



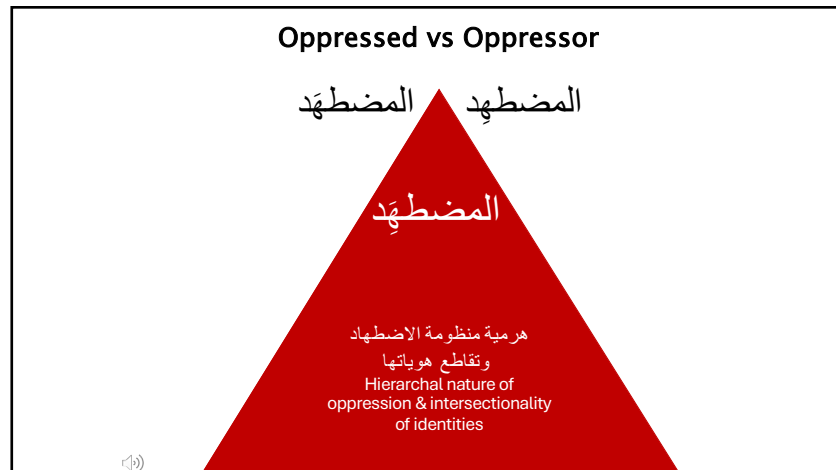
1

**our media literacy – تربيتنا الإعلامية**

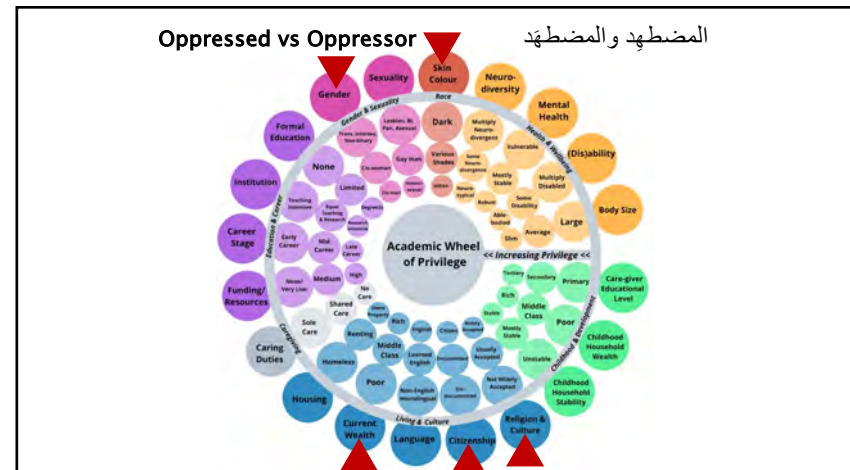
A media literacy of the **oppressed**  
 essentially an **emancipatory** media literacy

تربية إعلامية للمضطهدين  
 أي تربية إعلامية تحررية

2



3



4

## Oppressed vs Oppressor

المضطهد والمضطهد



subaltern

**Almost all of us are simultaneously survivors/victims and vassals of oppression**

إننا جميعًا تقريبًا ناجين/ضحايا  
من الاضطهاد وأدوات اضطهاد في نفس الوقت

5

## Conditions of Oppression

ظروف الاضطهاد

exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, violence, cultural imperialism

Iris Young (2009)

الاستغلال، التهميش، العجز، العنف، الإمبريالية الثقافية

ايريس يانغ

6

## Conditions of Oppression

ظروف الاضطهاد

exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, violence, cultural imperialism

الاستغلال، التهميش، العجز، العنف، الإمبريالية الثقافية

These conditions deal with the "often unconscious assumptions and reactions of well-meaning people..., media and cultural stereotypes, and structural features of ... market mechanisms—in short, the normal processes of everyday life"

Iris Young (2009)

تتعامل هذه الظروف مع "الافتراضات وردود الأفعال اللاواعية في كثير من الأحيان للأشخاص ذوي النوايا الحسنة في التفاعلات العادية، والصور النمطية وآليات السوق - باختصار، العمليات الطبيعية للحياة اليومية".

7

## Conditions of Oppression

ظروف الاضطهاد

exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, violence, cultural imperialism

+ **wretchedness**

الاستغلال، التهميش، العجز، العنف، الإمبريالية الثقافية

+ **البؤس**



8

**Conditions of Oppression** ظروف الاضطهاد

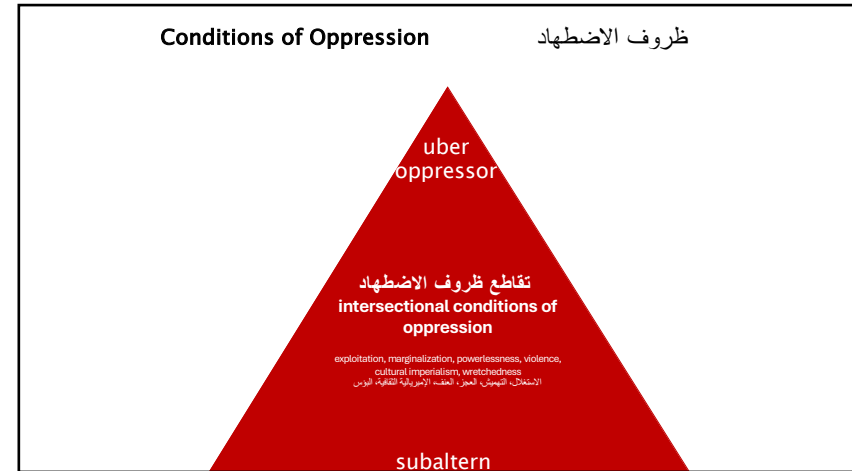
**+wretchedness**  
+ اليأس

**Wretchedness:** the condition of many post-colonial nations of the Global South... who continue to suffer from colonial legacies: imperialism, apartheid, occupation, segregation, military intervention, economic sanctions, Western hegemony, war, ethnic cleansing, genocide...

Melki (2025)

**اليأس:** حالة العديد من أمم ما بعد الاستعمار في الجنوب العالمي... التي لا تزال تعاني من الإرث الاستعماري، بما في ذلك الإمبريالية، والفصل العنصري، والاحتلال، والتمييز العنصري، والتدخل العسكري، والعقوبات الاقتصادية، والهيمنة الثقافية الغربية/الأوروبية.

9



10

**our media literacy – تربيّتنا الاعلامية**

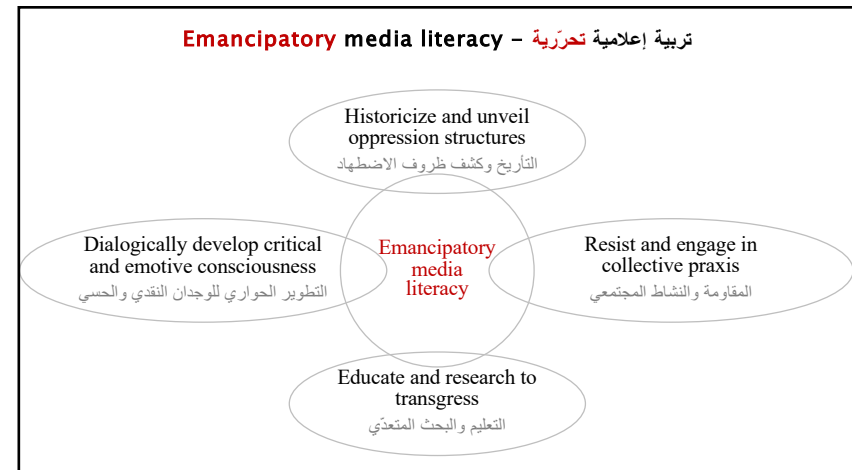
**An emancipatory media literacy that changes conditions of oppression**

An intersectional feminist, critical anti-racist, anti-sectarian, anti-colonialist (anti-Zionist) and transgressive media literacy pedagogy.

**تربية إعلامية تحرّرية تغيّر ظروف الاضطهاد**

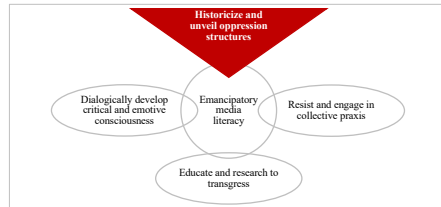
هي حركة نسوية تقاطعية (أي لنهضة كل المجتمع وليس فقط للنساء)، نقدية مناهضة للعنصرية (أي مناهضة للطائفية+)، مناهضة للاستعمار (أي مناهضة للصهيونية+)، تربية إعلامية هجومية (أي تغييرية وليست فقط دفاعية).

11



12

### تربية إعلامية تحررية - Emancipatory media literacy

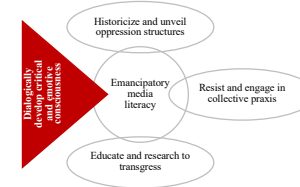


Instead of getting lost in decontextualized micro analyses of mediated phenomena, it **situates oppression within a real historical—usually post-colonial—moment** and views oppression as a **structural systematic** matter, rather than only an individual aggression.

بدل الضياع في التحليلات الجزئية المفرغة من المضمون للظواهر المنقولة عبر الوسائط الإعلامية، انها تضع الاضطهاد في **لحظة تاريخية حقيقية - عادة ما تكون ما بعد الاستعمار -** وتنظر إلى الاضطهاد كمسألة **منهجية هرمية**، وليس مجرد عدوان فردي.

13

### تربية إعلامية تحررية - Emancipatory media literacy

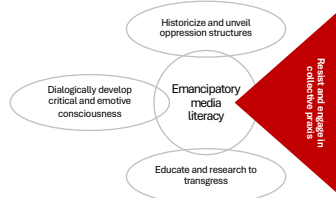


Through dialogue with diverse groups, the community **develops a critical understanding of the intersectional victims of oppression as well as the vassals of oppression**, recognizing how our words, productions, actions, inaction, silence, complacency, contribute to sustaining our unjust oppressive world.

من خلال المشاركة الحوارية مع أطراف متنوعة - ويفضل أن تكون متعارضة - يطور الفرد والمجتمع فهماً نقدياً لضحايا الاضطهاد المتقاطعي الهويات وكذلك أدوات القمع، وبالتالي فهم كيف تساهم كلماتنا وإنتاجاتنا وأفعالنا وتفاعسنا وصمتنا في إعادة خلق هذا العالم القمعي الظالم واستدامته.

14

### تربية إعلامية تحررية - Emancipatory media literacy

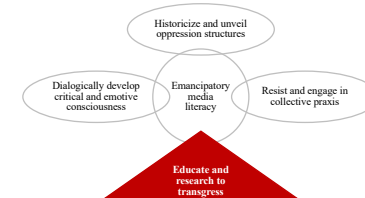


Individuals work with the marginalized communities to design **short-term and long-term solutions** and engage in communal, national and global movements to fight oppression and patiently and gradually change the world of the oppressed.

يعمل الأفراد مع المجموعات المهمشة لتصميم حلول قصيرة وطويلة الأمد والانخراط في المقاومة والحركات المجتمعية والوطنية والعالمية لمحاربة الاضطهاد وتغيير عالم المظلومين وتدرجياً وبصبر كبير.

15

### تربية إعلامية تحررية - Emancipatory media literacy



This is key to **creating and generalizing the local knowledge and practice** of emancipatory media literacy and enabling collective emancipatory action.

وهذا أمر أساسي لخلق وتعميم المعرفة والممارسة المحلية للتربية الإعلامية التحررية وتمكين العمل التحرري الجماعي.

16

**Emancipatory media literacy – تربية إعلامية تحررية**

Emancipatory media literacy

Media Literacy of the Oppressed: An Emancipatory Pedagogy for/with the Marginalized	
Jad Melki	
Dedication	2
Chapter 1 – Failures of Mainstream Media Literacy: A Case for an Emancipatory Media Literacy Framework	3
Chapter 2 – Media Literacy of Oppressed Identities: An Intersectional Feminist Approach for the Whole Society	19
Chapter 3 – Media Literacy of Terrorism and Populism: The Relationship between Media and Oppression	41
Chapter 4 – Media Literacy of Colonialism, War, and Genocide: The Clash of Narratives and the Crashing of Worlds	55
Chapter 5 – Media Literacy of Pandemics and Infodemics: Saving Society from the Plague of Fake News, Misinformation and Conspiracy Theories	115
Chapter 6 – Toward an Alliance of 21 <sup>st</sup> Century Intersectional Literacies	142
Epilogue – Marginal Issues, False Victimhood, and Performative Solidarity	147
References	151

17

## The Great Narrative Clash

**Israeli narrative:** “Zionism was a national liberation movement with a strong socialist past and more recent liberal tendencies that entered its ancient homeland, derelict and empty since the exile of the Jews in Roman time, waiting to be resettled.”

**Palestinian narrative:** “Zionism was a colonialist movement that penetrated the Palestinian homeland by force, with the wish to colonize the country and with possible expansionist ambitions to penetrate the heart of the Arab world”

Ilan Pappé (2008), Israeli historian  
The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine

18

## 100 years of bitter history: Western (British/French) colonial legacies

**1900-1956**  
Dividing Historical Syria تقسيم سورية الطبيعية  
Reneging on promises of independence  
Forcing the Zionist project on Palestine

19

## 100 years of bitter history: Legacy of U.S. hegemony and ethnic cleansing of Palestine

**1967-2000**  
Cold War  
War on Terrorism  
Shift from unipolar power

**2000-2024**  
Global Shifts  
Media Changes  
Political Transformations  
Oct 7 Operation Al-Aqsa Flood

20

## Media/Military Changes in Past Two Decades

### Major military/media gains in experience by the resistance

Israeli invasion and retreat from Lebanon (1982-2000)  
 U.S. war on Iraq (2003-)  
 Israeli war on Lebanon (2006)  
 Saudi+ war on Yemen (2014-current)  
 Gulf+Western war on Syria (2011-current)  
 Israeli attacks on Gaza (2008, 2012, 2014, 2021) - "Mowing the grass"  
 Russian invasion of Ukraine (2022-)

21

## Oct 7, 2023, Operation Al-Aqsa Flood

### Palestinian resistance had the initiative

Media/Military plan put in advance: Cameras as prevalent as weapons



22

## Oct 7, 2023, Operation Al-Aqsa Flood

### Israelis caught off guard

Blundering military/media response, multiple failed news frames, clumsy propaganda



23

## Oct 7, 2023, Operation Al-Aqsa Flood

**Palestinian+** audiences saw triumph, power, revival, hope


**Israeli+** audiences saw defeat, weakness, failure, shock

World's attention fixated on Palestine  
 Propaganda and misinformation ran unabated

24

Oct 7, 2023, Operation Al-Aqsa Flood

Despite savage Israeli bombardment of **civilians: 100,000+ killed**  
Resistance rockets and guerilla attacks ran unabated



25

Oct 7, 2023, Operation Al-Aqsa Flood


Despite savage Israeli bombardment of **civilians: 100,000+ killed**  
Resistance Press releases continued



26

Oct 7, 2023, Operation Al-Aqsa Flood


Despite savage Israeli bombardment of **civilians: 100,000+ killed**  
Resistance media/military operations, announcements uninterrupted



27

Oct 7, 2023, Operation Al-Aqsa Flood

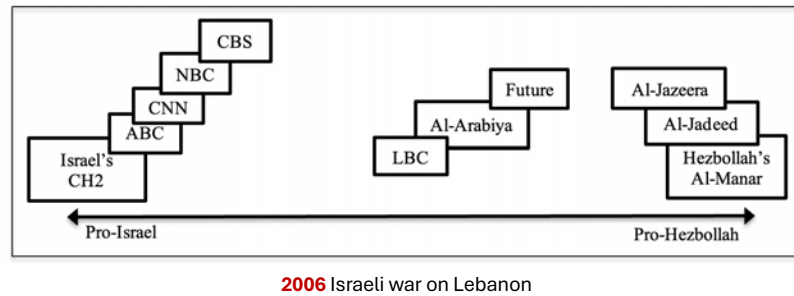
Despite savage Israeli bombardment of **civilians: 100,000+ killed**  
Resistance fighters and leaders became iconic



28



## Media Coverage of Middle East Wars



29

## Major changes in media ecosystem

### Media uses during crises

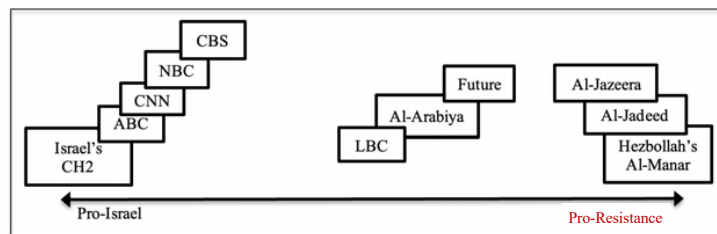
Year	Legacy media (TV)	Social/Mobile media
2013	88%	38%
2015	88%	60% ▲
2019	88%	65% ▲
2020	86% ▼	74% ▲

30

## Legacy Media Coverage

### Legacy media followed predictable trends

Western media **unabashedly** pro-Israel, Arab media **typically** split



31

## Social Media: 99% vs 1%

### Social media followed unpredictable trends

#Pro-Palestine **8X** more prevalent than #Pro-Israeli

Although #Pro-Israeli groups spent **100X** more on advertising



32



## Social Media: 99% vs 1%

Despite Israelis targeting **journalists: 129+ killed**

Despite shadow banning, blocking... journalists became household names



33

## Social Media: 99% vs 1%

Despite Israelis targeting **journalists: 100+ killed**

Journalists featured in stories, protests... became heroes



34

## Social Media: 99% vs 1%

Despite Israelis targeting **journalists: 100+ killed**

Journalists featured in stories, protests... became heroes **and martyrs**



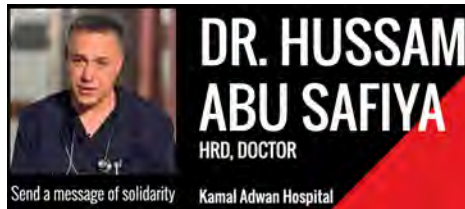
35



36

Social Media: 99% vs 1%

Despite Israelis targeting **doctors and medics: 1000+ killed**  
Many refused to leave, became news sources, heroes and martyrs



**Dr. Hussam Abu Safiya**  
13 February 2023  
Dr. Hussam Abu Safiya subjected to torture and ill-treatment in Israeli prisons  
**Violations**  
#Enforced Disappearance  
#Arbitrary detention  
#Torture / Ill-Treatment  
**Location**  
#Region: Middle East and North Africa  
#Occupied Palestinian Territory

37

Social Media: 99% vs 1%

Despite arrests, violence and doxing, **especially in US/EU**  
Global protests kept issue alive



38

Social Media: 99% vs 1%

Despite arrests, violence and doxing, **especially in US/EU**  
Students put universities in crisis mode



39

Social Media: 99% vs 1%

Despite arrests, violence and doxing, **especially in US/EU**  
Students put universities in crisis mode



40



41



42

Social Media: 99% vs 1%

Despite **false** accusations of **Antisemitism**  
Activists joined the media battle

Black Lives Matter Grassroots stands in solidarity with our Palestinian family who are currently resisting 57 years of settler colonialism and apartheid. As Black people continue the fight to end militarism and mass incarceration in our own communities, let us understand the resistance in Palestine as an attempt to tear down the gates of the world's largest open air prison. As a radical Black organization grounded in abolitionist ideals, we see clear parallels between Black and Palestinian people.

Greta Thunberg @GretaThunberg · 3h  
Week 270. Today we strike in solidarity with Palestine and Gaza. The world needs to speak up and call for an immediate ceasefire, justice and freedom for Palestinians and all civilians affected.

#FreePalestine #StandWithPalestine #StandWithGaza #FridaysForFuture Thread

THIS JEW STANDS WITH PALESTINE

CLIMATE JUSTICE NOW

STAND WITH GAZA

43

I'm not afraid to lose modelling jobs and will continue to speak up on Palestine 🇵🇸

— Bella Hadid

Norman Finkelstein  
The Martyrdom of Gaza and the Future of Palestine

DOES ISRAEL'S TREATMENT VIOLATE

44



## Social Media: 99% vs 1%



45

## Social Media: 99% vs 1%

Artists joined the battle with **resistance art**  
 Memes, songs, paintings, poetry... filled the spectrum



46



47

## Social Media: 99% vs 1%

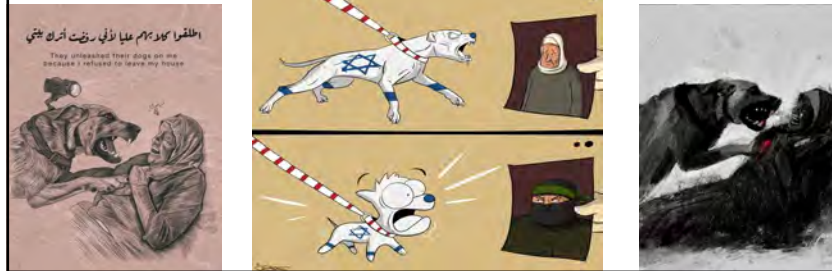
Artists joined the battle with **resistance art**  
 Memes, songs, paintings, poetry... filled the spectrum



48

## Social Media: 99% vs 1%

Artists joined the battle with **resistance art**  
 Memes, songs, paintings, poetry... filled the spectrum



49

## Social Media: 99% vs 1%

Artists joined the battle with **resistance art**  
 Memes, songs, paintings, poetry... filled the spectrum



50

## Social Media: 99% vs 1%

Artists joined the battle with **resistance art**  
 Memes, songs, paintings, poetry... filled the spectrum



51

## Media: 99%

Artists joined the battle with **resistance art**  
 Memes, songs, paintings, poetry... filled the spectrum

If I must die,  
 you must live  
 to tell my story  
 to sell my things  
 to buy a piece of cloth  
 and some strings,  
 (make it white... with a long tail)  
 so that a child, somewhere in Gaza  
 while looking heaven in the eye  
 awaiting his dad... who left in a blaze—  
 and bid no one farewell  
 not even to his flesh  
 not even to himself—  
 sees the kite... my kite you made,  
 flying up above  
 and thinks for a moment  
 an angel is there  
 bringing back love...  
 If I must die  
 let it bring hope  
 let it be a tale

Refaat in Gaza  
 @traustat123 · Nov 5, 2023  
 If I must die, let it be a tale.  
 #FreePalestine  
 #Gaza

المبحوح  
 محمد نهار  
 محمد نهار

إذا كان لا بد أن أموت  
 فلا بد أن تعيش أنت  
 لتروي حكايتي  
 لتبيع أشيائي  
 وتشتري قطعة قماش  
 وخيوطا  
 (فلتكن بيضاء وبذيل طويل)  
 كي يبصر طفل في مكان ما من غزة  
 وهو يحدق في السماء  
 منتظراً أباه الذي رحل فجأة  
 دون أن يودع أحداً  
 وال حتى لحمه  
 أو ذاته  
 يبصر الطائرة الورقية  
 طائرتي الورقية التي صنعتها أنت  
 تخلق في الأعلى  
 ويظن للحظة أن هناك مائلاً  
 بعيد الحب  
 إذا كان لا بد أن أموت  
 فليأت موتي بالأمل  
 فليصبح حكاية

52

### Social Media: 99% vs 1%

Artists joined the battle with **resistance art**  
 Memes, songs, paintings, poetry... filled the spectrum



53

### Social Media: 99% vs 1%

Despite powerful **Israeli lobbies** in the West  
 Alternative media operations reach millions



54

### Social Media: 99% vs 1%

WhatsApp groups dominated news sources  
 Small news operations meet small guerilla units



55

### Social Media: 99% vs 1%

Western media networks discredited  
 US and UK media bias exposed



56

## Social Media: 99% vs 1%

**Western media networks discredited**  
US and UK media bias exposed

Despite the appalling scenes from last night, Israeli ground forces still appear to be acting somewhat cautiously as they edge closer to the city of Rafah itself. Their operations so far have not resulted in a bloodbath.

1 day ago

BBC  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/articles>

Deadly strike on Rafah a tragic mishap, Netanyahu says - BBC

57

## Social Media: 99% vs 1%

**“Do you condemn Hamas?!”**

Aggressive treatment of pro-Palestine guests backfired



58

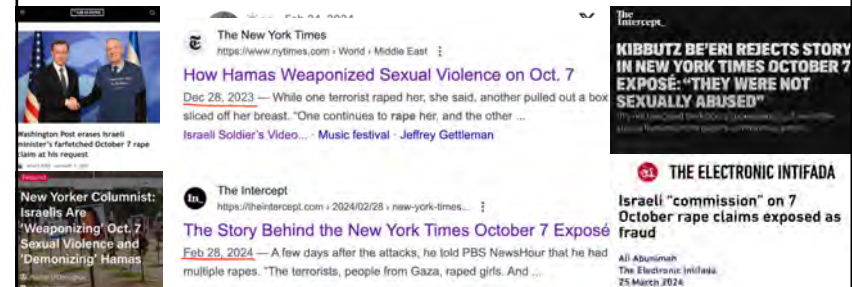
## Social Media: 99% vs 1%

**Western media networks discredited**  
Israeli media strategy: **totalitarian control of the narrative**

59

## Social Media: 99% vs 1%

**Western media networks discredited**  
**Atrocity propaganda highlighted... imperialist feminism exposed**



60



## Social Media: 99% vs 1%

**Western media networks discredited**  
**Atrocity propaganda highlighted... imperialist feminism exposed**



61

## Social Media: 99% vs 1%

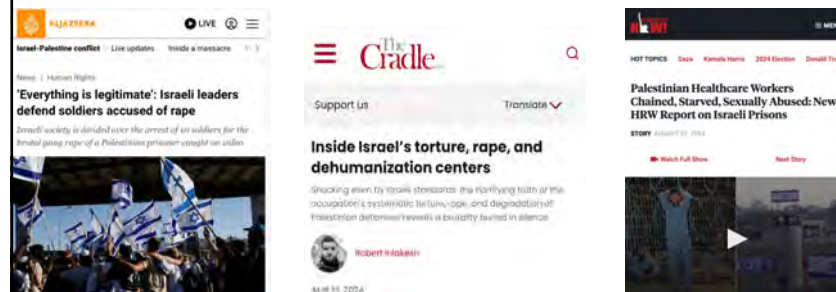
**Western media regurgitating Israeli lies**  
 40 beheaded babies, systematic rape, fetus killed with mother...



62

## Social Media: 99% vs 1%

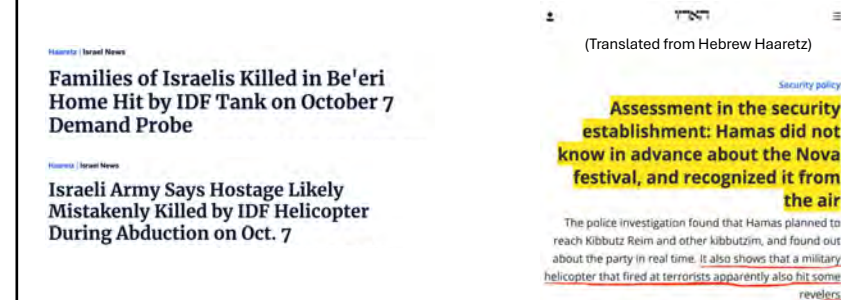
**Evidence of Israeli soldiers gang raping Palestinian prisoners**  
**Western media went silent**



63

## Social Media: 99% vs 1%

**Western media regurgitating Israeli lies**  
 Israeli media (not US/EU) exposed Israeli role in killing civilians on Oct 7



64

## Social Media: 99% vs 1%

**Western media regurgitating Israeli lies**  
Israeli media (not US/EU) exposed Israeli role in killing civilians on Oct 7



65

## War Turns into Genocide

**Israelis used Artificial Intelligence to maximize killing**  
**First "AI-assisted Genocide" in history**

66

## War Turns into Genocide

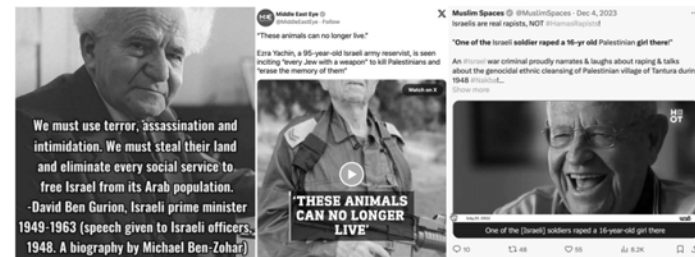
**Genocidal Israeli apartheid settler colonialism exposed**



67

## War Turns into Genocide

**World witnessed Israeli brutality and racism**  
**firsthand on mobiles**



68

## War Turns into Genocide

World witnessed Israeli brutality and racism  
**firsthand on mobiles**



69

## War Turns into Genocide

World witnessed Israeli brutality and racism  
**firsthand on mobiles**

"Many of us like to ask ourselves, 'What would I do if I was alive during slavery? Or the Jim Crow South? Or apartheid? What would I do if my country was committing genocide?'



**The answer is, you're doing it. Right now."**

— Aaron Bushnell's final message

71

## War Turns into Genocide

Israeli exploitation of Holocaust and false Antisemitism claims  
**laid bare**



72

## War Turns into Genocide

**antisemitism versus Antisemitism**

Israeli supporters are forgiven for their **antisemitism**, but those who criticize Israelis or Zionism are beyond salvation from the **Antisemitism** accusation.

73

## War Turns into Genocide

Zionist project lost world sympathy  
Including among many Jewish communities



74

## War Turns into Genocide

Zionist project lost world sympathy  
Including among many Jewish communities



75

## War Turns into Genocide

Palestinians as **indigenous** people of the land **reconfirmed**  
Global support for Palestine liberation  
"from the river to the sea"



76

## War Turns into Genocide

Israeli claims of victimhood & Palestinian image as terrorist  
**shattered** especially among **youth**



77

## Alternative News

Al Jazeera English  
 Al Mayadeen English  
 The Intercept  
 Double Down News  
 Mondoweiss  
 ScheerPost  
 The Electronic Intifada  
 Breaking Points  
 OCT 7 FactCheck

78

## Documentaries



79

## Teaching Resources

Media and Palestine, Gretchen King, Lebanese American University

[www.media-palestine.online](http://www.media-palestine.online)

Palestine 101: Decolonize Palestine.

[decolonizepalestine.com](http://decolonizepalestine.com)

Pali Answers

[palianswers.com](http://palianswers.com)

80

## Books



81