns, including the slogan *"Her Voice Has Not Disappeared,"* to affirm the continued presence of women journalists despite mounting pressures.

Within this layered reality, analysis of media coverage cannot be separated from the coercive conditions under which news is produced, nor can patterns of gender representation be examined independently from the structures of occupation and violence that continuously reshape journalistic practice and its limits. From this perspective, the present monitoring exercise seeks to capture an accurate picture of how women and men are represented, and how voice and power are distributed within news content, during a single news day produced under conditions of repression and colonial domination.

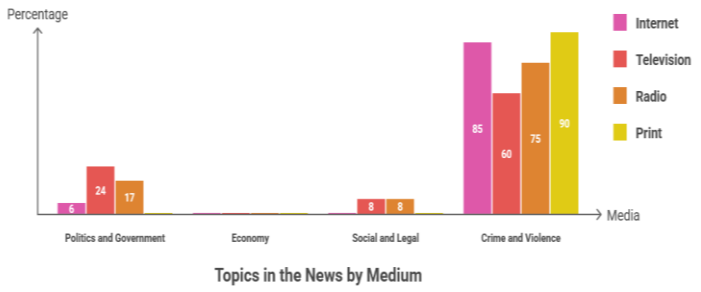
Accordingly, this monitoring was conducted in line with the internationally recognized GMMP methodology, in partnership with the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC). It is based on the monitoring of one news day through a sample reflecting the

diversity of media ownership and editorial orientations in Palestine. The sample included public, private, partisan, traditional, and digital media outlets: Palestine TV, Ma'an TV, Palestine Today TV, Radio Palestine, Ajyal Radio, and the daily newspapers *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, *Al-Ayyam*, and *Al-Quds*, in addition to digital platforms including Wattan News Network, Al-Quds Network, and Al-Fajr Television as a local online media outlet. This approach enables a comprehensive reading of the media landscape within its political and security context.

The monitoring was implemented in a manner that ensured conceptual consistency, accurate classification, and adherence to international standards. At the same time, the findings of this report cannot be detached from a media environment in which news is produced under conditions of repression, violence, and colonial rule—conditions that fundamentally shape the content, boundaries, and dominant narratives of media coverage

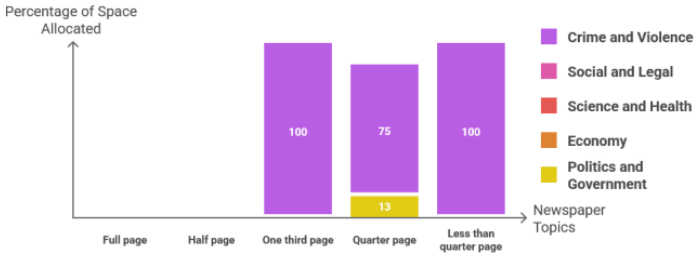
TOPICS IN THE NEWS

The monitoring findings indicate the dominance of the category of violence (excluding gender-based violence) across news coverage in all monitored media platforms. It is important to note that the violence referred to in this category relates specifically to violence perpetrated by the occupation forces and settlers, as reflected in the news items collected and monitored on that day, and does not refer to internal violence or criminal acts, which are often implicitly associated with the term.



Topics in the News by Medium

This pattern cannot be interpreted as an isolated editorial choice, but rather as a direct reflection of the closure of the Palestinian news field under the pressures of genocide and escalating colonial violence. The high proportion of this topic across print media, radio, television, and online platforms indicates that violent events have become the primary frame within which political, economic, and social issues are absorbed—not due to a decline in their significance,



but because of the impossibility of separating them from the violence exercised by occupation forces and settlers.

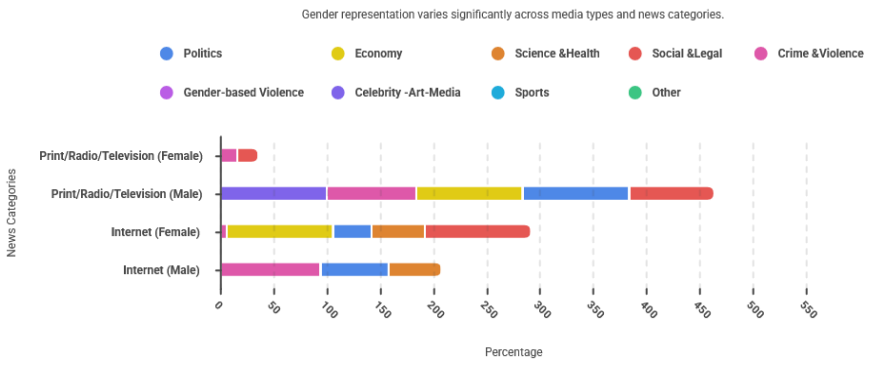
This conclusion is further reinforced when examining the distribution of space in newspapers. The findings reveal the absence of full-page or half-page coverage, alongside the presence of violence-related news within fragmented and limited spaces. This pattern reflects a mode of reporting based on the rapid accumulation of events, without providing the visual or analytical extension necessary to transform violence into an interpreted and contextualized structure.

In this context, the reduction of space does not indicate a diminished importance of the event, but rather points to coercive conditions of media production shaped by direct targeting, limited resources, and the acceleration of the news cycle. As a result, violence appears with high frequency as content, yet remains compressed as a field of interpretation.

The near-total absence of topics associated with "ordinary" daily life can be understood as an indicator of the suspension of the public sphere itself under conditions of genocide. When read collectively, the findings reveal the limitations of the methodological classification that separates violence from politics, while the Palestinian reality demonstrates that such a separation is not empirically sustainable. Accordingly, the numerical data acquire analytical meaning only when understood as expressions of the dominance of colonial violence over both news content and the conditions under which that content is produced

NEWS SUBJECTS AND SOURCES

News Topics: What is said about women, and in what context?

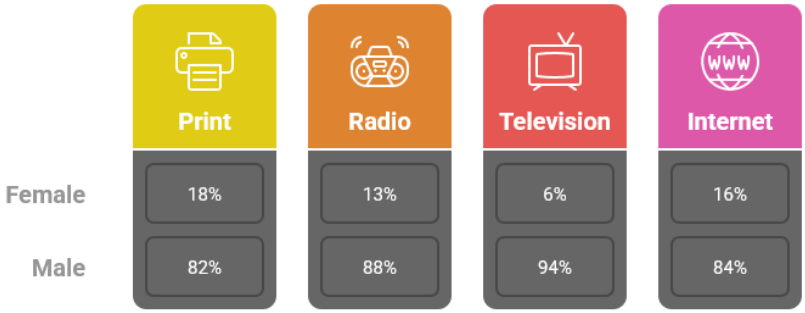


The news topic tables in traditional media reveal the near-total absence of women from issues classified under politics, the economy, science, and health. In print media, radio, and television, women's representation in these topics records 0 per cent. In contrast, limited female visibility is concentrated within social and legal issues (20 per cent) and crime and violence not related to gender-based violence (16 per cent).

This distribution reflects a dominant narrative pattern that positions women primarily as those affected by events rather than as decision-makers or participants in policy formulation. This framing helps explain their complete absence from economic coverage and from reporting related to the management of public affairs.

At the level of online media, the picture appears numerically less exclusionary, yet remains structurally consistent with the same underlying pattern. While women appear in political news at a rate of 36 per cent, and in economic and social issues at 100 per cent each, these percentages cannot be interpreted independently of the roles assigned to women within news stories. Cross-referencing these figures with the tables on function within the story demonstrates that women's presence is rarely framed as that of active agents or expert sources. Instead, they are primarily included as secondary sources or through personal testimonies. This indicates that online media expand visibility without fundamentally redistributing power or authority within the news narrative

News Sources: Who is allowed to speak, and in what capacity?



At the level of overall presence as news sources, the findings reveal a structural gender imbalance in who is granted the status of "source" across Palestinian media platforms. This imbalance constitutes a direct reflection of power relations within the news field and of prevailing definitions of who holds the right to speak and interpret events within the context of genocide and war.

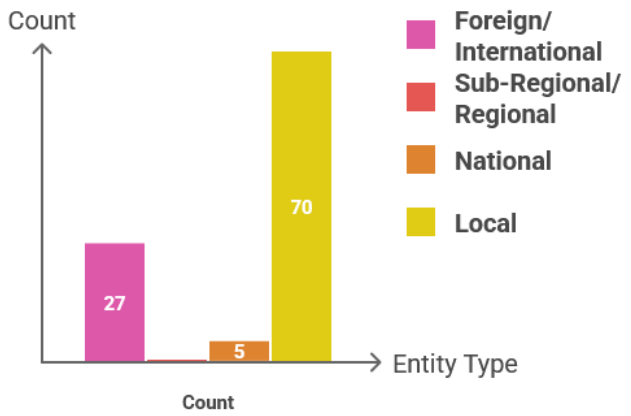
The sharp decline in women's presence as sources on television (6 per cent) carries particular significance—not only because television remains a widely consumed medium, but also because it relies most heavily on "legitimate" sources, including officials, spokespersons, and political and security leadership figures. Within this framework, women are excluded from the position of source not due to their absence from reality, but because the very definition of a "credible source" is embedded with masculine assumptions. These assumptions prioritize official, authoritative, and security-based voices as those entitled to explanation and

interpretation during wartime—positions that are historically and structurally dominated by men.

In print media (18 per cent) and radio (13 per cent), women's presence as sources increases relatively. However, this numerical rise does not translate into a qualitative shift in their position within the news story. The findings indicate that women are most often included as sources in local news and primarily in their capacity as those affected by events, rather than as interpreters of those events. Women are thus granted space to speak when coverage addresses daily hardship, displacement, loss, or social impact, but are largely excluded when news involves decision-making, political processes, or analytical interpretation. In this way, a gendered division of knowledge is reproduced: men explain, while women bear witness.

With regard to online media (16 per cent), despite its comparatively broader publishing space, it has not evolved into a genuine arena for redistributing source authority. As qualitative analysis demonstrates, digital platforms largely rely on the same news content circulated through television and radio, allowing male-dominated sourcing patterns to migrate across media without scrutiny. The increase in percentage therefore reflects formal diversity in voices, rather than a disruption of the deeper structures that determine who is asked, who is quoted, and who is recognized as a legitimate knower.

When these findings are examined in relation to geographic scope, a clear pattern emerges. Women are concentrated as sources in local news stories (70 cases), while their presence is nearly absent in national and regional coverage. This pattern is not coincidental, but directly linked to the construction of news itself: as the scale of the story expands, women's access to the position of source contracts. Women's lived experiences are treated as relevant within immediate and everyday contexts, but excluded from shaping broader national or political meaning.

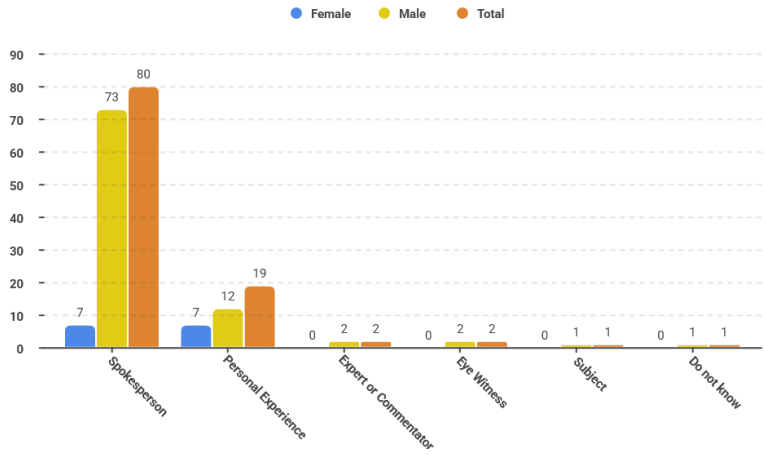


Taken together, these indicators demonstrate that women's exclusion as sources is not merely the result of limited access to women speakers, but rather a direct consequence of narrow

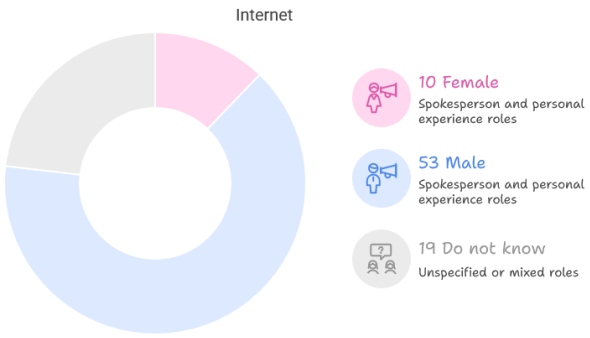
definitions of credibility and a news logic that privileges official and readily available voices under conditions of speed, violence, and crisis. This finding closely intersects with the report's broader conclusions regarding the dominance of violence, the prevalence of event-driven journalism, and the absence of analytical expansion. Women's representation as sources thus forms part of a deeper crisis in media knowledge production itself, rather than an isolated issue of gender balance.

Function of women within the news story

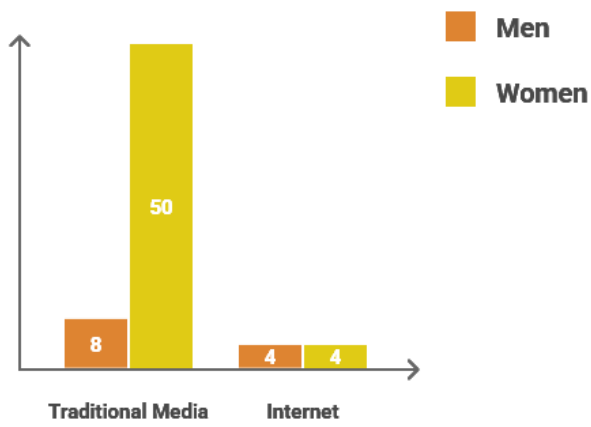
Women's roles within news narratives further illuminate the mechanisms of exclusion. In traditional media, women appear primarily through personal experience (seven cases), while their presence as official spokespersons remains extremely limited (seven cases compared to 73 men), alongside their complete absence as experts or commentators. These findings reaffirm the pattern identified above: men interpret and decide, while women recount what has happened to them.



Online media present only limited variation in form rather than in function. Women appear as official spokespersons in five cases and as providers of personal testimony in four cases, yet remain entirely absent as experts or analysts. What changes here is the breadth of voice, not its location within structures of epistemic authority.

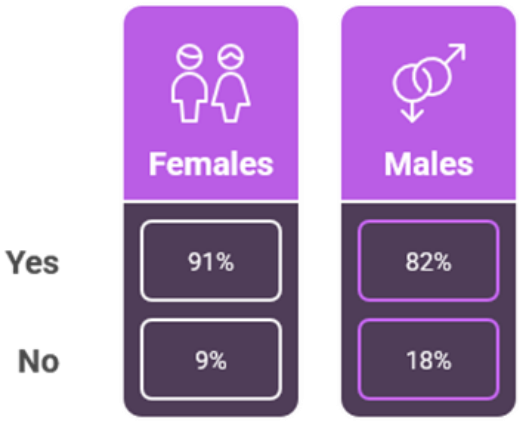


At the level of family-status identification, one of the most explicit forms of gender bias emerges in traditional media coverage. Fifty per cent of women are identified through their marital or family status, compared to only 8 per cent of men. This bias deepens when cross-referenced with the gender of the journalist: women journalists did not identify women through family status at all (0 per cent), whereas male journalists did so in 14 per cent of cases.

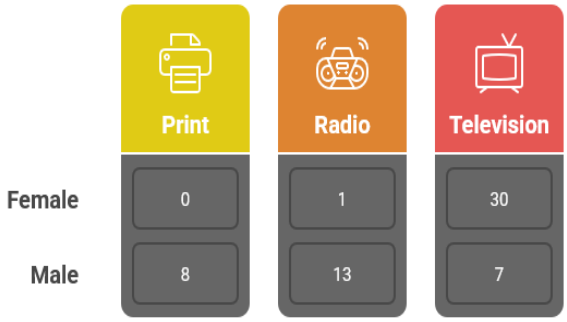


By contrast, this pattern declines significantly in online media, where only 4 per cent of women are identified through family status—a figure identical to that of men. While this may signal a positive shift, it remains largely symbolic, as it does not translate into increased access to positions of authority within the news text.

Finally, with regard to direct quotation, a notable paradox emerges. In traditional media, women are quoted at higher rates than men (91 per cent compared to 82 per cent). A similar pattern appears online, where the number of women and men quoted is equal (53 cases each). However, when these figures are examined in relation to the functions assigned to women's appearances, it becomes clear that quotation does not necessarily equate to influence. Instead, it often serves to reinforce women's positioning as witnesses or victims, rather than as political actors or holders of future-oriented perspectives



JOURNALISTS AND REPORTERS



The analysis of the journalists and reporters section shows that the patterns of exclusion previously identified in relation to *what is said about women* do not stop at the level of content, but are deeply rooted in the structure of news production itself. Gender inequality here does not relate solely to women's representation within news texts, but rather to who holds narrative authority and determines news angles within a media environment that is highly politicized and extremely dangerous as a result of the ongoing genocide.

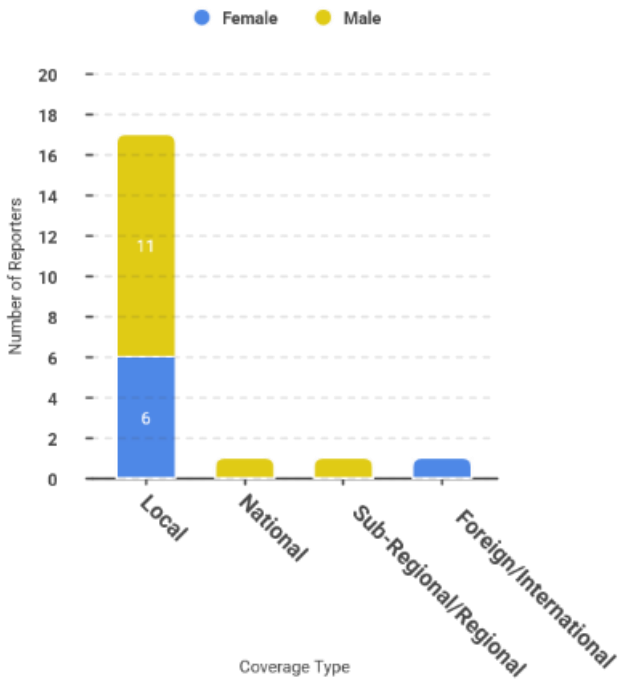
The data reveal a severe gender imbalance in print journalism, where women are entirely absent compared to the presence of eight male journalists. This absence directly intersects with the findings of the news topics section, which demonstrated the exclusion of women from political and economic coverage. This points to a causal relationship between who produces the news and what is defined as news in the first place.

In radio, women journalists account for no more than 7 per cent of contributors (one woman compared to thirteen men). This level of representation is insufficient to alter dominant coverage patterns or introduce alternative perspectives, particularly when linked to the findings of journalistic practice—which will be discussed in the following section—where a near-total absence of the integration of equality issues or the challenging of gender stereotypes was observed.

Television presents a contrasting numerical picture. Despite recording a high percentage of women journalists (81 per cent, 30 women compared to 7 men), reading this figure without considering the nature of roles leads to misleading conclusions. A breakdown of the tables distinguishing reporters and presenters shows that this high female presence is concentrated primarily in presentation roles rather than in field reporting or in the production of news stories. This distribution reproduces a familiar pattern in both Palestinian and global media: women occupy the visual front of the image, while men retain control over narrative construction and information flow. This helps explain why the numerical presence of women in television did

not translate into changes in coverage content or into the integration of a gender perspective within political and economic reporting.

When examining geographic scope, women journalists appear almost entirely confined to local coverage. Eighty-six per cent of their reporting is concentrated in local news (six stories), compared to only 14 per cent in international coverage (one story), with a complete absence from national and regional news. In contrast, male journalists appear across broader geographic levels, including national and regional coverage. This disparity can be linked to earlier findings showing women's absence from foreign policy, negotiations, and post-war futures, as women journalists are constructed primarily as witnesses to everyday realities rather than as actors within the broader political narratives of the conflict. In this sense, their professional presence intersects with women's positioning as news subjects or sources.

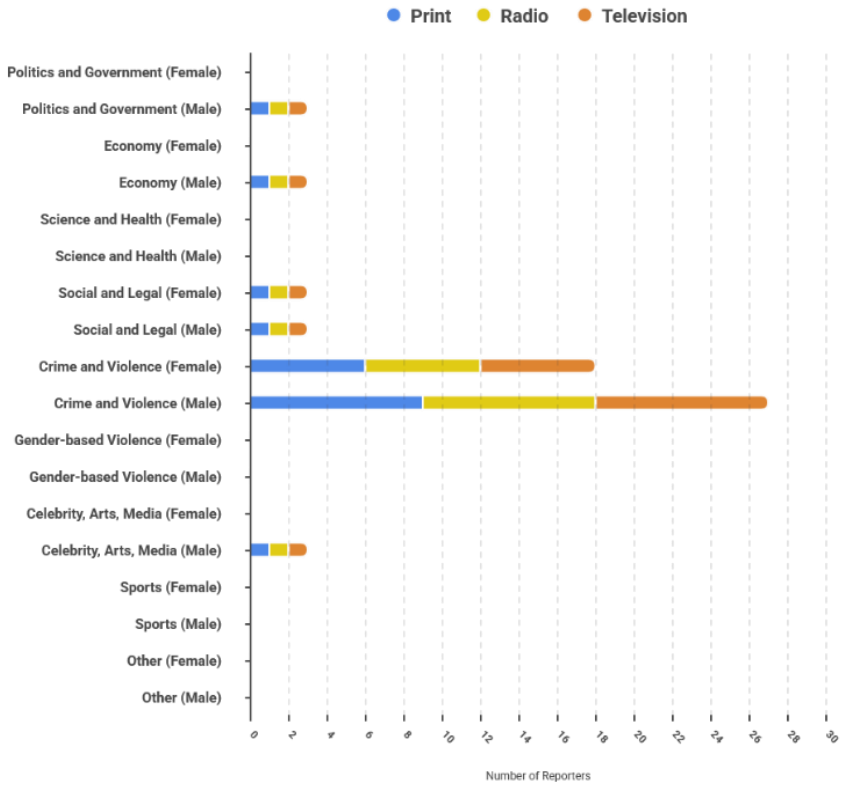


At the level of topic distribution, the tables confirm that politics and the economy remain largely closed domains for women journalists. Across print media, radio, and television, women record zero participation in these topics, compared to consistent male presence. By contrast, women's participation increases within the category of crime and violence (excluding gender-based violence), with six women journalists compared to nine male journalists across each medium. As previously clarified in the analysis of news topics, this category refers to violence perpetrated by the occupation forces and settlers. This concentration once again links women—even as producers of news—to narratives of violence and suffering rather than to

decision-making or political analysis, aligning with the pattern identified in the journalistic practice section regarding the introduction of gender only at moments of violation.

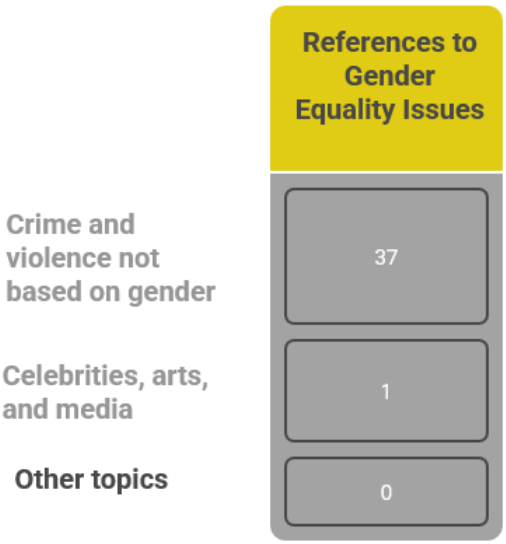
The findings of the table on “women as central subjects of the news” further confirm that the gender of the journalist does not alter this structural equation. Across all major topics, no news story positioned women as central subjects, whether produced by male or female journalists. This indicates that the presence of women in newsrooms or in the field is not sufficient on its own to reshape dominant narratives, as long as definitions of newsworthiness, acceptable angles, and role distribution remain governed by a single institutional structure.

In this sense, the journalists and reporters section represent the missing link that explains the findings of the previous sections. The absence of women from political and economic



coverage, the weak integration of equality issues, and the reproduction of gender stereotypes cannot be understood solely as content-related problems. Rather, they emerge as direct consequences of a news production structure dominated by men in editorial and decision-making positions, even during an exceptional historical moment such as the genocide in Gaza. Accordingly, this section reveals not only a representational imbalance, but also the limits of the Palestinian media’s ability—under conditions of occupation and war—to rethink itself, and to reconsider who is allowed to tell the Palestinian story, through which voice, and from which position

JOURNALISTIC PRACTICE

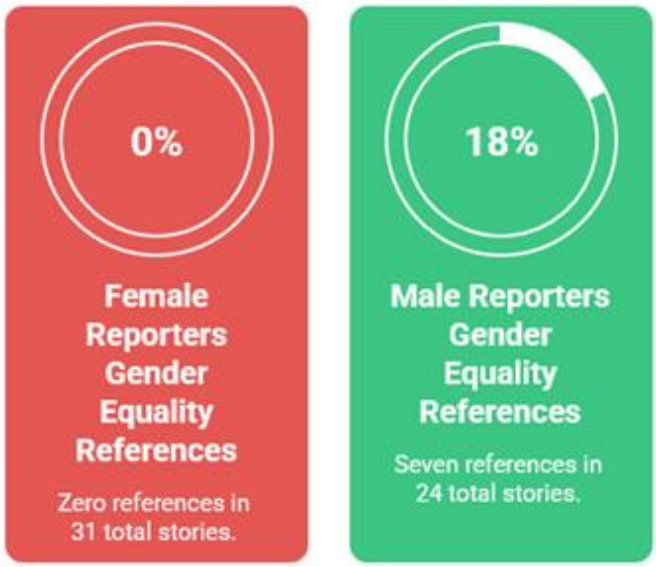


The analysis of journalistic practice shows that the marginalization of women from political and economic topics—previously identified in the analysis of news topics—does not stop at the level of *what is said*, but extends to *how it is said*, and to the ways in which issues of equality are integrated into the news text. When the findings of this section are read in relation to patterns of coverage and the structure of news production, it becomes evident that gender is not adopted as an independent analytical lens, but is instead invoked selectively and conditionally, depending on the nature of the event.

In traditional media, the tables indicate that references to gender equality, relevant legislation, or gender-related policies are almost entirely absent from most major topics. No references were recorded in politics, the economy, science, or health across print media, radio, and television (0 references out of 11 political news items, 2 economic items, and 0 science/health items). This absence can be understood as part of an editorial approach that treats equality-related issues as a "non-priority" during wartime, despite the fact that war itself reproduces the most severe forms of inequality.

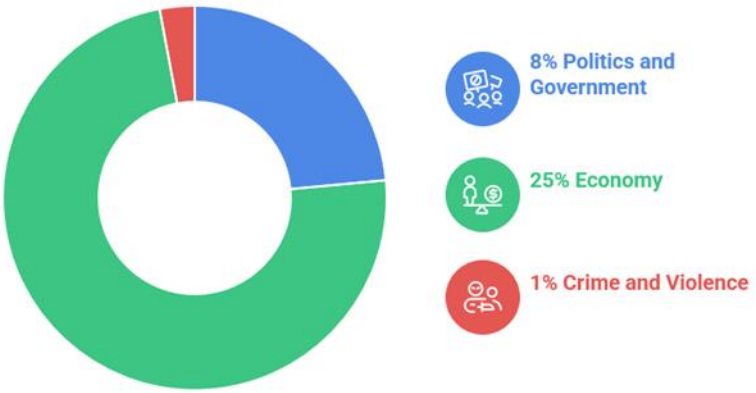
The only exception within traditional media appears under the category of "crime and violence (excluding gender-based violence)," where references to equality or rights were included in 37 news items out of 52 in the print press. Given the Palestinian context—where this category refers in 99 per cent of cases to violence perpetrated by the occupation forces and settlers—the inclusion of rights-based language does not reflect gender awareness as much as it represents a compelled invocation of human rights discourse when covering grave violations. In this sense, gender is not articulated as a structure of inequality in its own right, but rather as an auxiliary component within political condemnation narratives of the occupation.

When these results are disaggregated by the gender of the journalist, it becomes clear that journalistic practice is neither homogeneous nor a direct reflection of individual choices. According to the tables, women journalists did not include any references to equality or gender-related policies in any of the major topics (0 references across 31 news items authored by women). In contrast, male journalists included such references in only seven news items, most of which fell under the crime and violence category (7 out of 24 news items). This difference does not indicate higher gender awareness among male journalists; rather, it confirms that the inclusion of equality-related discourse is largely driven by the nature of the event itself—particularly violent incidents—rather than by a conscious editorial approach. This also explains the absence of such references in political and economic coverage even among male journalists.



This conclusion is further reinforced when examining the tables addressing the explicit raising of gender equality issues within news stories. Out of 118 news items in traditional media, equality-related issues were raised in only 26 stories, almost all of which fell within the crime and violence category (26 out of 101 items in this category). Once again, a consistent pattern emerges: gender is not introduced as an analytical framework for understanding reality, but as a moral add-on activated in moments of violation and then entirely excluded from discussions of governance, economics, and social management during wartime.

With regard to challenging gender stereotypes, the findings demonstrate severe limitations in the capacity of coverage to disrupt dominant frames. In traditional media, only 8 per cent of political stories (1 out of 13) and 25 per cent of economic stories (1 out of 4) were classified as challenging gender stereotypes, compared to 92 per cent and 75 per cent respectively that

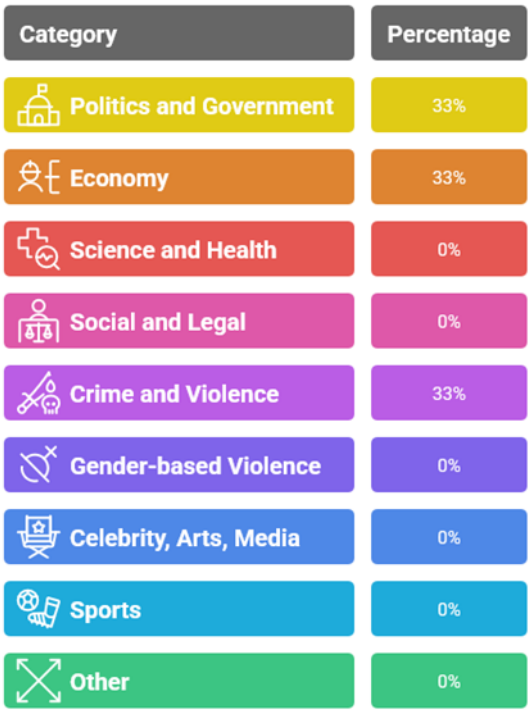


reproduced them. Within the crime and violence category—the largest numerically, with 101 news items—only 26 stories were classified as challenging stereotypes. This indicates that even when women appear or when rights-related issues are mentioned, narratives tend to reproduce traditional roles associated with victimhood, vulnerability, and the need for protection, rather than interrogating or deconstructing these representations.

This pattern intersects directly with the findings of the section on "women as central subjects of the news." In traditional media, no story positioned women as central subjects within politics, the economy, science, or health (0 out of 118 news items), with only a very limited exception within the crime and violence category (one story only, representing 5 per cent). This confirms that journalistic practice does not view women as legitimate entry points for analyzing public affairs, but rather as exceptional figures linked primarily to violent or tragic events.

Topic	Raising Gender Equality Issues	Not Raising Gender Equality Issues
Politics and Government	0	3
Economy	1	1
Science and Health	0	1
Social and Legal	0	1
Crime and Violence (excluding gender-based violence)	0	40
Gender-based violence	0	0
Celebrity, Arts, Media	0	0
Sports	0	0
Other	0	0

At the level of online media, the picture appears numerically less exclusionary but remains structurally similar. Out of 47 online news items, gender equality issues were raised in only one story, which fell under the economy category (1 out of 2 economic news items). Political news, crime and violence, and social issues contained no references at all, despite constituting the overwhelming majority of content (46 news items with no references). This indicates that online media, despite its formal flexibility, reintroduces gender only in highly exceptional and limited ways.



The same pattern applies to the challenging of stereotypes in online media. Only three news items (33 per cent) out of 47 were classified as challenging gender stereotypes, distributed across politics, the economy, and crime. Similarly, women were positioned as central subjects in only three news stories (33 per cent): one political, one economic, and one social. What changes here is the breadth of visibility, not the relocation of women into positions of epistemic or narrative authority.

Overall, this analysis demonstrates that journalistic practice in both traditional and digital media reflects structural constraints more than individual editorial decisions. Under conditions of genocide and war, news production is governed by the logic of the "dominant event," whereby politics is reduced to confrontation, violence is reduced to numbers and casualties, and structural questions—most notably gender equality—are continuously deferred. The data reveal that this deferral is not neutral; rather, it actively reproduces the exclusion of women from the center of political and economic life, confirming that their absence is not the result of limited sources, but of a comprehensive editorial approach that defines what counts as news and who is granted a central position within it

CASE STUDIES

The news items monitored on 6 May 2025 present a condensed picture of the nature of Palestinian news coverage at the height of the genocidal war and siege. Violent events dominate the media landscape, while the logic of speed and accumulation takes precedence over analysis and interpretation. The significance of these cases lies not only in their content, but also in the way they are constructed, the voices that are present or absent, and the manner in which they are reproduced across multiple platforms as self-contained news items.

One of the monitored news stories addressed the incursion of occupation forces into the city of Jenin and its refugee camp, accompanied by large figures indicating the demolition of approximately 600 homes and the displacement of thousands of residents. The story is presented in a direct, report-style format, focusing on the scale of destruction and the

progression of the military operation, relying on official statements or generalized descriptions such as “local sources.” Despite the profound social and humanitarian weight of the event, the report contains no voices from within the camp, no direct testimonies from displaced or affected residents, and particularly no perspectives from women, who bear a compounded burden in contexts of housing loss and the reorganization of daily life.

In this framing, the camp is transformed into a number, and displacement into an immediate incident, without political questioning of demolition policies or linking them to the broader settler-colonial structure in the northern West Bank. This formulation reflects the report’s quantitative findings regarding the dominance of violence-related news, the marginalization of women as active sources, and the near-exclusive reliance on rapid documentation.

Another news item announces the complete closure of Jenin refugee camp and the prohibition of entry, alongside references to ongoing bulldozing and widespread destruction. The story is constructed around the narration of military measures as established facts, without any expansion on the legal or humanitarian dimensions of the closure. No legal experts are consulted, no representatives of local institutions are cited, and no testimonies are included regarding the impact of the closure on everyday life. The question of time is entirely absent: what does the closure of the camp for days, weeks, or months mean? How is life managed inside? And who bears the social cost?

Other news items address settler attacks on villages and agricultural lands surrounding Jenin, where the assaults are presented as isolated incidents: property arson, destruction of trees, or physical attacks. The reporting relies on official statements or generalized descriptions, without direct community voices and without a clear linkage between settler violence and concurrent military policies. Notably, women—despite being among those most affected by land loss, movement restrictions, and chronic insecurity—do not appear either as sources or as active actors. This mode of reporting produces an artificial separation between different forms of violence and weakens the capacity of the news narrative to expose the integrated colonial structure that connects state violence with settler violence. This pattern directly intersects with the findings of the “news sources” section of the report.

In news coverage from Gaza, the same pattern recurs with even greater intensity: casualty figures, continuous bombardment, the collapse of health services, and food shortages. These stories are conveyed through emotionally charged humanitarian language, yet remain confined

within a victim-centered narrative. Women appear—when they are mentioned at all—as bereaved mothers or displaced persons, with no recognition of their roles as decision-makers or social actors, despite the profound gender transformations imposed by the war, which has forced many women to assume breadwinning responsibilities and make critical decisions for their families. This contradiction between a transforming social reality and static media representation reflects the report's conclusion that Palestinian media, despite the expansion of its digital presence, has not redistributed symbolic power within news narratives.

When tracing these stories across different media platforms, it becomes evident that the versions published on news websites are almost identical to that broadcast on radio and television, with only minor stylistic variations that do not affect the substance of the content. This repetition reflects not only limited resources, but also the dominance of a journalistic model based on transmission and generalization, whereby the journalist becomes a link in a chain of rebroadcasting rather than a producer of knowledge. While the report acknowledges the severity of security conditions and the rapid pace of events, this reality does not eliminate the possibility of non-field-based expansion, such as diversifying sources, situating events within their political and historical context, or introducing a critical gender perspective—possibilities that were absent in most of the cases examined.

Taken as a whole, these news items do not represent isolated examples, but rather constitute a practical manifestation of the quantitative monitoring results: the dominance of violence on the news agenda, reliance on official sources, the exclusion of women as active sources, and the prevalence of transmission-based journalism over analytical reporting. In doing so, they raise a central question that extends beyond the monitoring day itself to the future of Palestinian journalistic practice: how can media operating under conditions of genocide move from managing events to interrogating them, and from documenting pain to deconstructing the structures that produce it—without denying the severity of the context or underestimating the risks it entails?

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This report provides a multi-layered reading of the state of gender representation in Palestinian media in 2025, within an exceptional colonial context marked by an ongoing genocidal war on the Gaza Strip and systematic violent escalation in the West Bank. The quantitative and qualitative monitoring findings demonstrate that patterns of media coverage cannot be separated from the conditions under which news is produced under occupation, where news agendas, journalistic practices, and positions of voice are reshaped within an environment of permanent violence and unprecedented temporal and security pressure.

The data confirm that violence—more precisely, violence perpetrated by the occupation forces and settlers—dominates the news landscape across all media platforms, absorbing political, economic, and social issues within it. This reality reflects not only an objective prioritization imposed by unfolding events, but also generates a news model based on the rapid accumulation of facts, limiting possibilities for analysis, interpretation, and the construction of long-term narratives. Within this framework, news becomes an instrument of urgent documentation rather than a space for knowledge production or structural accountability.

Within this dominant model, gender inequality emerges as a structural rather than incidental flaw. Women are almost entirely absent from political and economic topics in traditional media, and their limited presence online is not accompanied by a meaningful shift in positions of power within the news text. When women do appear, it is most often within frames of violence—specifically occupation and settler violence—or within social issues, and in roles associated with personal experience and suffering rather than analysis or decision-making. In this way, the image of women as objects of news rather than agents within it is continuously reproduced, even as gender roles on the ground are being reshaped by war and siege.

The findings related to news sources reveal a strong reliance on official and male-dominated sources within Palestinian media. Women are excluded from positions defined as “experts” or “official spokespersons,” and their presence is largely confined to the local and everyday sphere. This local concentration does not merely reflect political marginalization, but symbolically reinforces a separation between women and sovereign issues such as foreign policy, conflict management, and post-war futures. This division becomes even more pronounced in the frequent identification of women through their family status in traditional

media—a biased practice that largely disappears online, yet does not translate into genuine narrative or epistemic empowerment.

At the level of journalistic practice, the report reveals a near-total absence of the integration of gender equality or rights-based perspectives within political, economic, scientific, and health coverage. Gender is invoked only marginally within violence-related news, most often as an ethical appendix to human rights discourse rather than as an analytical lens for understanding structures of injustice. The analysis demonstrates that this absence is not solely linked to the gender of the journalist, but rather to a prevailing editorial logic that defers structural questions under the justification of "emergency," despite the fact that emergency conditions themselves reproduce new and intensified forms of inequality.

The structure of news production—particularly the distribution of journalists and reporters—adds another layer to this exclusion. Despite the high numerical presence of women in television, their roles remain largely confined to presentation and visual visibility, while men dominate field reporting, editorial decision-making, and coverage of politics and the economy. This separation between appearance and narrative authority explains why women's presence in newsrooms does not translate into substantive changes in coverage content or into the dismantling of gender stereotypes.

The qualitative case studies demonstrate that these patterns are not theoretical assumptions, but concrete daily practices. News related to Jenin, its refugee camps, settler attacks, and events in Gaza is reproduced across media platforms in nearly identical formats, with little expansion or contextualization. This reflects the dominance of transmission-based journalism, in which the journalist becomes a conveyor of events rather than a producer of narrative and meaning. While the report recognizes the severity of security conditions and the accelerating pace of events, it also demonstrates that these realities do not eliminate the possibility of non-field-based expansion, nor do they justify the exclusion of women's voices or their reduction to narratives of pain alone.

Overall, the findings do not reveal a "failure" of Palestinian media so much as they expose the limits of media operating under conditions of genocide and colonial domination. Gender bias in coverage is part of a broader global and local news structure that defines politics, neutrality, and expertise through a masculinized and authority-centered lens. At the same time, the report opens an important critical horizon: while occupation imposes severe constraints on

journalistic work, questioning the structure of news, its language, and its narrative frameworks remains a possible space for professional and epistemic resistance.

Accordingly, this report functions as both a diagnostic and an accountability tool. It does not merely enumerate women's representation percentages, but situates them within the conditions of news production, the gendered transformations imposed by war, and the contradiction between global discourse on gender justice and the Palestinian reality. From this standpoint, the report does not offer definitive answers, but rather raises a central question for the future of Palestinian media: how can news production—even under the harshest conditions—become more just, more aware of colonial structures, and more equitable toward women as agents within the narrative, rather than as mere victims contained within it

RECOMMENDATIONS AND ACTION PLAN 2026–2030

Based on the findings and conclusions of this report, and grounded in the specific Palestinian context governed by a colonial structure that undermines the possibilities of media work and development in its conventional sense, the following recommendations are presented as a critical and gradual action pathway. This pathway does not assume the possibility of isolated reform detached from political reality, but rather operates within the available margins, while acknowledging that any genuine structural transformation remains contingent upon the end of occupation.

At the level of media policies and institutions

Develop editorial policies that integrate a gender perspective as an analytical tool for understanding reality, rather than as a moral add-on or a formal requirement. This includes revisiting definitions of the "expert source" and "opinion holder," and expanding these categories to include women as political actors, experts, and community leaders—not only as witnesses to suffering. Media institutions are also encouraged to adopt internal policies that promote source diversity and reduce near-exclusive reliance on official and security-based sources. Such diversification can open space for broader narratives that more accurately represent the Palestinian experience, particularly in contexts of violence and war.

At the level of journalistic practice

Encourage a shift from transmission-based journalism toward interpretive and analytical reporting, even under field constraints, through investment in indirect expansion tools such as

phone interviews, data journalism, human rights reports, and the contextualization of events within their historical and political frameworks. Journalists should also be supported in developing critical professional awareness that goes beyond counting women's appearances to questioning the language used, narrative frames, and positions of voice within news stories. This approach enables the dismantling of representation patterns that confine women to victimhood or personal experience.

At the level of news structure and media discourse

Undertake a critical review of the conventional news structure as it has been institutionalized within global media practice, recognizing that it is not a neutral template but one embedded with epistemological and power-based assumptions that frequently reproduce hierarchies and exclude women's voices—particularly in contexts of colonialism and war. In the Palestinian case, news cannot be treated as a technical product detached from context, nor can media rely on notions of "neutrality" that obscure profound power asymmetries. Accordingly, the report recommends developing narrative news forms that are more grounded in lived reality, capable of exposing the colonial structure of violence, and able to position women as producers of meaning rather than merely as subjects of news.

It is further recommended that critical reflection on language and narrative framing be integrated into editorial policies and training programs, so that the guiding question becomes not only "Who appeared in the news?" but also "How was the story constructed, and who was granted the authority to interpret the event?"

At the level of training and capacity-building

Design advanced training programs, in partnership with feminist and media organizations, that focus on gender-sensitive journalism in contexts of conflict and colonial domination, rather than technical "empowerment" approaches detached from political realities. It is also recommended to institutionalize the periodic use of GMMP findings within newsrooms as tools for self-assessment and internal accountability. This includes supporting women journalists' access to analytical and decision-making roles, encouraging specialization in political and economic reporting, and avoiding the confinement of women journalists to social or humanitarian coverage.

At the level of advocacy and international pressure

Utilize the findings of this report as an advocacy tool targeting international institutions and digital platforms, highlighting the contradiction between global discourse on gender justice and the silence—or complicity—regarding the targeting of Palestinian women and women journalists. Advocacy efforts should consistently emphasize that improving the situation of media and women in Palestine cannot be separated from the colonial context, and should reject the reduction of recommendations to "developmental" frameworks that overlook the core dynamics of domination and control.

Annex 1. Methodology

This monitoring was conducted within the framework of the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) 2025, an international methodology coordinated by the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC). The project is implemented in more than one hundred countries using a standardized global tool designed to measure gender representation in news content over a single monitoring day.

The methodology is based on both quantitative and qualitative analysis of published and broadcast news, with a focus on the types of topics covered, the identity of news sources, the roles assigned to women and men within news stories, and patterns of journalistic practice.

In the Palestinian context, the monitoring was conducted on 6 May 2025, under exceptional conditions marked by the continuation of the genocidal war on the Gaza Strip, alongside escalating violence, military incursions, and forced displacement in the West Bank. These conditions had a direct impact on the nature of the news day and the intensity of events covered.

The monitoring sample included a selection of Palestinian media outlets chosen to reflect diversity in ownership and editorial orientation, as well as a balance between traditional and digital media. This approach enabled a broader and more representative reading of the Palestinian media landscape.

The monitoring team consisted of two women journalists with prior experience in implementing GMMP monitoring. They underwent prior methodological and analytical training conducted by the Women's Centre for Development and Media – TAM, in order to ensure strict adherence to approved classifications, unified concepts, and accuracy in data entry.

Monitoring was carried out using the standardized GMMP monitoring forms issued by WACC, with full compliance with global guidelines related to topic classification, identification of sources' gender, and the functions assigned to sources within news stories.

The Media and Gender Officer at the Women's Centre for Development and Media – TAM, **Bisan Atmezeh**, was responsible for data entry and for drafting the national report. The Centre's team supervised the process of news collection, review, and verification to ensure consistency with the approved methodology.

All monitored news materials were archived and reviewed to verify the accuracy of classification and to ensure data quality, thereby strengthening the reliability of the findings and analyses presented in this report.

Annex 2. List of Monitors

- Bisan Atmezeh
- Maha Al-Zaghari
- Mariam Al-Suweity
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