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Faculty of Graduate Studies

**The Representation of Palestinian-Israeli conflict in
BBC's media discourse**

By

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Supervisor

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requirements for the Master`s degree in**

Literature and Intercultural Communication

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Thesis Approval

“The Representation of Palestinian-Israeli conflict in BBC’s media discourse”

By

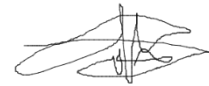
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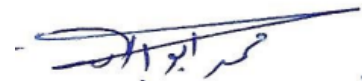


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Declaration

I declare that this thesis was composed by myself and that the work contained herein is my own, except where it states otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Saja', with a large, stylized flourish above the name.

Signature:

Date: August 1st, 2024

Dedication

To my beloved father, who spent his life bringing me to this place, and to my dear mother, who was always by my side, and to my dear sisters, whom I love very much.

To the 39,400+ martyrs who left us during the past months for the sake of this cause, and to the besieged people of Gaza who face the ugliness of this world that ignores their voice. Trying to be a voice for you through this thesis.

To my grandmothers and grandfather who left us during the difficult days of COVID-19 and who used to shower me with their kindness and compassion.

Acknowledgment

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I would also like to thank the faculty members of the Department of Literature and Intercultural Communication at the Arab American University in Palestine for their dedication in providing the best of their expertise, knowledge, and ideas, which helped me refine the ideas of this thesis.

Abstract

This thesis aims to examine the BBC's media discourse through coverage of the Israeli aggression on Gaza from 2008 to 2023 and the bias of the BBC towards Israel and against the Palestinian voice in the media. The thesis also studies critical discourse analysis and the most important theorists and their theories for a deeper understanding of the meaning of critical discourse analysis and linking discourse and its meanings to societal standards and the impact of discourse on people's thinking and opinions about certain issues, by explaining and building on theories related to critical discourse analysis by theorists such as Foucault, Van Dijck, Norman Fairclough, and Ruth Wodak. Reference was also made to the importance of the Western media and its influence on people's lives in shaping their ideas, the influence of the images that are represented and presented in the Western media about the Middle East, Arabs, and Muslims, and the impact of these images on these societies and the spread of stereotypes about them around the world. The idea of Orientalism by Edward Said was discussed to analyze the image of Arabs in the Western media. The BBC was also taken in this thesis as a main example of Western media. News headlines published by the BBC during the Israeli aggression on Gaza were analyzed. The linguistic manipulation in the discourse presented by the BBC in representing the Israeli side and the Palestinian side was discussed to study the bias on the part of the BBC towards Israel.

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- **Introduction**

The media has become an important part of our lives, and its impact on our lives and us as people cannot be ignored. But to what extent can the media influence our thoughts and opinions? How does the media affect knowledge, values, and social norms? Agrawal et al Discuss the idea that the media has many roles in society “Media is a basic component of any majority rule society. It acts as a fourth pillar of democracy, it fights against the injustice, wrongdoing, breach, oppression of our society.” (a965). But what if the media adopts goals, ideologies, and propaganda that serve political interests and bias toward certain groups instead of conveying information and entertainment only? Here comes the role of critical discourse analysis in analyzing the discourse presented by the media and understanding and studying the hidden meanings, goals, and ideologies adopted by the media discourse.

Critical discourse analysis is one of the windows that leads us to a broader understanding of discourse relations and the construction of society’s ideas and values. In this thesis, in the first chapter, theories and theorists in the science of critical discourse analysis were discussed in an attempt to understand and analyze the BBC’s discourse during the aggression on Gaza later in this thesis. One of the most important theories in critical discourse analysis is the relationship of media discourse to relations of authority and power, and how discourse maintains and perpetuates these relations in societies through the dissemination and adoption of ideologies and propaganda “CDA is a type of discourse analysis research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (Ali 01).

Representation in the media is also one of the important points that must be studied and analyzed to understand the media discourse. Western media is the most important media source and almost the main source of other media sources worldwide. In the second chapter of this thesis, the Western media's adoption of the idea of Orientalism in conveying the image of Arabs and Muslims was discussed. The most important person who discussed this idea was Edward Said in his book *Orientalism*. "negatively stereotyped Arab was used as a weapon in the American media in favor of Israel" (Semaan 18) Perhaps the prevailing stereotype about Arabs and Muslims that was published by the Western media is one of the most prominent reasons for the West's power and control over these regions and the vision of the white European man always superior to the Eastern man.

One of the most famous and largest media channels is the British BBC, which constitutes an important part of the media system in the world. The BBC covers news and events in the Arab world, and one of the most prominent of these conflicts is the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. In the final chapter of this thesis, the BBC's coverage of the Israeli aggression on Gaza from 2008 to the recent events after October 7, 2023, was analyzed by analyzing the main headlines published by the BBC on the channel's official website and the BBC account on the X platform (Twitter) and linked the use of the language of media discourse to the impact of discourse and manipulation of language on Palestinian society and how did this coverage affect recent events and how does this coverage contribute to spreading a specific image and representation of the Palestinian people?

- **Literature review**

This thesis discusses the analysis of the BBC's media discourse and is concerned with the social, cultural, and linguistic factors that shape media discourse. This section will discuss previous literature related to the ideas of the thesis, and an analysis of critical discourse, Orientalism, and the Arab world through Western media and the BBC's media discourse will be reviewed.

- 1. Critical discourse analysis:**

Previous literature discussed critical discourse analysis and considered it as a basic and important factor in analyzing media discourse. More than one theory by more than one thinker was discussed in the field of critical discourse analysis. Harper-Jones defined CDA as "CDA is concerned with comprehending how forms of subjectivity and power relations interfere with our understanding of the world we experience; it is 'one of the most influential and visible branches of discourse analysis'" (qtd. in Bloomaert and Bulcaen 10). This indicates that critical discourse analysis is one of the most important means of understanding media discourse Abu Hashish et al also stated that CDA is a method to uncover the hidden ideologies in media coverage for both Palestine and Israel. Critical discourse analysis is related to more than one aspect, as it aims to analyze and understand discourse and its relationship to societal structure, norms, and values. according to Ismail CDA is an interdisciplinary approach that studies language as a form of social practice (23).

Harper-Jones discussed that CDA bridges language and social practices by analyzing the micro and the macro level analysis (10). Ismail discussed the same idea also that Fairclough has put out in the field of CDA "CDA aims at combining the (micro

level) analysis of the 24 text with the (macro level) analysis of the text relying on the discursive practices which are the mediator between micro and macro (the textual level and the sociocultural level)” (23-24). Harper-Jones also discussed that Van Dijk and Fairclough agreed that the meaning of the discourse is also created by language and other components like images, symbols, gestures, actions, and sounds (11). Ismail in her paper stated that CDA can reveal the relationship between ideologies, power, and discourse (25), Harper-Jones also agreed with Ismail in his research that CDA studies power relations with discourse to cover discourse ideologies (11).

2. Arabs representation in media:

One of the most important aspects of studying and analyzing the BBC's media discourse is studying the image and representation of the Western media of the Arab world. The Western media played a major role in shaping the world's culture and knowledge about Arabs and Muslims, according to Ridouani “Western media reports maintain a constant distorted image of Arabs and Muslims” (02). Nurullah also stated that Western media misrepresented Arabs and portrayed them as the “others” (1021). Most of the literature mentioned the term Orientalism as a theory in representing the West's image of Arabs, Nurullah quoted Said that the West uses Arabs as their orientalist (1021). Nurullah and Ridouani agreed on the fact that Western media represent Arabs in a certain stereotypical image, Ridouani stated “Arabs and Muslims are spontaneously stereotyped and identified or rather equated with the word terrorism” (11). Nurullah also stated “The stereotypes against Muslims had been in-built in the US media and it is really an unintelligent idea to refute it” (1023).

The image and the representation of Arabs in Hollywood were also discussed in previous literature. According to Gayathri visual media is trying to pass ideologies through people and Hollywood is presenting Arab men as wild, uncivilized, and barbaric while it also presents Arab women as exotic materials (13). Ridouani also agreed with this idea by stating “Arabs in films are portrayed as being terrorists, fanatics, dirty, irrational, violent and above all disposable” (10). Nurrallah also stated that Hollywood portrays Arabs in a negative way which leads to injustice against Arabs (1028). Taking Aladdin as an example of the misrepresentation of Arabs, Ridouani argued that Aladdin is an example of Orientalism as it sexualizes, belly dancers, and presents all Arab women in this frame even princess Jasmine (05). Gayathri argues that Aladdin movies mix different cultures and do not differentiate them for example the tiger's name in the movie was Raja which is an Indian name while the movie claims to represent Arabs (14).

Palestinians' image in Western media was also mentioned in previous literature, Nurallah argues that one of the factors that created the orientalist view in Western media is the mediating of Israel in creating an orientalist image of Arabs especially the U.S since 1948, and even though Israel is an occupation, but it is represented as the “only democratic country in the Middle East” (1027) Nurallah also assert that the existence of Israel in the heart of the Middle East and the ongoing conflict and the influence of the Jewish lobby over western media and on politicians all these factors contributed to create negative image of Arabs (1028). Harper-Jones stated that “the use of “negative adjectives” equate individual Palestinians with Western conceptions of the Dirty Arab, portraying them as the Constitutive Other, and placing them in stark opposition to the brave and heroic Ally of Israel’ (qtd. in Moody-Hall 2000; Marsden and Savigny 2009;

Zaher 2009, 07) Palestinians are also represented in western media under the frame of orientalism. Abu Hashish et al also discussed the idea that Palestinians are also misrepresented in Western media, they asserted that Western media is biased toward Israel (55).

“Every time Palestine leads news headlines, the major Western media institutions take off the mask of professionalism and objectivity and appear as Israeli war media, at this moment, the Israeli assaults on unarmed civilians become "clashes", and the Israeli airstrikes on Gaza Strip become a "justified response" and an exercise of the "right of self-defense" in the narrative of the Western media” (Abu Hashish 55)

Shahzad et al argue that in the case of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, U.S media outlets are more likely to be biased toward Israel, while Arabic media outlets are pro-Palestine and the British media can be seen somewhere in the middle between both (02). In their paper the statistics were done on how biased the BBC and CNN are toward Israel, “BBC remained Pro-Israel and its news stories showed an inclination towards the Israeli agenda by 74%. Next in the queue, CNN also remained Pro-Israel in its news stories by 90%” (11).

3. BBC Discourse Analysis:

The BBC's representation of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict has been the focus of more than one prior research, Harper-Jones in his paper made a comparison between the framing of Palestinian civilians and Israeli civilians by BBC. First, he stated that one of the scenes that BBC presents of Palestinians is the scene where Gazans are mourning and shouting and chanting Allah Akbar presenting them as irrational and angry all the time full of hatred and this is an example of Said’s description of the orientalism (33).

While presenting Israeli mourners in the funerals with phrases like “A murder is a murder. A killer regardless of race or motive should be brought to justice” this indicates that victims of both sides are equal and they both suffer (Harper-Jones 34).

Harper-Jones also argued that the coverage of the BBC of the conflict seems to cover events that affect Israelis, and it narrates the conflict as it begins when Israelis are killed or violated, and describes it as the beginning of a new crisis in the conflict while on the other hand ignore to cover for example the Palestinian children loss in the hands of the settlers (36). This type of coverage narrates the conflict as the violence is occurring now and then while in fact, it is a daily basis conflict and Palestinians suffer from it daily (Harper-Jones 36).

Harper-Jones also discusses the lexical choices by the BBC to cover the conflict, for example, the use of the word “response” when narrating the aggression of Israelis on Palestinians, this choice of words according to Harper-Jones frames the violence of Israelis is a response to the actions of Palestinians which indicate that Palestinians are the one to begin the violence (37).

Nashashibi in his paper made a comparison between BBC and Al Jazeera coverage of the violence, he discusses the idea that reporting violence can be portrayed in two ways, the first way is the direct way, for example, using words that present one side responding to other such as "responds", “fired back”, "in response", "in retaliation" and "deterrent against” (04). The other way is the implied which portrays one act of violence followed by another suggesting that the latter incident was triggered by the former one (Nashashibi 04). In his research Nashashibi discussed that 35% of BBC articles had no Palestinian source (05), while most of the events happened on

Palestinian lands “All these incidents directly involved Palestinians and their territory, so it is inconceivable that they had nothing to say, or nothing to say that was worth reporting” (Nashashibi 05).

In his research, Nashashibi also discussed in his statistics that even the articles that have Palestinian and Israeli sources are also devoting more words in the article toward Israeli sources (07). He also argues that BBC in covering violence portrayed Israeli violence as a response to Palestinian violence directly and indirectly, the effect of this is going to legitimize and justify Israeli violence and portray Palestinians as the part who begin being violent with no justifiable reason (Nashashibi 09).

Abu Hashish et al analyzed articles published by the BBC covering the 2021 aggression on Gaza in both Arabic and English versions. Abu Hashish et al argue that both versions of the articles were biased toward Israel (65). Abu Hashish et al agreed with the past two pieces of research discussed above by stating that BBC in its article frames Israel as always responding to Hamas and that Hamas started the violence in the first place (63). they also argue that BBC highlighted the number of rockets fired by Hamas and relied on Israeli sources to describe Israeli airstrikes as “hit more than a thousand military targets in Gaza Strip” (Abu Hashish et al 63) ignoring that there were civilian victims in Gaza.

Abu Hashish et al also agreed with Harper-Jones that BBC in picturing Palestinians celebrating ceasefire shows them as irrational, while on the other hand when picturing Israelis “the semiotics referred to the human side by highlighting the suffering of a citizen in front of the destruction of his kitchen” (63). BBC highlights Israeli narratives and gives them more attention than the narratives of Palestinians, and

BBC conceals information that supports the Palestinian narrative (Abu Hashish et al 58). In proving that BBC ignores the Palestinian narrative, Abu Hashish et al stated that BBC's English version constantly describes Hamas as a terrorist group and not a resistant group (58). In the Arabic version, it was noted that the articles gave the Israeli narrative more space to justify the bombing and the number of Palestinian victims (Abu Hashish et al 58).

According to the use of language in their research, Abu Hashish et al argued that passive voice was constantly used, and the agent was concealed when talking about Israeli airstrikes (57). Also when covering the suffering of civilians, BBC focused on highlighting Israeli's suffering in detail while did not show any suffering on the Palestinian side (Abu Hashish et al 57). Also, according to their analysis, Abu Hashish et al argued that Israeli victims were mostly mentioned before Palestinian victims portraying more information about Israeli victims such as their age (57).

After a comprehensive review of the literature on critical discourse analysis of BBC media discourse and examining methods for understanding and analyzing the discourse and ideologies included in Western media, specifically the BBC, this section sheds light on the contribution of this thesis. This section also filled a large gap in the critical discourse analysis of the BBC's discourse in its coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict by providing a critical analysis of the BBC's media discourse on this issue. This thesis focuses and delves into the use of critical discourse analysis in examining the BBC's media discourse through coverage of the Israeli aggression on Gaza during the years 2008-2023. It further examines the impact and influence of this discourse on public opinion and political decisions related to this conflict the formation

of information and cultural enrichment for the world about this issue and how discourse contributes to shaping social perceptions.

- **Statement of problem**

After the noticeable influence of the media on public opinion and the image transmitted from other societies in shaping ideas and attitudes to some issues, it was noted that there is bias and injustice in conveying the image of the occupied Palestinian people and the injustice they are subjected to by the Israeli occupation through Western media. The BBC is considered one of the Western media outlets that represents the Palestinian-Israeli conflict with a bias towards Israel. In this thesis, the BBC's bias towards Israel will be discussed through an analysis of the channel's media discourse in the main headlines published by the channel during the Israeli aggression on Gaza from 2008 to 2023.

- **Purpose of the study**

This thesis aims to understand the impact of the media discourse directed at the BBC during the Israeli aggression on Gaza, analyze the BBC's discourse, and understand the deeper meaning by applying critical discourse analysis and understanding the theories related to it. This the

sis delves into a greater understanding of the methods and theories of critical discourse analysis and links these theories to BBC discourse analysis.

This thesis aims to analyze and understand the hidden ideologies and objectives of the BBC's discourse in the way it presents the Palestinian-Israeli conflict by studying the headlines related to the Israeli aggression on Gaza and analyzing them. This thesis

also discusses Orientalism and its impact on the image of Arabs and Muslims in general and Palestinians in particular and the use of this image to frame and spread a stereotypical image of the Palestinians.

This thesis studies the linguistic methods used by the BBC to manipulate and hide facts, exempt Israel in one way or another from the charges leveled against it for oppressing the Palestinian people, and show the Palestinian side negatively and aggressively to justify the Israeli position towards the Palestinian people. The BBC's bias will be proven by using linguistic techniques in formulating news headlines and interview questions to spread and implant ideas and images that serve the Israeli lobby, which controls most media channels, to ensure the control of the Israeli narrative over Western media.

- **Theoretical framework**

In shaping the theoretical foundation for this study, Media framing theory was used to discuss the BBC's style and understand how the channel's media discourse was created under the lens of media framing to understand the ideologies included in the BBC's main headlines in covering the war on Gaza between the years 2008 to 2023. Goffman's media framing theory was also adopted to understand and study the framing of the Palestinian issue by the Western media and the BBC, highlighting it from certain angles to serve the Israeli narrative.

Theories of critical discourse analysis were the basis for analyzing the BBC's media discourse and understanding the deeper meaning of this discourse. The theories of Michel Foucault, Van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, and Ruth Wodak were adopted as a basis for understanding the relationship of discourse and its impact on social cognition

and as a basis for understanding and analyzing the language and linguistic manipulation used by the BBC in presenting the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Edward Said's theory of Orientalism was also used to study and understand the influence of Western media on global opinion about the Middle East and to form a specific image of Arabs and Muslims in general and of Palestinians in particular. The theory of Orientalism aims to look at linking people's awareness and social awareness to the image presented about the Arabs in the Western media and how this image affects many aspects, including opinions and points of view towards Arab issues, as well as cultural communication between societies, leading to colonialism and control of the Middle East intellectually through the media.

- **Methodology**

In this thesis, I adopted a qualitative method to investigate the BBC's bias towards Israel in its news headlines and interviews during the period of aggression against Gaza in the wars from 2008 to 2023. Random samples were selected from the news headlines published on the official BBC website and the official account on the X platform (formerly Twitter) regarding the Israeli aggression on Gaza in the years 2008, 2012, 2021, and 2023. Two interviews conducted with the Palestinian Ambassador to Britain, Mr. Husam Zomlot, were chosen to analyze the style, method, and language used by the BBC to cover the Israeli aggression on Gaza.

Critical discourse analysis theories have been studied as an aid to qualitative analysis of BBC media discourse and understanding of the meanings behind the discourse. The theories of Van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Michel Foucault, and Ruth Woodcock were discussed to contribute to the analysis of news headlines and

understanding of the linguistic manipulation used by the channel. A study was conducted to collect and study the linguistic techniques used in linguistic manipulation, such as the study of semiotics, language analysis, and framing, to help understand and analyze the headlines and interviews conducted by the BBC during the aggression on Gaza.

In this thesis, a qualitative analysis was conducted on the Western media's use of the theory of Orientalism in representing the Arab world. The difficulties facing the Palestinian press in conveying the Palestinian voice in the media were also reviewed, as well as the death threat through reporting the targeting of journalist Sherine Abu Aqla and cameraman Samer Abu Daqa, and the ongoing targeting threat against journalist Wael Al-Dahdouh. And to review the changes through the use of social media as platforms to convey the Palestinian voice by taking Mona Al-Kurd's experience in reporting the narrative Sheikh Jarrah Neighborhood as an example of the recent changes in media coverage of the Palestinian issue.

Chapter 1: Critical Discourse Analysis Theories

- **What is critical discourse analysis?**

To understand language and analyze its meanings and the ideas it carries, thinkers came up with the theory of critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis studies discourse in a deeper and more comprehensive sense and studies what is behind the discourse itself. Critical discourse analysis links the language of discourse and its relationship to social structure, power relations, psychology, and the influence of language and linguistic meaning on people “CDA is therefore not interested in investigating a linguistic unit per se but in studying social phenomena which are necessarily complex and thus require a multi-disciplinary and multi-methodical approach” (Wodak and Meyer 02) This means that critical discourse analysis does not study language from a linguistic perspective only, but also links language and its use to other, broader contexts that require multiple studies in different fields to understand the significance and meaning that the discourse carries.

Critical discourse analysis is not limited to specific speeches and texts only, but rather discourse considers anything that carries a meaning or conveys an idea. according to Wodak and Meyer, discourse is anything from a historical monument policy political strategy or narrative or a text, talk, speech, and conversation (02). In critical discourse analysis, it is possible to analyze and criticize any discourse to understand its meaning and goals. The discourse is not limited to political discourse only, but rather to many forms of discourse on many different topics.

Some important basic points are considered the foundations of critical discourse analysis, which are 1. Power relations, Critical discourse analysis studies how language creates, supports, or even destroys power “Power is described as a relational process that is embodied in context-specific situations and is partially identifiable through its ideological effects on the lives of people” (Powers 28) so power can be imbedded and asserted in

discourses for certain ideologies to effect people's ideas. 2- Ideologies, which are a set of beliefs, values, and norms that shape society and human behavior. CDA analyzes how language has been used to create and transmit ideologies "The focus of CDA is to uncover how underlying aspects of discourse such as ideology, power, dominance, and social inequality, all of which contribute to changing social realities, are created and expressed through language" (Muftah 80). 3- Discursive construction of reality, CDA studies the importance of language in constructing and shaping reality. It examines how discourse is produced and expresses social phenomena, events, and identities, and how language can give different interpretations of reality "Discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially shaped" (qtd. in Muftah 81) meaning that discourse is shaped by social phenomena and at the same time reshape reality and social construction. 4- Context and contextuality, examine the importance of context and meaning in discourse analysis and consider the larger environment in which discourse occurs, whether social, cultural, or historical, recognizing that meaning is created and modified by the environment in which it is produced, Wodak and Meyer discuss that all discourses are historical so the discourse cannot be understood without looking at its context (20).

After discussing a short overview of what is critical discourse analysis. In this chapter, the most important theorists in the field of critical discourse analysis and their most prominent theories about it will be discussed, such as Michel Foucault, Van Dijk, Ruth Wodak, and Norman Fairclough. A short overview of media discourse analysis will also be mentioned in preparation for the next chapters in using the theory of critical discourse analysis in analyzing Western media, and then analyzing the BBC news headlines and interviews in covering the Israeli aggression on Gaza 2008-2023.

- **Michel Foucault:**

Michel Foucault developed the theory of discourse analysis and is considered one of the most important thinkers in the field of critical discourse analysis. Foucault expresses how discourse is used as an instrument of power and how discourse helps create social and political hierarchies. "The discourse itself is both constituted by and ensures the reproduction of, the social system, in terms of forms of selection, exclusion, and domination" (Ahir and Kale 93) Using discourse to influence social norms, trends, and values is one way to impose power. Thus, discourse is one of the tools that are employed for hegemony and power to create and maintain these hierarchies. According to Foucault "Power is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategic situation in a particular society" (93) Foucault argues that power is not a specific organization or agency, but that power and control are incorporated into discourse through the influence of the reflection of social phenomena and ideologies, which are complex aspects that must be taken into account when analyzing power and control. Foucault emphasizes that discourse is an important element in creating social reality and is not limited to just reflecting it, as it creates it and is influenced by it "Discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination but is the thing for and by which there is a struggle, discourse is the power which is to be seized" (101). Meaning that discourse shapes and creates social reality and also influences it. At the same time, discourse reflects the social structure and social reality. Thus, discourse is a tool of power and authority in changing the features, ideas, and structure of society. Thus, discourse is linked to power and control.

- **Norman Fairclough:**

Fairclough's critical discourse analysis relies on examining language and communication in a social context. According to Wodak and Meyer, CDA views language as a social practice, and understanding the context in which language is used is crucial (05). This means that Fairclough considered language as an integral part of social practices that are affected by the social context, as it is a tool of communication used between people in societies.

According to Muftah, “discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially shaped: it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it” (qtd. in Fairclough and Wodak 86).

Discourse contributes to shaping the understanding of many people about their opinions, identities, and orientations. Therefore, it can be said that discourse is shaped by the situation in society, and at the same time it shapes society itself, and the relationship between discourse and society is mutual and continuous. According to Ramanathan and Hoon, Fairclough established three important aspects of the study of discourse: text, discourse practice, and social practice. Text is represented by words and rules in language. The practice of discourse is how language is used in a particular context or circumstance. As for social practices, they represent the larger political, social, and cultural environment in which language is used in the name of social practices (59). Wodak and Meyer argue that discursive practices can have significant ideological effects, meaning that discursive practices can help produce unequal power relations such as social classes, ethnic minorities, and the relations of men and women through their representation of objects (06). Thus, it can be considered that

discourse is not just a means of communication and conveying information, but also a means of shaping and reshaping society and its hierarchies.

- **Teun A. van Dijk:**

Van Dijk's theory argues that language is extremely important in reproducing and maintaining power and dominance in society, According to Ramanathan and Hoon, "Van Dijk (2003) asserted that CDA is a proposition which focuses on how power abuse, dominance, and inequality are practiced in the discursivity of the social and political context" (qtd. in 57). Van Dijk views CDA as a way to understand how language maintains power relations and is embedded in society. Language affects how people behave, and how people interpret power relations and inequalities in society, and language shapes people's ideas and understanding of the world around them. Van Dijk believes that it is necessary to study the concept of "social cognition" which is knowledge that contributes to understanding social conditions. By studying "social cognition" researchers may be able to better understand the relationships of power and sustainable authority in society,

the cognitive phenomena that are connected to the discourse structure, and how social inequality, domination, and ideologies occur. To discover social representations, attitudes, and ideologies of social actors, the connection between the structure of discourse and the structure of society should be viewed (Ramanathan and Hoon 60).

Ideology is one of the important aspects for Van Dijk, and ideologies according to Ramanathan and Hoon are a set of ideas for a social group that represents the characteristics of the group based on its goals, attitudes, norms, and resources (59). Van Dijk emphasizes studying the influence of ideology on language for a deeper understanding of power relations and their continuity and preservation "Van Dijk proclaimed that critical discourse studies are a critical perspective, position, or attitude within the multidisciplinary approach as it intends

to shed light on covert ideologies in the social practice” (Ramanathan and Hoon 60). Thus, Van Dijk emphasizes that when using CDA as a tool for analyzing discourse, social cognition, and ideologies must be also analyzed for a more comprehensive understanding of texts in how they shape social practices and relations of power and authority.

- **Ruth Wodak:**

Wodak’s critical discourse analysis theory suggests that language is crucial in determining social reality and power relations, according to Muftah “CDA can be understood as being concerned with analyzing opaque as well as obvious structural relationships of power and control, dominance and discrimination, as demonstrated in the language” (qtd. in Wodak and Meyer 3). In other words, discourse not only affects how we understand and interact with the world around us, but it also affects how we perceive power and inequality and how we interact with them, Wodak argues that CDA should be analyzing the discourse in how it affects people’s perception of the world around them, and at the same time how people create the discourse using their perception of the world around them.

describing discourse as a social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation, institution, and social structure that frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constituted, as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it (qtd. in Muftah 85).

The above statement emphasizes the idea that discourse is not just a reflection of society, but is a force that reflects reality and shapes it at the same time. Wodak looks at the mutual

relationship between discourse and the larger social context, noting the role of discourse in constructing and shaping social identities.

- **Media discourse analysis and CDA:**

After reviewing the theories of critical discourse analysis, we see that critical discourse analysis looks at several aspects of language analysis and the formation of ideologies, ideas, and social perception. These aspects are common aspects of the analysis of media discourse. These days, the media has become a large part of people's lives. It transmits news of the world around people and also builds the viewer's understanding of the society around him. Thus, media discourse must also be studied and analyzed.

Why use theories of critical discourse analysis in analyzing media discourse? First, critical discourse analysis looks at the hidden meaning in the discourse and studies the discourse more deeply and on a broader scope and levels "CDA mainly provides a scope for exploring deep insights about the construction of social, political, ideological and sociological features" (Muftah 79). Muftah suggests that the media, through its discourses, can be full of knowledge, ideologies, and political orientations and for a better understanding of media discourse, the use of macro-analysis through micro-analysis of discourse helps in understanding the ideologies and analyzing the discourse more deeply with ideas related to power and politics (79). Secondly, critical discourse analysis studies power relations and how they are incorporated and maintained in society for example Van Dijk argues "the media play an important role in expressing and spreading ethnic prejudice which is one of the conditions of racist practices that define racism as the social system of ethnic power abuse"(qtd. in Anitasari 07) The media plays a role in creating ideas in society, including racism towards certain groups to impose power and authority on them, whether through ideologies included in the media or through unfair and biased representation against these groups. Anitasari

argues that the media is not neutral and biased, so the CDA studies discourse and representations in the media as sources of social power. Language appears on the surface to be transparent, and the media claims to provide a space for discourse, debate, and the reporting of news, while most media sources often have a social and political agenda hidden in their discourse (05).

- **Conclusion:**

In short, we can summarize and say that theories of discourse analysis have agreed that discourse can be analyzed from several aspects and linked together for a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the discourse. Prominent theorists in critical discourse analysis consider that discourse is influenced by social context, but at the same time, it also creates social perception and influences the individual's perception of society and the world around him. Discourse analysis theories argue that to study and understand discourse, we must look at the social structure, context, events, and history related to the discourse to understand the goals of the discourse and the meanings included in it. Thus, looking at these aspects helps us understand the ideologies, power systems, and social structures that the discourse contains. It can be said that critical discourse analysis can be considered one of the best methods to analyze media discourse as well because it shares many aspects with media discourse analysis. It helps the analyzer look more deeply into the language used in media discourse and understand it more comprehensively. Thus, the CDA enables us to understand the impact of using language and employing it within certain ideologies and frameworks to achieve their goals by influencing society and public opinion, as there is discussion and controversy that the media may often be biased and unfair in conveying news and representations to the viewer.

Chapter 2: theories of Madia's coverage during conflicts: Palestinian-Israeli conflict

In the current world and with cultural interdependence and communication, it is undeniable that the media has a great influence on our beliefs, ideas, culture, and angle of view on some topics. Media is connected these days in most aspects of life, and this interdependence began from the old media such as radio and newspapers to modern media such as social networking sites and websites, and these influences cannot be ignored with the media overlapping in our daily lives because of the media's ability to greatly influence the lives of individuals and societies.

- **The Role of Media in Society:**

When thinking about the roles that the media plays in society, many roles and influences of media in society can be listed. According to Ullah and Khan The primary role of the media is to convey news, awareness, education, and entertainment to people (01). This is the basic role of media without imbedding any social goals and purposes and this is the reason why media was created in the first place. People depend on the media to understand the events and societies around them. The media transmits images about other societies and the world around them, and the viewer builds his ideas about these societies by consciously or unconsciously referring to these images and forming ideas about them. We often see the reflection of cultures, societies, and the behavior of societies in the media according to Ullah and Khan "Mass media has a massive role to play in common man's life. People can't visit all the places to know the actual situation. So they follow the media for that. People depend on them for news feed, general knowledge, guidance and much more" (02) the media enhances and influences our understanding of other societies, expectations in relationships between other cultures, and cultural identity.

The media could create political opinions and political controversies and shape public opinion by choosing a specific context from the news, framing it, and presenting it, according to Nadwi "its role not only in society but the clandestine role it is playing in shaping and

molding the public and political opinion” (66). Nadwi argues that The media has a major role in shaping people’s opinions and orientations, especially politically. The media forms certain images in the viewer’s mind by representing issues and conveying them in ways that have specific goals. For example, Nadwi mentioned that the media become a “hub of political activities” in the election eve (67). This confirms the idea that the media has a very major role in influencing people’s opinions and political orientations. This is why the media takes advantage before the elections to present electoral activities as an attempt to influence people’s decisions to choose their orientations.

Another role that the media plays in society is influencing people’s ideas and views of themselves and what is around them. The media even affects the morals, principles, and values of societies by including messages and ideas through their media discourse. For example, Nadwi discusses, that women in the media have always been portrayed as seductive and beautiful (75). Women must be beautiful, with a chiseled face, attractive, thin, and sexually alluring, and must dress in fashion “Women cannot have bad breath, body odor, pimples, or secretion. Neurosis, anorexia, and tension in the ordinary woman are ensured (Nadwi 75) This means that the influence of the media can reach the point of determining the standards of many things in people’s lives, including the specific shape and beauty of women, which later affects the woman’s view of herself and affects her ideas about how she should look? How should she dress? At the same time, the media influences society’s view of women and sets limits and standards for them on how they should be.

- **Can media be neutral?**

The media is considered one of the most prominent means of transmitting news and information about many important issues, whether economic, political, health or even sports and artistic issues. But is the media the correct source for receiving information? Is the media fair and reliable in reporting issues and images about those issues? Do we find

the media biased or neutral towards certain interests? Many questions are asked to think about the credibility of the media as it is the primary source for receiving information and building opinions and decisions about this information.

First, let's talk about the goal and the mission of the media and journalism.

Nugroho et al in their work discuss that the goal of media is "fulfilling the society's needs for information" (194). They also quoted McQuail in their paper on the role of media, who states that there are six perspectives on the role of media:

"a. Mass media as a window on event and experience. b. Mass media as a mirror of the event in society and the world, implying a faithful reflection c. Mass media as a filter or gatekeeper to select which event or information is appropriate to believe or not d. Mass media as a guide e. Mass media as a form to give some information and ideas to society to give them a reason to make responses to certain issues; f. Mass media as interlocutor"

(qtd. in McQuail 195)

These points mentioned above are very important for us to measure how media is truthful and honest in transmitting news. McCarthy and Dolfmsa also quoted Cassidy on the role of media in their paper on these points: "(1) report the news; (2) provide analysis; (3) act as a watchdog; (4) enable public access and participation; (5) provide entertainment; and (6) should do so accurately and objectively" (42). So the role of media and journalism is to only provide news and information as they are objective without any influence on the audience and without their opinion or being biased to a certain organization. McCarthy and Dolfmsa also stated, "journalists are politically and ideologically independent, and in providing information, "neutral" journalists should not seek to influence the behavior of parties in society and economy" (43).

So can the media and journalists be neutral? In both papers that I read previously, the researchers agreed that media can not be neutral for many reasons that will be explained. First of all McCarthy and Dolfsma argue that for media to be neutral media needs to be independent politically and ideologically, which is nearly impossible because the process of transmitting news and information goes through different stages that in one way or another will affect the way this news is. As I mentioned before there is a group of people who are called gatekeepers in the process of transmitting news in media Nugroho et al define gatekeepers as “People behind the news in charge of selecting, choosing, and determining it are called the gatekeepers” (196). The role of gatekeepers is to edit and modify the news before presenting them. The editing of the news is based on political ideologies and the media organization interests whether they are political interests or financial interests “Politics Media, the media owner serves to judge and to determine the issue and news content. These reflect their policy or interest in politics view which is delivered by the media professionals” (196). McCarthy and Dolfsma argue that there are factors that affect the neutrality of media in the process of transmitting media “(1) by choosing what events to report on; (2) by choosing how much and how frequent to report on a subject; and (3) by choosing what language to use when describing an event” (43). Media is a powerful tool to influence people and it can't be neutral because of the lack of ideological, political, and financial independence.

Nugroho et al also state that media cannot be neutral because media is always influenced by the political interests and the owner's interests “The owner has the power to determine the angle, direction, and framing of the news-published” (196). All these statements lead us to the conclusion that the media cannot be neutral in providing news without ideological and financial independence. All media organizations cannot be independent and unbiased. As we have seen, the media is influenced by the opinion of the

broadcaster, the opinion of the gatekeepers, and the opinion of the owner of the media organization. This bias occurs through exploiting and manipulating language, the number of times news is reported and within a certain framework, selecting events and reporting them, and ignoring other news based on certain interests.

1. Agenda setting theory:

Many theories discuss the media system and its impact on the viewer. These theories also discuss how the media shapes people's general perception and its impact on opinion formation and framing discourse related to important issues.

Media agenda-setting theory argues that the media influences setting the public agenda by telling the recipient what to think about and what to focus on "In choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality. Readers learn not only about a given issue but also how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position" (qtd. in Freeland 02). Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw were the first to discuss this theory during the 1968 US presidential election, where they studied whether there was a relationship between the priority of issues for the media and their priority for the public (McCombs and Valenzuela 45).

According to Freeland There are two basic assumptions for setting the agenda (1) the press and media that filter and reshape reality and (2) shedding light and focusing the media on a specific number of issues, which makes the public focus and care about issues more than other issues (04). How does agenda-setting theory work and what is its impact on the recipient? McCombs and Valenzuela argue that the media targets the recipient's psychological need for guidance and knowledge of what is happening around them regarding many issues, such as an opinion about a candidate, a crisis, conflicts, etc (46). This means that the media

knows well that the recipients are curious to try to know what is going on around them in the world, and that this need can be met by providing information through the media for the recipients to think about and form their opinions about it.

The greater an individual's interest in a particular issue, the greater his thirst for finding opinions and news about it, and the greater this individual's need to know more, the more the media directs him about these issues (McCombs and Valenzuela 46). For example, individuals who do not show interest in certain issues do not care about news reports and are not greatly influenced by the agenda developed by the media. On the other hand, individuals who show interest in certain issues need guidance to form their opinions about those issues that are foreign to them, and it is noted that they are more influenced than others by the agenda set by the media (McCombs and Valenzuela 46).

2. Framing theory:

Reporting news must be neutral and not biased towards a particular party or group. The use of media framing stands as an obstacle to the neutrality of the press in transmitting news, and it is one of the most important terms that must be understood and studied to provide a fair analysis of the image transmitted through media channels. Usually, the news should be conveyed neutrally, as it is, without changing it or shaping it through certain frameworks, but sometimes frameworks are put in place to facilitate and bring the picture closer and closer to understanding it for the receiving audience. "Therefore, the framework is an organization of parts of reality presented by the media about events and issues in a way that expresses these means' understanding of the lived reality" (Harb 08).

Media framing theory argues that framing is based on using certain methods to shape the news and direct it in a specific direction. Framing is often done by focusing on a

specific aspect of the news and making it more important than others. Framing is used to arrange events and bring them closer to the viewer, but at the same time framing is exploited to shape facts in front of the viewer by setting priorities and focusing on certain aspects and ignoring and marginalizing other aspects “Framing theory explains that the media create this frame by introducing news items with predefined and narrow contextualisation. Frames can be designed to enhance understanding or are used as cognitive shortcuts to link stories to the bigger picture” (AROWOLO 01).

Media framing arranges and sequences ideas and often depends on linking previous images and concepts in people’s minds based on social background and prevailing symbols and meanings. Goffman argues that “When the individual in our Western society recognizes a particular event, it tends, whatever else he does, to imply in this response (and in effect employ) one or more frameworks or schemata of interpretation of a kind that can be called primary (21). So people already have a previous background about some topics and by framing news the publisher is linking and presenting the frame to this previous background and that could be used to direct people's thoughts in a certain direction to form public opinion and influence the general view on a specific topic or news. For example, the events of 9/11, which were caused by Al-Qaeda, are described as terrorism and are linked to any other attack on the West or Israel within this concept or this frame of “a terrorist act”. Hamas was also linked to this same concept as terrorist militias like Al-Qaeda and ISIS, and the concept of Hamas was linked in people’s minds with the concept of terrorism within these groups.

Goffman argues that there are two primary frameworks 1- natural 2- social both play an important role in shaping the understanding of people of the world around them. 1- the natural framework is the physical occurrences that are natural, and they are not affected by the social background. 2- social framework views events as events influenced

by societies, their goals and whims, and manipulated for specific interests by groups. Social frameworks are also linked to natural frameworks, and all of these frameworks affect understanding, awareness, communication, interpretation, and analysis among us. Goffman believes that humans use these frames daily, consciously or unconsciously (qtd. in AROWOLO 03).

What is the role of media frameworks? The role of the media frame can be summarized in five points to understand the impact of the frame on the news. 1- Media frames reveal to researchers the attempts of the press to cover and highlight certain events and marginalize other events. Many researchers believe that the press is influenced by the controlling power, so these media frameworks are used to transmit news 2- Media frameworks identify problems, determine the causes, make judgments and evaluations, and assist in proposing solutions. This helps in understanding a specific issue or news so that it reaches the recipient 3- Media frameworks ensure that people use social background and previous experiences to understand the news around them. Frames help individuals build scenarios and discourses by providing them with frameworks that contain concepts and terms for interpreting news and events in this way, people's thoughts are directed by framing and highlighting news and marginalizing other news on the other hand 4- Media framing develops through influence by social and political factors, organizations, and social movements, and these frames influence the direction of public opinion. The frames focus on aspects and facts and build frames to cover different events. These frames are affected by the journalist's approach, values, and writing style 5- Media frames influence behavior, societies, and social movements, help connect the individual to the group, and contribute to spreading values and ideologies. This demonstrates that media frames have social power ("frame analysis theory" 4-5).

In the article “Frame analysis theory” the author mentioned that media frames are affected by these factors: “1- Social customs and traditions. -2 Institutional or regulatory restrictions and pressures. -3 Pressure and interest groups. -4 Routine press restrictions. 5- The ideological and political tendencies of journalists” (07) Therefore, it was mentioned that frames depend on several factors and influences, and as Goffman discussed, media frames depend on several aspects that are predetermined, whether voluntarily or involuntarily.

According to Gavilán news is a depiction of reality by journalists, and this depiction is formed using a specific approach or frame, and this framing structures events, constructs discourse, and develops meaning (04). The framing process contains four aspects in the communication process: the communicator, the text, the recipient, and culture (Gavilán 04). The communicators make framing decisions based on frames (often referred to as schemata) that shape their belief systems. The text itself contains clear frames using keywords, common phrases, and stereotypes and it is possible that the frames in the text or the intention of the communicator do not match the conclusions and interpretations of the recipient. Lastly, culture encompasses the commonly used frames it can be described as the set of shared frames seen in the discourse and thought patterns of most people in a social group (Gavilán 04).

According to Wolfsfeld “political context model the best way to understand the role of media within the political conflict.” (qtd in Gavilán 05) he argues that political rivals competing to control the media is another form of conflict. Politicians focus on promoting their views through the media in order for their news story to prevail (Gavilán 06). Wolfsfeld also argues that there are two levels of this competition 1. the structural dimension, which refers to an antagonist appearing in the media and receiving coverage. 2. the cultural

dimension which refers to the battle for significance, it involves attributing significance to an event to make it understandable to a specific community (qtd in Gavilán 06).

Wolfsfeld's theory asserts all media outlets have a specific cultural context that shapes the frames used in covering and interpreting political events, these factors can be considered to influence political culture in the media: “geographic location of the mass media; ownership of the media and/or who directs them; political leanings of the editors and journalists; type of public and historical period in which conflict is being covered.” (Gavilán 07). Wolfsfeld argue the influence of political culture on building and shaping the frames appears most clearly in the coverage of external conflicts, as the media in each country tend to interpret and present events from a national or nationalistic perspective (Gavilán 07).

Theories of media reporting:

1. The Social Responsibility Theory

This theory aims to make the media adopt a position in which it bears moral and legal responsibilities in everything it publishes for the common good of society. According to CHEBII Credibility is the foundation of this theory and creates an honest, accurate and objective media platform always (26). For there to be credibility in media platforms, there must be media workers who are honest, responsible, fair, and transparent in conveying news while respecting the rights and privacy of everyone (CHEBII 26). This theory tends to shed light on injustice in society and spread awareness among people of their rights, but on the other hand, the more people are aware of their rights, the greater their desire to obtain these rights, even if it is by using violence. Therefore, this theory has a long-term impact on rising up against injustice and demanding justice (CHEBII 26).

2. Libertarian Theory

According to CHEBII “Libertarian theory advocates for media to be self-regulating in observance of strict code of ethics and professionalism” (25). Libertarian Theory is free of any control and believes that people can distinguish right from wrong, choose good ideas from bad, and judge them (Saqib 04). This theory also believes that the press should not restrict anything, even if it is negative. Liberal ideas are the exact opposite of the authoritarian theory, which believes that all things should be under the authority of the king and the government (Saqib 04).

- **The Representation of Arabs in Western Media:**

The portrayal of Arabs in Western media was a prominent topic to be discussed in lots of articles and research. Western media includes lots of channels like programs, films, and literature which play a vital role in creating an image and a perception in people’s minds about other cultures. However, the way that Western media portray Arabs has always been under criticism and analysis and this is due to the Western media's entrenchment of some ideas that will be listed in this section.

Studying Orientalism in Western media is one of the most prominent methods that help in understanding the media and its relationship to power and control of the East by the West. One of the most prominent writers on this subject is Edward Said in his book Orientalism. Orientalism theory argues that the West created the idea of “us” and “them” and the West distorted the image of the East and made them “others” (Ridouani 01). According to Nurullah, Said in his book argued about 3 major points on Orientalism: the first idea is describing Orientalism as objective, limited only to politics, and serving political goals, for example as a political justification for controlling the lands of the East (1023). Second Using Orientalism to define the image of the West, maintain its status, and define who the West is and who is against them, such as giving the West a developed cultural image superior to other cultures and portraying Arab culture as a culture fixed in place and time and uncivilized

(1024). Said argues that Orientalism created a false image of Islamic cultures and that it is possible to generalize these characteristics and stereotypes to all people from these cultures without restrictions or conditions (1024).

The agenda set by the Western media in representing Arabs and Muslims can also be discussed on two points that served the West's control over the image of Arabs and the East. According to Nurullah "repeated coverage of Muslims as terrorists in the media leads to the belief in people, they are really terrorists, and thus hatred and discrimination against Muslims in general takes place" (1024) Western media focuses on repeatedly and frequently reporting certain events from the Arab world, especially news related to violence and wars. Transmitting this image affects the recipient unconsciously, making the viewer expect that this is the reality and characteristics of the Arab and Islamic world. For example, the focus on the events of the 9/11 attack, the news of the Gulf War, and Osama bin Laden. Nurullah also discussed the idea that the media not only conveys the image, but also shapes people's thinking about other cultures, religions, and races, and therefore the content of the media affects people's general perception of some issues (1024).

In his book *Orientalism*, Said focused on the idea of the stereotype in Western media. Arabs are often portrayed negatively in Western media, for example, as terrorists, oil sheiks, belly dancers, or veiled women.

"Arabs, for example, are thought of as camel riding, terroristic, hook-nosed, venal lechers whose undeserved wealth is an affront to real civilization. Always there lurks the assumption that although the Western consumer belongs to a numerical minority, he is entitled either to own or to expend (or both) the majority of the world's resources. Why? Because he, unlike the Oriental, is a true human being.." (Said 108)

These perceptions support incorrect prejudices, marginalize and silence Arab voices, and hinder acquaintance between the complex and multiple Arab cultures with other societies.

The fabricated facts that are presented in media created a false and misleading image in the eyes of Western people, they got the impression that Arabs are barbaric and savages which led to difficulties in the communication between Arabs and other cultures because they got that impression and a misconception in their minds especially after the attack of 11 September. Movies and media after the attack of 9/11 presented more stereotypical terminologies about Arabs and Muslims, like Jihadists and terrorists which made Western people scared of Arabs or scared of anyone who speaks Arabic. Nurullah stated “The incident of 9/11 has strengthened the binary concept of ‘us’ and ‘them’. Here the concept ‘we’ refers to the democratic, civilized world, whereas ‘they’ indicates the uncivilized, terrorists, and Muslims in general (1030). This portrayal of the Arabs did not leave a choice in the world after this incident: either to be with the West or to be enemies of the West. This is a negative portrayal to justify aggression and authority over the East as they are enemies of Western civilization.

“This contributes immensely to the institutionalization of prejudice against Arabs in America and in most parts of the world. Being an Arab or Muslim even those with Muslim-sounding names becomes a target of discrimination because of the strong association with terroristic activities. Consequently, these discriminations and attacks gave rise to the inhuman and nefarious treatment of Muslims especially those from Afghanistan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and Iraq” (Alalawi 58).

The West's distortion of Arabs and Muslims in the media contributes to systematic bias and racism against Arabs and Muslims. This leads to an inferior view of these societies and makes communication and understanding between societies difficult.

- **The Representation of Palestinians in Western Media:**

In international media coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, there is often a bias towards the Israeli side and marginalization of the Palestinian voice. According to Samiha western media outlets have been picking tricky words in describing the war from both Israel and Palestinian perspectives (02). She also argues that the careful choice of words that reporters use reveals that there is a one-sided story and history that elites are trying to seek (Samiha 02). It has always been observed that the Western media gives priority to the Israeli narrative, and with the entry of political groups and trends, anti-Semitism and hatred of Islam have become more prevalent among people than before. This is due to the entry of religion into dividing people and the media's increased bias towards specific political groups (Samiha 03).

“This is the extent to which the American media is willing to go to formulate the truth which aligns with its interests and therefore share it with the public in the hope of shaping their opinions in the same way, and hence, also gain control over the international responses to the conflict” (Samiha 04).

The influence of the media on public opinion and the public is so strong that the global press seeks to shape the public's opinions in a way that is compatible with the political direction of the media itself. For example, at the beginning of the recent war on Gaza in 2023, most international media outlets adopted the Israeli narrative narrated by Israeli officials. Samiha mentions that after the 7th of October Israel claimed that there were pictures of beheaded babies and toddlers after the Hamas attack on Israeli settlements, US President Joe Biden

condemned Hamas and the international press adopted this narrative that was narrated by the Israeli government and the US president without any actual proof, turns out later on that Israel could not confirm these claims on Hamas and there are no proofs (Samiha 04). This example proves that international media and politicians do not even question or investigate Israeli narratives, and it proves that the Israeli narrative is likely to get the attention of international media more than the Palestinian narrative.

In his research, Tweissi listed key characteristics of the Western media coverage of the recent war on Gaza 2023, which are:

- 1- One-Sided Reporting: The Western media published one-sided reports aimed at unifying opinions around one narrative. At the same time, little effort was made to balance sources. Even when the media began presenting Palestinian viewpoints after the first week of the war, the general perspective remained unbalanced (01).
- 2- Lack of Journalistic Standards: The reports also failed to achieve basic journalistic standards, such as verification. Rather, they echoed false news and misleading information, which led to distorting the public's understanding of the events and raising questions about the basic problem, whether it was a war, conflict, invasion, or attack, and who were the parties involved in these events (01).
- 3- Bias Toward Israeli Narrative: There is a deep bias towards the Israeli narrative, as these narratives have been officially adopted by major media outlets (01).
- 4- Two-Sided Conflict Framing: The situation is framed as a two-sided conflict, whether using traditional frames or using new frames that emphasize the same picture (01).
- 5- Political Spin: From the beginning, the mainstream Western media embraced political fabrication. It initially adopted the Israeli narrative as presented by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Western officials, and they repeated these narratives without verifying their authenticity. This led to coverage devoid of the voice and narrative of

the other party, or even representing it at a minimum. This coverage also led to taking the conflict out of its context and portraying it as a sudden event and not part of the broader reality of occupation throughout history, and the media became a mouthpiece for Israeli military propaganda (02).

According to Tweissi Western media engaged in "manufacturing consent" which is a theory that argues that modern democratic public opinion is essentially an illusion. The media publishes information and facts selected by politicians and higher authorities. This allows the elite to shape public opinion. Although the democratic world has denied this theory, the Western media's coverage of the war on Gaza is considered strong evidence to support the validity of this theory (02).

Portraying the Palestinian people and placing them in specific molds deeply affects people's awareness and general ideas about the Palestinian people. "the world will look different to different people based on the map drawn for them by journalists, editors, and publishers of the paper they read" (qtd in Panayotova 20) the western coverage of the Palestinian cause will affect and determine the opinion of the audience toward this cause.

It can be seen that there is a clear bias on the part of the Western media towards Israel through the use of language that is more biased towards Israel. Balasubramanain argues, for example, that there is bias from the American media towards Israel by using specific words to describe the actions of the Israelis that hide the crimes of the occupation against the Palestinian people

"Most US media outlets like CNN, Fox News, BCC, and The New York Times played out Israel's occupancy of Palestine as legal, while Hamas, the Palestinian resistance group formed almost after 50 years of oppression as "terrorists" who were responsible for all the violence inflicted" (12)

Balasubramanain also discusses that Israelis are often portrayed as peaceful and civilized, and we always hear in the media that Israel is the only democratic state in the Middle East, while the Palestinians are shown as violent, always aggressing against Israelis,

“This has further created a perception that the Israelis are somehow the underdogs and that it is the Palestinians who are somehow the aggressors when really the entire world knows and recognizes that Israel illegally occupied Palestine and not the other way around” (qtd. in

Grothaus 13)

Kandil also discussed the same idea that Western media avoid using words that accuse Israel directly of an illegal occupation, but they rather use words that hide the fact that Israel is an occupation state “words referring to the illegality of the Israeli presence in the West Bank and Gaza like occupation, occupied territories, and settlements are consistently avoided” (38) The Western media also used methods to bias the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, such as media framing and manipulation of language and semiotics to bias the Israeli side, which will be detailed later in the next chapter.

- **Recent Media outlets and the representation of Palestinians:**

The influence of the Western media on the Palestinian cause is not entirely negative, but it is also unfair compared to the representation of the Israeli side. The media has limitedly allowed the Palestinian people to make their voices heard and to challenge the false narrative transmitted about them. This change came recently, in my opinion, after the existence of social media platforms, which in turn allowed the general public to directly share what is happening on the Palestinian territories without filtering this news using specific agendas and criteria by the forces controlling the media. For example, in the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood case, after a video spread widely of Mona Al-Kurd discussing with a settler that he is stealing her house and his confession of his act in front of the camera and that the settlers are stealing

these homes with the protection of the Israeli army¹ (look at the appendix for the article and video). after that the journalist Mona Al-Kurd documented what was happening in the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood violations and the eviction of the people Palestinians from their homes in the neighborhood by force through social media, such as live broadcasting on the Instagram platform “This new generation took matters into their own hands and bombarded social media with photographs and live broadcasts from the heart of events on the ground” (Shalash)² this contributed to conveying the naked truth of the Israeli aggression without any manipulation of events. It also led to hosting Palestinian youth who documented these events. Their hosting was a representation of the Palestinian people in front of the world and viewers through interviews. Such as hosting Muhammad al-Kurd and Mona al-Kurd to talk about the case of Sheikh Jarrah and shed light on it in 2021 “Western TV channels generally assumed to be biased towards Israel have had little choice but to host Palestinian activists if they want to be relevant and maintain their place in the ratings” (Shalash)³³.

- **Difficulties facing the Palestinian voice:**

One of the biggest difficulties faced by the Palestinian media and journalists is the direct field media coverage of the occupation's crimes during the confrontations and raids in Palestinian cities. Journalists are always exposed to all forms of violence, such as arrest and beating, and may even lead to the killing of journalists by the Israeli army. “Palestinian journalists are often targeted by armed personnel. During major military operations, Israeli soldiers do not hesitate to target journalists in the field” (Abu Tu‘aimah 15). The most prominent proof that the Israeli occupation targets journalists to kill them is the killing of the well-known journalist Sherine Abu Aqleh. Journalist Sherine Abu Aqleh was a well-known

¹ <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/5/4/if-i-dont-steal-your-home-someone-else-will-jewish-settler-says>

² https://english.palinfo.com/opinion_articles/A-new-Palestinian-generation-is-leading-a-different-media-strategy/

³ https://english.palinfo.com/opinion_articles/A-new-Palestinian-generation-is-leading-a-different-media-strategy/

face appearing on Al-Jazeera TV covering the crimes of the occupation. On May 11, 2022, Sherine went to cover the events after the Israeli army stormed the city of Jenin, Sherine was wearing a protective vest with the word "press" written in large white letters, and a protective helmet. Nevertheless, the Israeli army deliberately shot her and her colleague, Ali Al-Samoudi, and this led to Ali's shoulder injury "Since 2001, CPJ has documented at least 20 journalist killings by the IDF. The vast majority — 18 — were Palestinian; two were European foreign correspondents; there were no Israelis" (Halpern et al. 10).

In the recent Gaza war and the ongoing aggression against it from 2023-2024, there was clear targeting of the press in Gaza. Many journalists were killed and targeted by the Israeli army "According to the Gaza's Government Media office, Between 7 October 2023 and 11 January 2024, Israel has killed 117 Journalists and media workers in the Gaza Strip, including at least 14 female journalists, and destroyed over 80 media institutions" (look at Israel's Continued, Deliberate Targeting of Journalists)⁴ One of the most prominent of these targets is Israel's attempts to kill journalist Wael Al-Dahdouh, who was targeted in December 2023. This targeting led to the killing of Samer Abu Daqa, the photographer who was accompanying Wael Al-Dahdouh, and prevented an ambulance from reaching him to save his life "Al Jazeera Media Network condemns in the strongest terms the Israeli drone attack on a Gaza school that resulted in the killing of cameraman Samer Abudaqa." (look at Al Jazeera condemns Israeli forces killing of cameraman Samer Abudaqa)⁵. Israel is trying in various ways to control its image in the global media by controlling the largest media companies in the world and forcing them to be biased in its favor. Social media content related to the Israeli aggression against Gaza and Palestine is also being controlled, and journalists who convey

⁴ <https://pchgaza.org/en/20910-2/#:~:text=According%20to%20the%20Gaza's%20Government,destroyed%20over%2080%20media%20institutions.>

⁵ <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/12/15/al-jazeera-condemns-israeli-forces-killing-of-cameraman-samer-abu-daqqqa>

the realistic picture of the occupation's crimes against the Palestinian people are also being targeted.

Chapter 3: Media and Language Analysis

- **Government Foreign affairs and media**

One of the most important influences on the media and the process of conveying news to the public is the relationship between the media, politics, and politicians. Touri discusses in her thesis the types of relationships between journalists and politicians to better understand the relationship between media and politics.

- **the adversary model:** The tense relationship between journalists and politicians arose from their different goals in political communication. Politicians want to provide positive information and influence media coverage to increase the number of voters for them. In return, journalists aim to attract the public by reporting newsworthy stories that often revolve around conflicts (Touri 14). Politicians like to keep conflicts and disagreements out of the public eye, while at the same time, the press seeks to win the public over the narrative of these conflicts and disagreements.
- **The exchange model:** In this type of relationship between journalists and politicians, both sides benefit from cooperation among themselves, as they share common interests in constructing news (Touri 15). according to Touri This genre highlights the mutual and gained benefits of political reporting (15).
- **The dynamic model:** In this relationship, the focal point is the shared culture between the two parties, which is shaped primarily by their social environment. For example, the roles of the media are determined by forces such as the standards of the press or the media institution (Touri 15). On the other side “policymakers too are influenced by Political parties they belong to, or by ideological functions based on which they develop respective roles” (Touri 15). On this basis, the roles of each part are developed, and this relationship does not negate the cooperative or hostile nature between the media and politicians.

- **expanded framework:** This relationship discusses the division of the media and the government into two groups of actors who have conflicting but overlapping goals at the same time. The two groups aim to achieve their goals for their audiences. Journalists follow routine procedures for gathering and reporting news. On the other hand, politicians work within the government to represent its interests each side is expected to act According to these roles (Touri 16).

To understand and analyze the news transmitted through the BBC, we must also understand and study this channel, read its history, origin, and goals to ask some questions about this channel's coverage of news around the world, and what are the goals that this channel pursues? Will the BBC succeed in achieving these goals? What is the vision of this channel? Does the BBC adhere to its vision and goals? Does the BBC also fulfill its promises to the viewer?

1. The BBC:

The reader must have a little background about the BBC channel to understand more about this channel's discourse and analyze it later. Some information about this channel will be briefly presented in this section so that the reader can learn more about this channel. British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) is the oldest and the largest broadcasting company in Europe. It is based in London, and it was founded in 1922 by John Rieth. The BBC employs 21,000 staff and broadcasts in 33 languages (Appelvik 08). The BBC operates under the Royal Charter, Appelvik defines the Royal Charter as "A Royal Charter means that a collection of individuals are considered as a single legal entity, meaning that, among other things, it can sue others and be sued itself. Working under a Royal charter also means that a significant part of the control of the internal affairs is given to the Privy Council" (08). This indicates that the government of Britain is involved in monitoring and organizing the company of the channel and what to broadcast. The BBC channel is funded

by the annual television license fees, these fees are imposed on all houses, companies, and organizations in Britain that use equipment to receive or record live television broadcasts or to use the BBC's live broadcast service. These fees are determined by the British government and agreed upon in Parliament⁶. This means that BBC is funded by its audience and by people and this will demand the BBC to commit to its promises to the people who pay to get the channel services.

British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) published the channel's mission, values, and public purposes on the channel's official website, where their audience can easily reach and read them. Mentioning the channel's mission, values and purposes will help us understand the background of the channel broadcast and evaluate to what extent the channel is committed to its mission, values, and purposes. BBC states on its website "Our mission is "to act in the public interest, serving all audiences through the provision of impartial, high-quality and distinctive output and services which inform, educate and entertain"⁷. This is a clear statement that the BBC's mission is to be impartial and deliver a high-quality service to its audience, in addition to that its mission is to inform, educate, and entertain and this also be applied to its services to inform people with new and information without being biased or manipulative. It also educates people provides them with truthful knowledge and entertains its audience with many means and services. The BBC also listed its purposes set by the Royal Charter 1. Neutrally providing news and information to help people understand and interact with what is around them⁸. The BBC must provide accurate and impartial news to provide information and understanding to people in Britain and the outside world. It must provide content subject to high editorial standards, and also provide broad and in-depth analysis, through a staff of highly qualified

⁶ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/BBC>

⁷ <https://www.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/governance/mission/>

⁸ <https://www.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/governance/mission/>

presenters and journalists. The channel must defend freedom of expression so that audiences can engage with international and national newspapers. 2. To support learning for people of all ages⁹, The BBC seeks to help everyone learn about topics and information easily and smoothly. The channel must provide educational content that contributes to supporting the education of children and teenagers in the United Kingdom. The BBC seeks to encourage people to explore new topics through partnerships with educational, sporting, and cultural organizations. 3. Providing high-quality, distinguished, and more innovative services¹⁰, The BBC must provide high-quality programs, regardless of the genre of the program, through a range of services and platforms that set quality standards in the United Kingdom and internationally. Its services must also be distinct and different from the programs presented on other channels, and it must provide creative and new services, even if not all of them succeed, to create new approaches and distinct content. 4. The channel must represent and serve the diverse community in all countries and regions of the United Kingdom by supporting the creative economy across the United Kingdom¹¹, The BBC must reflect the diversity of UK society through its products and services by representing the authenticity of people's lives in the UK today. It should raise awareness of different cultures and viewpoints and bring people together to share experiences and contribute to social cohesion in the UK. The channel must also invest in the creative economy of each country and contribute to its development. 5. To reflect and represent the United Kingdom, its culture, and values to the world¹², The BBC must provide high-quality news coverage to its international audience by representing British values of accuracy, impartiality, and fairness. The United Kingdom must be represented in a global context to help understand the United Kingdom as a whole, including its countries and regions, and must ensure that

⁹ <https://www.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/governance/mission/>

¹⁰ <https://www.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/governance/mission/>

¹¹ <https://www.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/governance/mission/>

¹² <https://www.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/governance/mission/>

it produces programs and services that people in the United Kingdom and around the world enjoy.

The BBC also listed the values that the employees of the BBC follow. These values are expected to be found in the representations that the BBC provides and in the daily work and how the employees behave. A quote of the values listed on the BBC official website:

“AUDIENCES are at the heart of everything we do, CREATIVITY is the lifeblood of our organization, TRUST is the foundation of the BBC - we’re independent, impartial and truthful, We RESPECT each other - we’re kind, and we champion inclusivity, We are ACCOUNTABLE and deliver work of the highest quality, We are ONE BBC - we collaborate, learn and grow together” (BBC, Mission, values and public purposes)¹³

The BBC listed its values and the channel should be committed to transferring news and its programs since the BBC is one of the most famous channels in the world and a lot of people depend on this channel to get their information and news about so many situations around the whole world. After discussing the BBC's vision, missions, and values the next part of this paper may help the reader to determine and judge to what extent the BBC is committed to its vision, missions, and values.

- **The UK and Israel relation:**

The relationship between the United Kingdom and Israel is characterized by political and economic ties. Since the establishment of Israel in 1948, the United Kingdom has played a prominent role in the development of this state. According to Bermant “Britain is now one of Israel’s biggest export markets after the United States, having established a Trade and Partnership Agreement (TPA) with Israel in January 2021, followed by the signing of a new

¹³ <https://www.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/governance/mission/>

memorandum of understanding to develop cooperation in several areas such as cyber, technology, trade, and defense” (01). The two countries have long shared economic relations, as well as in the field of defense and intelligence, to combat terrorism.

In the last war on the Gaza Strip in 2023, and after the attack on October 7, the United Kingdom showed its solidarity with Israel after the attack. The British government clearly and frankly expressed its understanding of Israel's right to use force against Hamas in Gaza to defend Israel. Britain also participated in intercepting the Iranian attack on Israel on April 13 (Bermant 01). After the October 7 attack, Prime Minister Rishi Sunak expressed the United Kingdom's support for Israel “not just today, not just tomorrow, but always.” He also visited Israel on October 19 to express his solidarity with the Israeli people (Bermant 01).

- **Media language analysis**

1. **Semiotics:**

For a deeper understanding of the media discourse directed to the public, semiotics must be studied. As humans, we use symbols and signs a lot during our speeches and conversations. These symbols carry many clear and direct meanings, and they also carry many hidden meanings behind them.

Here comes the role of semiotics in analyzing and studying these symbols. We can define semiotics in the simplest way as the study of signs. Bouzida defines semiotics as: “semiotics is the science of signs that allowed the proliferation of several perspectives and paved the way to other cultural phenomena that raised the study of signs through its denotative and connotative meanings” (1001). Since the media is one of the most important parts of our daily lives and one of the influences on people's thinking and opinions, the study of semiotics must also be linked to the study of media discourse. Media speeches are full of symbols, whether the speech is written or read, or in the form of body language, pictures, and videos, or through series, films, and advertisements.

Signs are based on two elements according to Roland Barthes 1- the Signifier and 2- the signified. The signifier is the one with the material whether it is objects or images etc, on the other hand, the signifier is the mental representation of the signs and it can be linked to the social background of the receiver (Bouzida 1003). As an example, we can analyze the Moon as a sign that it is nighttime at a material level, while the Moon can be associated with beauty in the Arabic culture which is the mental representation for people of this sign.

According to Barthes, there are 2 levels of signification a sign can carry. The first level is Denotation which is defined according to Barthes as “the literal or obvious meaning of the sign, thus, denotation of the visual image refers to what all people see without association to their culture, ideology or society” (1005). This means that denotation is the basic meaning of the sign independent of any context or social associations. For example, the denotation of a crescent moon is the lunar phase in the first quarter or a denotation of the moon itself and this is the basic meaning of the crescent moon. The second level is Connotation according to Barthes Connotation “is a term used by Roland Barthes to explain the way signs work ‘it describes the interaction that occurs when the sign meets the feelings or emotions of the users and the values of their culture” (qtd. in 1005). So connotation is the sign viewed from a point that is associated with a social background or a context. As mentioned in the example before we discussed the denotation of a crescent moon, on the other hand connotation of a crescent moon for Muslims is related to the holy month of Ramadan, in this example, we can conclude that the crescent moon is associated with a religious context for Muslims. Barthes also discusses that a sign can have multiple meanings and connotations are always built on denotations, so connotations are a reproduction of messages from denotations (1005).

2. Language analysis:

Language is one of the tools that humans use in almost everything, including speech, communication, and writing. The language is used daily and widely among people. Language tools of expression vary from spoken language to body language, sign language, and written language. These languages differ according to regions and cultures in the world until the science of linguistics developed and we arrived at other languages specifically for programming and technology. The language we use is made up of words but does the language that is formulated with words have a single meaning? Or is it affected if these words are delivered in a specific tone, for example, or how we pronounce these words? Or may it be affected by the surrounding circumstances and a specific context? The language has gone through many stages until it has evolved in this way to become a tool that we use today, starting from ancient times using drawings and symbols as a language to the programming language in technology to the present day.

Language is a tool for conveying meaning and communication. Therefore, to have a deeper understanding of the language of journalism and media, we must understand some of the linguistic basics used in the journalistic and media field. This is done by understanding and applying these important basics, which I will detail later in this section. But is it possible that language is also a tool for manipulating ideas and that it is deceptive and not neutral? Language affects our consciousness and subconscious in shaping facts, information, and ideas and determines our understanding and feelings towards certain issues by conveying ideas and ideologies directed using language. Nordlund quotes Leah: “It is easy to resist a particular viewpoint or ideology when you know it is being presented to you, but not so easy to resist when the viewpoint or ideology is concealed” (qtd. in 01). So, to truly do a critical analysis of media discourse we should study the linguistic techniques used in the discourses that are conveyed by the media. This method of studying

linguistics is defined as ‘critical linguistics’ and it is a method used to understand the underlying meanings and the hidden ideologies between words and sentences (Nordlund 07).

Some of the journalistic techniques that media and journalism use to manipulate language according to Nordlund are to reshape and to interpret events differently. According to Hernes, these are the techniques used to manipulate language: 1- sharpening which is the choice of using a certain angle to represent and to convey events. 2- concretization is to make complex ideas more understandable and relatable to the audience by providing concrete examples, such as visualization and illustration. 3- simplification by making the complex reality easier for the reader. 4- polarisation which is the use of language to create binary oppositions or divisions between social groups (qtd. in Nordlund 08). According to Ahlstrand, polarization is the division in using language to refer to a certain group as the “good group” and the others as the “bad group.” “Polarisation in discourse can undermine inclusive and critical political participation, as groups simply seek to reproduce their power and protect their interests, while undermining the power and legitimacy of other groups” (qtd. in Van Dijk 65). 5- intensification is the focus on the conflict itself rather than focusing on consensus by using a language that engages the emotions of the audience towards the conflict. 6- personification is the representation of events from an individual point of view with interesting qualities. 7- stereotyping is to put the group in a certain shape with a certain set of rules such as to be a villain or a saint. In addition to these techniques, Nordlund adds other techniques used in media to hide the truth by using language: 1- concealment, defined as hiding some important information while conveying the events 2- distortion of various degrees is to use language to manipulate facts by exaggeration, minimization, and equivocation. 3- falsification which is lying and presenting untrue facts. (08)

After we mentioned the techniques used in journalism and media to manipulate language in conveying events and news. We now move to a deeper level of language analysis at the syntactic level and manipulation of syntax in the language used in media discourse. Syntax is used to build up sentences that convey meaning to deliver a message and to communicate, we should study and analyze media discourse in more depth by studying and understanding the syntactic form of the news and headlines to fully understand and critically analyze them.

2.1 syntactic manipulation:

- 1- Transitivity, beard mentioned that transitivity is to look at the language used to describe what happens, the participants, and the circumstances (09)

So, transitivity is a device to describe an event from different perspectives and angles that could convey different ideologies and viewpoints (09). Reah also divided verbs into two kinds: actional and relational. Actional verbs are transactions that have an agent (a doer of the action) and a recipient affected by the action. Actional verbs also can be non-transactions that only have an actor. Relational verbs on the other hand describe the relationship between an actor and a quality or an attribute (09).

- 2- Active and passive voice, is a device to build the structure of the sentence whether to focus on the agent (the doer of the action) or to focus on the person or thing affected by the actor (10)

Active voice is direct and clear in delivering information, it focuses on the agent of the action, and it frames the agent as the responsible of the action. On the other hand, passive voice moves the focus from the agent to the person or the thing that is affected by the actor. To make it clearer as an example of active voice: the doctor performed the complex procedure, in this sentence the focus was on the doctor, and it is direct and clear that he is the

doer in the sentence. While the sentence the complex procedure was performed by the doctor is an example of the passive voice here in this sentence the attention is focused on the action itself not the doer of the action. There is also another example of passive voice where the actor is completely deleted from the sentence, for example: the complex procedure was performed today. Here we cannot know who the doer of the procedure is, and the doer was completely taken out of the frame.

- 3- Modality, modality is expressing an attitude about someone or something or events or opinions.

The attitude conveyed by modality can be expressed with the help of “modal auxiliary verbs (can, could, may, might, must, ought to, shall, should, will, would), disjuncts, that is adverbs displaying attitude (e.g. necessarily, possibly, unfortunately) or modal adjectives (e.g. unlikely)” (Nordlund 10). The use of such models gives an illustration that a person with an opinion is speaking and this device is not preferable to be used if the writer is seeking objectivity in transferring news.

- 4- Nominalization is the deletion of some information from sentences to make it less complex or to transform parts of the sentence such as (participants) into nouns.

Nominalization and passive voice in sentences are usually used to distract attention from some elements of the sentence. LINGLE argues that nominalization does not provide the full truth by deleting or distracting the attention on the agent of the sentence “Although we know that there was an actor and an affected, the specific identities of both have been lost. We can guess about their identity, but we can never be certain.” (qtd. in Kress and Hodge 20). This method means to be shady about providing the hearer or the reader who are the participants that are affected by the action and who is the doer of the action, this device in syntactic manipulation can hold certain ideologies implied in the sentence to distract the reader and

make him focus on the event itself only. Nordlund mentioned that the deletion of some information does not provide the full truth for people to think or to judge the situation “Reducing the complexity of an argument and limiting the terms which it can contain is a drastic intervention. Showing less means someone else seeing less. And seeing less means thinking less.” (qtd. in Thompson 11)

- 5- Permutation is the choice of the first word in the sentence to grab the focus of the reader on it.

Usually, the first word in the sentence grabs the attention of the reader and it is usually the focus of the sentence. When mentioning the agent, the first thing in the sentence in some way will be presented as the responsible party of an event. For example - the student fought with the teacher, in this sentence we assume that the student is the one who initiated the fight. While in the sentence - the teacher fought with the student, appears like it is the opposite. (Nordlund 11)

- 6- Innuendo is making a statement by questioning or denying it.

In this device the human brain is tricked, according to Nordlund “This phenomenon has to do with how the human brain works. Apparently, our mind processes and comprehends positive information first, before considering negations or quest” (12). To make it clearer an example of innuendo is presented in these sentences: 1- white people are not racist 2- are white people racist? These statements although they do not confirm a fact present white people as racist already. (12)

- 7- Lexico-semantic manipulation is the use of certain words that hold emotional or cultural meaning.

Words can hold positive and negative meanings and can hold so many emotions and attitudes, the choice of words can affect certain feelings in the reader or hearer's mind

and in this way, the choice of words can affect the opinion of the reader or the hearer (Nordlund 13). For example, the word ISIS is associated with terrorism, killing, barbarism, and savages, when writers use the word ISIS it is associated with a bad reputation, so people already have a bad background in their mind about the event.

2.2 Genre:

It is important to determine and analyze the genre of a text, understanding the genre of the text is a major key to analyzing the purpose behind this text. Studying the genre determines what is meant by the text, what has been deleted or highlighted, and what is the purpose of this deletion or highlighting this aspect “This genre knowledge allows the analysts to determine and interpret what has been omitted from the text and what was not left out and what purpose that omission would serve the producer of the text” (qtd. in Wadi and Ahmed 18). Determining the genre of the text according to Wadi and Ahmed can be done by identifying the targeted audience, the situation that the text discusses and its purpose, the content of the text, and the language used in it (18).

2.3 Rhetorical tropes:

- 1- Metaphores: Nordlund argues that metaphors “involve concepts of enemies and opponents, winners and losers; they do not suggest that government could be achieved through discussion, co-operation, working together.” (qtd. in Bears 14). so, words are used in a way that goes beyond their literal meaning to create a comparison between two different concepts. Trajkova defines metaphors as Describing something by directly equating it with something else (41).
- 2- Metonymy: depends on replacing a term or phrase with something close to it that is known or commonly associated with it (Trajkova 42). For example “the white house” is a metonym for the U.S. president.

3- Irony: according to Trajkova irony is divided into two types. The first one is using irony to convey an idea or something, the other type is when the author uses irony to tell the truth and also criticize it or to express disapproval of somebody or something (42).

- **Analysis of BBC news headlines: Critical discourse analysis of the headlines of the Israeli aggression on Gaza from 2008 to 2023**

In this part of the chapter, the BBC news headlines will be analyzed and placed under the lens of critical discourse analysis of the news headlines about the Israeli aggression on Gaza 2008-2023. Critical discourse analysis is one of the important tools for analyzing and understanding the language used in the media, and critical discourse analysis helps us understand the meaning. A deeper understanding of the ideologies included in the language used in news and its transmission, may not often be apparent. In this research, I chose to analyze news headlines specifically for more than one reason. One of the most important of these reasons is that the headlines of the news are the key that attracts people to read the full news or article. There is also a large group of people who only read headlines to get quick news and ideas about what is going on around the world “Readers do not even bother to read the whole text but suffice with reading the title only, which gives them a general view of what the article is all about. And it is based on the title that the reader decides whether to continue reading or not” (Ismail 39). Another reason why I chose to analyze headlines news is that a headline can give the reader the first impression of how to feel about the article before even reading it, headlines also according to Ismail headlines creates the first idea for the reader about the issue and it paves the way to the ideas and the ideologies that the channel is trying to deliver to people about a certain issue (40).

1. **A brief review of CDA (critical discourse analysis):**

Critical discourse analysis is a way to study and analyze discourse that may have more than one meaning and purpose. Through critical discourse analysis, the reader can reveal and understand the relationship of power, ideologies, and social structure embedded in language. In critical discourse analysis, the apparent and superficial meaning of words is not taken into account, but rather what is deeper than that is looked at. For example, critical discourse analysis studies how language is constructed and used to reflect power, control, social structure, and ideologies. Critical discourse analysis is related to many other fields such as linguistics, sociology, communication, and cultural studies. According to Jones “CDA is concerned with comprehending how forms of subjectivity and power relations interfere with our understanding of the world we experience; it is ‘one of the most influential and visible branches of discourse analysis’” (10). Jones also discusses the theory of Fairclough and Van Dijk that CDA is a method that analyzes the discursive discourse through its micro-level and macro-level, the micro-level is the text itself and the macro-level is the social ideas and phenomenon (10). Ismail also discusses the same approach by Fairclough and Van Dijk “CDA aims at combining the (micro level) analysis of the text with the (macro level) analysis of the text relying on the discursive practices which are the mediator between micro and macro (the textual level and the sociocultural level)” (23-24). So CDA aims to analyse the discourse in three dimensional levels 1- text 2- the discursive practice 3- social practice. Van Dijk also suggests that language on its own is not a powerful tool, but adding a social context and power to it gives it a certain goal in maintaining power and delivering hidden ideologies to make the powerful side more dominant over the oppressed side (Ismail 24). For this reason, the method of critical discourse analysis was chosen to study the BBC’s discourse by analyzing its titles and interviews, to understand the language used by this channel in social contexts, and to choose methods and vocabulary that have greater and deeper social

connotations than its abstract words in assessing whether the BBC is biased in its coverage of the Israeli aggression against Gaza from 2008 to 2023.

2. BBC headlines analysis: Israeli aggression on Gaza 2008-2023

In this part of the chapter, there will be a critical discourse analysis of chosen headlines from the BBC presented on BBC's main website <https://www.bbc.com/news> and BBC's official Twitter account @BBCBreaking from the first Israeli aggression on Gaza 2008 until the recent aggression 2023, the analysis of the headlines will consider analyzing the choice of words, the structure of the headline and analyzing the idea or the ideology that the headline carries or deliver.

- **Analysis:**
- **2008 aggression on Gaza:**
 - 1- “Rockets 'violated Gaza ceasefire”.
 - 2- “Militants 'fire rocket' from Gaza”.
 - 3- “Gaza's rocket threat to Israel”.

The headlines above were published during the Israeli aggression on Gaza, in these three headlines the BBC framed Hamas to be the party that began attacking Israel. Which will send a subtle to the reader that violence is always associated with Hamas. The choices of words “violated” “fire” and “threat” are words that indicate that Israel is always under Hamas’s danger and portray Israel as a victim of Hamas rockets. Using this frame with such terms selected by the BBC will give the reader insight into the extent of Hamas’s barbarism and violence.

- 4- “Israeli jets target Gaza tunnels”.
- 5- “Israel strikes key Hamas offices”.

6- "Israel hits Hamas targets in Gaza".

On the other hand, the headlines above were also published during the same period. These headlines put Israel in a defensive position compared to the previous headlines. The headlines this time are more specified by mentioning whom Israel is targeting. These headlines justify Israel's aggression against Gaza by saying that Israel attacks specific Hamas targets, which gives Israel a legal right to defend itself against Hamas. Specializing in mentioning the targets mentioned in the headlines gives the reader the impression that the targets of this attack were only Hamas' military group and obscures the fact that many civilians were martyred and victimized during this aggression.

- **2012 aggression on Gaza:**

1- "Gaza rocket arsenal problem for Israel".

2- "Gaza conflict: Militant rocket targets Jerusalem".

3- "Gaza crisis: Tel Aviv targeted by missiles".

4- "Hamas fires a barrage of rockets into Israel".

In the Israeli aggression on Gaza in 2012, it can be noted that the BBC continues, as in previous years, to portray Hamas as the party that initiates violence. Like the previous aggression on Gaza, the BBC did not specify the reason for the launching of rockets by Hamas, and it also portrayed it as targeting occupied cities, such as Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. These cities express civilian population centers in one way or another, and thus mentioning these cities implicitly symbolizes that civilians were targeted by Hamas: This reflects a violent, barbaric image of Hamas and influences public opinion to sympathize with Israel as opposed to the terrorist Hamas. In these titles, we can also notice that there is a clear mention

of the word Gaza at the beginning of the sentence to focus on the subject and place it under responsibility for the action. This also confirms the position of Gaza, its residents, and Hamas as responsible for the violence. The use of words such as may indicate that the parties to the problem are equal in strength and that the aggression and human and material losses are equal, while these words marginalize the fact that there is an occupation that attacks the occupier and that there is an unjust party and another party that is persecuted and oppressed (MacDonald "Israel-Palestine: A glossary of problematic media language").

- 5- "Three Israelis killed by Gaza rocket as violence escalates".
- 6- "Israel launches strikes on Gaza after rocket fire".
- 7- "Israeli air strike kills Hamas military chief Jabari".
- 8- "One killed as Palestinian Land Day sees clashes".

In these headlines, the BBC used a slightly different approach than the previous headlines. In the first headline, the focus was on the number of Israeli deaths by placing the number of dead counted at the beginning of the sentence. The BBC used what we mentioned previously, in syntactic manipulation techniques as permutation, which is placing information at the beginning of the sentence, so the reader focuses on it more than the rest of the sentence. This gives greater attention to the information mentioned at the beginning of the sentence than other information. In addition to that the first headline framed Gaza to be associated with violence that led to the killing of the three Israelis. In the second headline, Israel's bombing of Gaza was mentioned first but later in the same headline the reason for the bombing was justified after launching rockets from Gaza. This headline draws a picture in the reader's mind that Israel's response to bombing Gaza was a defense because of the Gaza rocket. In the third

headline, the BBC ignored the impact of the devastating bombing on Gaza and devoted the mention of the target to this bombing by mentioning the name of the targeted person and mentioning that he is one of the leaders of Hamas “Hamas military chief Jabari”. This also implicitly gives justification for the bombing of Gaza that the occupation’s objectives are specific and that this destruction is only inflicted on the target and not civilians. As for the last headline, it is easy to see the techniques that the BBC used in this headline. This time, it was mentioned that there was one victim as a result of the clashes, without mentioning who is this victim was or from any party. This technique is known as nominalization, and it is known as hiding important information from the text to marginalize it and show its lack of importance. Comparing the first headline with the last headline it is noticed that the BBC specified the number of killed Israelis and focused the reader’s attention on them while in contrast marginalizing the Palestinian victim. This technique affects and changes the reader’s opinion and creates more sympathy for the Israeli side than for the Palestinian side by highlighting and focusing on the size of the losses on the Israeli side and showing it in a way that it is a victim and has greater losses. In the same headline, the agent was also deleted from the sentence and only the object was mentioned, this technique is known as passive voice. The BBC concealed the person responsible for the killing of the victim and merely mentioned that there was a victim of the clashes without specifying the actor who caused the killing. Using this technique hides the fact that Israel was the one who killed this victim and does not place it under responsibility. Therefore, the reader is unable to identify the aggressor and the victim. The word clashes was also used in the same sentence, and this also misleads the reader in identifying the oppressor from the oppressed.

- **2021 aggression on Gaza:**

- 1- Israel-Gaza: Rockets hit Israel after militants killed.

2- Rockets target Tel Aviv after Gaza tower destroyed.

During the 2021 aggression, the BBC published these two headlines, and these headlines were framed as Israel being attacked by Gaza. In the first headline, it was mentioned that missiles are hitting Israel after the ambiguous killing of militants. In this headline, it can be understood that Israel is being exposed to missiles without mentioning who is responsible for the killing of the militants. This headline does not explain to the reader the reason for launching the missiles in the first place. In the second headline, the news was worded in the same way by mentioning that Israel is being attacked without presenting who is responsible for destroying the tower. The BBC relied on techniques such as nominalization and passive voice, which are techniques used to delete important information and marginalize the actor to reshape the news in a way that serves specific ideologies and goals.

- 1- Israel-Gaza violence: The children who have died in the conflict.
- 2- Israel-Gaza: How children on both sides experienced the conflict.
- 3- Israel-Gaza conflict: Homes and buildings destroyed in Sderot and Gaza City.
- 4- 'We cannot sleep': Mothers caught in the Israel-Gaza conflict.

In these headlines, the BBC presents the voices of the victims. These headlines focus on civilians who are not contributing to the violence, but also these headlines indicate that both sides are experiencing equal suffering. Statistics on the number of losses do not indicate equality at all in the amount of suffering and losses between the two parties. In the first headline, it was mentioned that there were children who were victims without mentioning the parties and their numbers. This portrays to the reader that both parties are losing the lives of children in this conflict, while in the same article, it was mentioned that 63 Palestinian children were killed and that two Israeli children were killed in the same war. Statistics do not represent equality in Losses at all, but the title indicates that there is equality in the loss of children. What also shows that the BBC is conveying the image that the parties are equal in

these headlines is the use of the word “conflict” in the four headlines. The choice of the word “conflict” shows that violence is equal between the two sides, but in this war we are talking about a state with a fully armed army facing militants and civilians, and this does not indicate equality in losses.

- **2023 aggression on Gaza:**

- 1- 'Isis-level savagery' by Hamas killed 11 Americans, says US.

- 2- Hamas attacks on Israel 'an act of sheer evil' – Biden.

In these two headlines recently published by the BBC, the image of Hamas was linked to the image of "ISIS" in the first headline “ISIS-level savagery”, in the second headline was also linked to evil “an act of sheer evil”. These statements, which were transmitted by the BBC, make the reader unconsciously associate the image of Hamas with “ISIS” and “evil.” This forms in the reader’s subconscious a stereotypical image of Hamas similar to the image of ISIS in the minds of many, and thus implicitly justifies the attack on Gaza to eliminate Hamas, even if this led to civilian casualties in this attack. In these two titles, the metaphor was used to compare Hamas to ISIS and evil, to put Hamas in the same frame as ISIS, and to present a brutal and barbaric image of Hamas in the mind of the recipient. This reminds us of the ideologies of Orientalism in stereotyping Arabs as savage and bloodthirsty barbarian and that these Arabs represent evil in the world so the West must eliminate these savages and justify its crimes against them. This ideology will prevent the reader to sympathize with the oppressed party and on the other hand will convince the reader to justify the crimes of Israel.



in this tweet for the official account of the BBC on Twitter, the BBC published this headline for an article that was published under the headline. In this headline the BBC questioned if there are Hamas tunnels under hospitals and schools in Gaza, the technique Innuendo is used by the BBC in this headline which is questioning and stating an idea but without confirming it as a fact. This technique indicates a previous idea in the reader's mind that this statement might be true. This headline came right after IOF statements that there might be tunnels built by Hamas under hospitals and schools, the next day after publishing this headline the Baptist hospital massacre took place in Gaza by Israel after bombing the hospital after claiming that there are Hamas tunnels under this hospital. This headline justifies implicitly the bombing of the hospital which led to a massacre by murdering more than 400 people according to the Ministry of Health in Gaza.



In this headline, which was also posted on the official account of the BBC on Twitter, the agent behind the bombing was deleted, by using passive voice. The victims and their

numbers were mentioned, but no agent of this massacre was identified to carry responsibility for the loss of these lives. It is concluded that during the previous years and wars in Gaza, and even this war, the perpetrator was always deleted by the BBC when mentioning the Palestinian victims.

- **Interviews discourse analysis: BBC interviews during wars on Gaza**

In this part of the chapter, two interviews conducted by the BBC during the aggression on Gaza with the Palestinian ambassador to Britain, Mr. Husam Zomlot will be presented and analyzed. These interviews were chosen because they represent part of the interviews of the Palestinian side on the BBC and to judge the BBC if it is biased towards one of the parties in these ongoing wars against the Palestinians (the full interviews will be attached in the appendix).

The first interview was conducted in May 2021 during the war on Gaza. The Supreme Court of Israel at that time decided on the eviction of six Palestinian families in the East Jerusalem neighborhood of Sheikh Jarrah. After that on the 7th of May, the IOF stormed Al Aqsa mosque using rubber bullets, tear gas, and grenades. The violence towards Palestinians escalated on Laylat Al Qadr which is a holy night for Muslims by the IOF and they attacked the people who were praying in Al Aqsa which is also a holy place for Muslims. In response to that Hamas attacked Israel with firing rockets¹⁴. The interview discusses the events and the violence that happened at that time by the BBC with the Palestinian ambassador Husam Zomlot. The questions directed during the interview by the broadcaster to Husam Zomlot will be analyzed and determined if there is a clear bias towards Israel in the interview.

¹⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021_Israel%E2%80%93Palestine_crisis

- **Analysis of the interview:**
- Emily: “Let's break that down bit by bit if we can. You see it very clearly. The Israelis think that Hamas is a radical terror group and that Palestinian officials use these holy times to incite violence. Was Hamas right to respond with rocket fire?”

The interviewer here used a method of emphasizing the words of the Israeli government that the Israeli government classifies Hamas as a terrorist group by using the phrase “you see it very clearly” This gives the viewer a background that the statements of the Israeli government are unquestionable and non-negotiable. Also, the interviewer in this question framed Hamas as the part that started the violence in the first place and questioned the response of Hamas, while on the other hand did not mention the action (the attacks directed at the Palestinians by Israel).

- Zomlot: This isn't about Hamas. Hamas was not involved. There were tens of thousands.
- Emily (interrupting): They were when they fired rockets.

The interviewer in this part interrupted the Interviewee to assert the fact that Hamas started the violence, although Zomlot was stating that this was not about Hamas and wanted to address the violence against Palestinians by Israelis.

- Emily: but let's just try and understand this. Because Dory Gold, the former Israeli ambassador to the UN, has told us it was pre-planned by Hamas, the march had nothing to do with it, you wanted to make Israel look bad. Do you condemn the rocket attacks by Hamas?

The interviewer here continued to present the statements of the Israeli government, ignoring the interviewee's answers and interrupting him. It was repeated that the Israeli government places the blame on Hamas and indicates that Hamas is the party that initiates the violence. The interviewer used the phrase “you wanted to make Israel look bad” which indirectly

indicates that Israel is a victim, not an oppressor, and frames it as the Palestinians accusing Israelis.

- Emily: You heard the statement from Dominic Raab today, he condemned the firing of rockets. What is your response to the UK government?

The interviewer again asserts the condemnation of Hamas by stating that the UK government also condemns Hamas for initiating violence by firing rockets.

- Emily: And I understand very much those underlying issues. Let me ask you specifically about the Al-Aqsa Mosque because that's not something that you will debate tonight for obvious reasons. Israeli police say they believe it was being used as a military stronghold. That was why they started sending in their stun grenades. What is your response to that?

In the last question in the interview, the interviewer stated, “Because that's not something that you will debate tonight for obvious reasons” She blames Zomlot for not discussing more of her questions, ignoring the fact that throughout the interview she did not hear Zomlot’s answers, interrupted him, and repeated the same question repeatedly in other forms. Once again, the broadcaster reported the statements of the Israeli government and conveyed the image that there was justification for the Israeli army’s attack on Al-Aqsa Mosque. The event and its cause were mentioned here because the question relates to the Israeli side, and at the same time throughout the interview, the event that caused the launching of the rockets from Hamas was not mentioned. This method misleads the viewer and does not provide sufficient facts to understand the context of this interview.

The second interview was conducted on October 9, 2023, after Hamas forces (the Islamic Resistance Movement) on October 7 penetrated the settlements surrounding the Gaza Strip and captured some soldiers and settlers. Husam Zomlot was also interviewed by the BBC once again in the very recent attacks.

- Louise: So you listed a number of things you regret there. Do you regret the loss of innocent life in Israel?
- Louise: Excuse me. I want to jump in on – I appreciate the historical context and we will come back to that. Just in the last 48 hours though, do you support what Hamas launched on Saturday morning?

In this interview, it was initially mentioned that there were innocent Israeli victims as a result of the Hamas attack on the settlements surrounding the Gaza Strip. The mention of the victims at the beginning of the interview attracts the viewer to focus on the event carried out by Hamas and places the news within the context of the attack that occurred, ignoring the context that led to this event occurring. After this question, Zomlot responded by listing the main reasons that led to this attack, to provide a historical context and background for the viewer to understand this attack and this war. The interviewer then ignored Zomlot's narration of the reasons that led to the attack and merely re-mentioned the attack and asked Zomlot about his opinion on condemning Hamas for this attack. In this part, the interviewer tries to refocus the viewer on the Hamas attack and ignores the Israeli aggression against Palestine throughout the 100 years, as Zomlot mentioned.

- Louise: Hamas was just targeting Palestinians but you won't condemn that?

After Zomlot refused to answer the repeated question to condemn Hamas, the interviewer proceeded to portray Hamas as the barbarian group that targets even Palestinians. This dehumanizing of Hamas will further make the viewer sympathize with Israel as a victim of this terrorist group and will also justify the actions of the Israeli government and the IOF.

- Louise: You just condemned Israel for killing civilians and you won't condemn Hamas for killing civilians.

In this sentence, the interviewer equated the occupation with the occupier. It was mentioned that Israel kills civilians and that Hamas also kills civilians, ignoring the difference in the

number of deaths and losses between the two sides and presenting the two sides as equal in power while there is an entire army fighting a militant group.

- **Discussion and findings:**

After reading the main headlines published by the BBC about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict during the period of the aggression on Gaza from 2008 to 2023 and analyzing the written language and language methods used by the BBC to cover the news and transmit it to the world. We can come up with many analyses and results in which we criticize the clear bias towards Israel by the BBC:

According to the theory of media framing and the relationship of the media in covering conflicts, the BBC's coverage of the wars on Gaza was biased towards Israel. The language was used and manipulated to portray the Palestinian people in several frames that serve colonialism and control of Palestine. The Palestinians have been framed in terms of terrorism by repeatedly linking the actions of Hamas to the actions of previous terrorist organizations and by portraying Hamas as the party that always initiates a series of violence against Israel while marginalizing the historical context of the occupation of Palestine by Israel.

The Palestinian was also framed as dehumanized through the media and the BBC, influenced by the idea of Orientalism, and adopted its ideas. Palestinian society was included under stereotypical images and frames that represented this society as inhuman and barbaric. For example, when analyzing many of the headlines published on the official BBC website it highlighted the suffering of the Israelis in the face of this attack from Hamas, which creates an idea in the viewer's subconscious that the stereotypical image of the Palestinian people is correct and real.

At the same time, on the other hand, the Israeli war on Gaza was portrayed as a war of self-defense, and Israel has the right to defend itself against Hamas. The phrase that Israel has

the right to defend itself was circulated among politicians first, and the media adopted and published this opinion, including the BBC, but the war targets civilians, children, and women.

It can be observed also that there is a political force controlling what is published how news related to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is formulated and how the BBC frames the events happening in Gaza. As previously mentioned, there is a relationship between the media and politics, and since the BBC receives financial support from the government, the channel's position will often be similar to the government's position toward the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Whereas the British government expressed its support and always stood by Israel and provided political and military support.

Criticizing the BBC's news format and understanding what is behind the discourse directed by the channel is the goal of using critical discourse analysis and integrating it with several other theories such as Orientalism, media framing theory, and linguistic manipulation for a broader understanding of the discourse that the channel disseminates to people. Also, on the other hand, understanding what is behind the discourse helps determine the truth and honesty of the media in conveying events about the Palestinian issue, which is considered the primary source of information that many people turn to to form an idea about this issue. It cannot be denied that media sources, including the BBC, make a difference in public opinion. It influences political decision-makers regarding the Palestinian issue and, on the other hand, silences the mouths of the most unjust party, suppresses it more, and controls it more.

- **Conclusion:**

After analyzing and reading many of the headlines published by the BBC during the periods of aggression against Gaza from 2008 to 2023, and watching several interviews, it can be noted that there is a clear bias on the part of the BBC towards Israel in presenting the Palestinian-Israeli issue and presenting it to the viewer. These titles were formed using linguistic techniques and framing that served the Israeli narrative in one way or another,

while the Palestinian narrative was marginalized, and its screen appearance was suppressed. The use of language to frame and draw stereotypes and implant ideologies is a weapon that strengthens the power of injustice if it is manipulated and exploited. The BBC used this weapon to create ideologies that served the interests of the colonizer. The language was exploited to draw a barbaric stereotype about the Palestinian people, using words associated with barbarism and violence, and exploiting the previous societal context of these words, such as the word ISIS. The BBC also marginalized the suffering of the Palestinian people and prevented the recipient from sympathizing with them to justify the colonialists' brutality towards the people and their violation of international laws.

Critical discourse analysis by analyzing the language used in the discourse, taking into account the social context, reveals the ideologies included in the discourse to control the recipient and control his thoughts and opinions regarding an issue, according to Van Dijk. "Action is controlled by our minds. So, if we can influence people's minds, e.g. their knowledge or opinions, we indirectly may control (some of) their actions, as we know from persuasion and manipulation." (355). Dominating the media and controlling the ideas and ideologies that reach people helps the dominant to remain in a position of power and authority. Therefore, the media, such as the BBC, are used to communicate these ideologies to reach specific goals, including remaining in a position of control.

Recently, with the continuation of the latest Israeli aggression against Gaza after October 7, the BBC continued to cover this aggression with a clear bias towards the Israeli narrative. The Israeli lobby, with its power and control over the Western media, still serves the narrative of the Israeli occupation and justifies the crimes it commits against the Palestinians by convincing the world that it is a war against a terrorist militia called Hamas, while the BBC neglects to provide adequate coverage of the Palestinian victims and the humanitarian catastrophe taking place in Gaza.

But at the same time, it can be noted that there is a little more display of the Palestinian voice than in past years due to the Palestinians' efforts to document the crimes of the occupation through social media and the overwhelming anger among people over the Western media's previous misinformation and neglect to provide a historical context for the Israeli occupation of Palestine. Recently, it has been observed that Arabs object to the Western media's coverage of Arab issues and attempt to break the stereotype imposed on them by the Western media. One of the most famous examples is British broadcaster Piers Morgan's interview with Bassem Youssef, which received 21 million views on YouTube (video link is attached in the appendix)¹⁵. Also conducting a second interview with Bassem Youssef after the global spread of the first interview, which also received 11 million views (video link in the appendix)¹⁶. Another example is the Egyptian activist Rahma Zein's attack on the CNN journalist for bias towards Israel and distorting the image of Arabs and Palestinians by concealing the truth (video link attached in the appendix)¹⁷. The events of October 7 and the aggression against Gaza created a new chapter in the media and in conveying the image of the Palestinian people.

¹⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4idQbwsvtUo>

¹⁶ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rqjO5Z9Lt_M&t=66s

¹⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vhm87lXbPvg>

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إعادة التأطير في ترجمة الأخبار: تايمز أوف إسرائيل. نور عبد السلام يوسف إسماعيل. جامعة القدس

نموذج.

Appendices

Appendix 1:

Mona al Kurd video with jacob – Sheikh jarrah	https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/5/4/if-i-dont-steal-your-home-someone-else-will-jewish-settler-says
A new Palestinian generation is leading a different media strategy	https://pchrgaza.org/en/20910-2/#:~:text=According%20to%20the%20Gaza's%20Government,destroyed%20over%2080%20media%20institutions.
Israel's Continued, Deliberate Targeting of Journalists in Gaza Warrants Investigation as Crime Against Humanity of Persecution	https://pchrgaza.org/en/20910-2/#:~:text=According%20to%20the%20Gaza's%20Government,destroyed%20over%2080%20media%20institutions.
Al Jazeera report on Samer Abu Daqqa	https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/12/15/al-jazeera-condemns-israeli-forces-killing-of-cameraman-samer-abu-daqqa

Appendix 2:

BBC Headline:	Link of the website:
Rockets 'violated Gaza ceasefire	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/7470530.stm
Militants 'fire rocket' from Gaza	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/7488240.stm

Gaza's rocket threat to Israel	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3702088.stm
Israeli jets target Gaza tunnels	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/7801662.stm
Israel strikes key Hamas offices	http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/7802515.stm#:~:text=Dozens%20of%20centres%20of%20Hamas,explosion%20struck%20the%20interior%20ministry
Israel hits Hamas targets in Gaza	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/7863500.stm
Gaza rocket arsenal problem for Israel	https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-20343180
Gaza conflict: Militant rocket targets Jerusalem	https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-20365074
Gaza crisis: Tel Aviv targeted by missiles	https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-20349280
Hamas fires barrage of rockets into Israel	https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-18503549
Three Israelis killed by Gaza rocket as violence escalates	https://www.bbc.com/news/world-20336811
Israel launches strikes on Gaza after rocket fire	https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-19868078
Israeli air strike kills Hamas military chief Jabari	https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-20328579
One killed as Palestinian Land Day sees clashes	https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-17560066

Israel-Gaza: Rockets hit Israel after militants killed	https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-57094737
Rockets target Tel Aviv after Gaza tower destroyed	https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-57066275
Israel-Gaza violence: The children who have died in the conflict	https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-57142627
Israel-Gaza: How children on both sides experienced the conflict	https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-middle-east-57203350
Israel Gaza conflict: Homes and buildings destroyed in Sderot and Gaza City	https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-middle-east-57138838
'We cannot sleep': Mothers caught in the Israel-Gaza conflict	https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-57105473
'Isis-level savagery' by Hamas killed 11 Americans, says US	https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-67056761
Hamas attacks on Israel 'an act of sheer evil' – Biden.	https://www.bbc.com/news/live/world-middle-east-67050350/page/9

Appendix 3: (the first interview with Mr Husam Zomlot conducted by BBC May 2021)

- **Zomlot:** Well, we've been at this for a long time. This is the sheer propaganda that we always hear, Emily. This isn't about Hamas. This is about Israel. Israel provokes, Israel commits every crime you can imagine. Israel injures more than 300 worshippers, peaceful worshippers this morning in Al-Aqsa Mosque. Israel evicts people of their homes, continues with its sheer violations of the very basic rights of people and then they try to blame the re-act rather than the act. This must stop and we must really visit the root

causes of all this and the root cause of all this is Israel's insistence on the very denial of people's basic rights. Tonight as we speak, Emily, people are demonstrating in Palestine all over, including cities inside the green light in 48 Palestine, in Jaffa, in Haifa, in Nazareth. Why do you think people are demonstrating? They're fed up. They're fed up of their rights being denied. They're fed up of being pushed away. They're fed up of their homes being taken away.

- **Emily:** Let's break that down bit by bit if we can. You see it very clearly. The Israelis think that Hamas are a radical terror group and that Palestinian officials use these holy times to incite violence. Was Hamas right to respond with rocket fire?
- **Zomlot:** This isn't about Hamas. Hamas was not involved. There were tens of thousands.
- **Emily:** They were when they fired rockets.
- **Zomlot:** Hamas did not decide to evict people from their homes inside the occupied city of Jerusalem. East Jerusalem is occupied not according to my law only, but according to your law, according to the UK position, according to the United Nations. An occupation has to be temporary and it has to respect the rules that govern occupation. Israel has made mockery of these rules, particularly the issue of population transfers, ethnic cleansing, apartheid. I'm sure you have read the Human Rights Report. Those people have researched Israeli policies over the last two years. Ask the experts, not Netanyahu. Netanyahu is flaming.
- **Emily:** On the settlements, but let's just try and understand this. Because Dory Gold, the former Israeli ambassador to the UN, has told us it was pre-planned by Hamas, the march had nothing to do with it, you wanted to make Israel look bad. Do you condemn the rocket attacks by Hamas?

- **Zomlot:** I condemn and I condemn Israeli aggression. I mourn for the 20 people who were murdered in Gaza only tonight, 9 of them are children. I am so sad to see the hundreds of my people
- **Emily:** But you know I'm not asking about Israeli aggression, I will do that in a moment. I'm asking you about Hamas' aggression.
- **Zomlot:** I am not aware of any Israeli who has been killed and you ask me a question about violence and condemnation. Who should be condemned, Emily? Who should be condemned? Did you see the images of the nine children being dissipated in Gaza tonight? Who should be condemned? And then the UK Foreign Secretary is quick to condemn Hamas and never to condemn the Israeli atrocities on a daily basis. We are sick and tired of the double standards and we have to call it right this time. Call a spade a spade.
- **Emily:** Is it the Western government? You heard the statement from Dominic Raab today, he condemned the firing of rockets. What is your response to the UK government?
- **Zomlot:** Always the story begins when Palestinian reaction happens. As if it started with Hamas. Look at your question. Your question is about Hamas, rockets, rockets. But that's because I'm talking to you. No, no, no, Emily, no, Emily, no, Emily, I have done many interviews. It starts with the Palestinian reaction, with the symptom of the illness. It never visits the illness. The illness is that this state, Israel, the occupying state, has been applying draconian measures against our people in every sense, depriving them the right to move, the right to own their property, the right to work, the right to vote in free elections, including in East Jerusalem. Every right you can imagine and not only by the way inside the occupied territories but even inside Israel itself. There is a Knesset law that has deprived our people inside Israel their basic rights of having self-determination. This whole system has been built endemic in it is the racism, endemic in it is the vulgar ultra-

nationalism. That's why you get people trying to defend their dignity and that's why if you see the images don't listen to me look at the footage people were praying and by the way put aside the Aqsa mosque one sentence put aside the Aqsa mosque only last week it was the holy fire Easter and the Israeli authorities deprived prevented Palestinian Christians from praying so this isn't about Muslims this isn't about this is about Palestinians this is about Israel insisting that we are second class citizens, not even citizens. We have no rights, we are ought to be brutalised with silence and when we act with dignity, when we resist this, the whole thing becomes about our resistance and our struggle.

- **Emily:** And I understand very much those underlying issues. Let me ask you specifically about the Al-Aqsa Mosque because that's not something that you will debate tonight for obvious reasons. Israeli police say they believe it was being used as a military stronghold. That was why they started sending in their stun grenades. What is your response to that?
- **Zomlot:** It's nonsense. It's nonsense. My response to that is ask the Red Cross, ask all the international observers there. People were going in the holiest of months, that is Ramadan, in the holiest night of Ramadan, Laylatul Qadr, they were there to pray. If you look at the images, the Israeli soldiers stormed al-Aqsa Mosque while they were praying, while they were kneeling and started throwing all the gas and, you know, stun grenades and what have you, brutalizing people. Look at the numbers. Look at the hundreds who have been injured. And therefore, this whole propaganda should not work. Israel is deliberately trying to flare the situation, especially politicians, right-wing extreme politicians, to dodge criminal charges that Netanyahu is facing and to feed the populism extreme politicians, to dodge criminal charges that Netanyahu is facing and to feed the populism in Israel right now and right-wing extremists

Appendix 4: (the second interview with Mr. Husam Zomlot October 9, 2023)

- **Louise:** Just want to take you back to Saturday morning when you first heard what Hamas had done what went through your head
- **Zomlot:** Regret that the international community has not heeded our warnings for all these years Regret that this was allowed to fester for decades Regret that there is attention now and the BBC and all over the world Only because blood has been spilled. I only hope that or I wish we did not get to this moment.
- **Louise:** So you listed a number of things you regret there. Do you
- **Zomlot:** regret the loss of innocent life in Israel? Every loss of life is regrettable of course and tragic absolutely. The question is how do we stop this? How do we provide an alternative path? How do we learn the lessons and the mistakes of the past? How do we treat the Palestinian people after a hundred years of suffering, equally to all other nations? How do we stop this demise into the mayhem that you have described? Do not underestimate people's will and desire for freedom, to end occupation and captivity. This isn't about Hamas only. This isn't about the last 48 hours. This has been ongoing for more than a hundred years. It started here, by the way, Louise, in this very city. It was Britain that gave our rights away without even consulting us. And then this whole international Western approach to us has been failure, dismal failure. This is about time that we really give a different path because there is no other alternative. As our ambassador just said, justice, not vengeance, not vengeance and peace, not war. And we, the Palestine National Movement, we the PLO, have given that alternative a venue 30 years ago. We have recognized Israel. We have committed to negotiations and non-violence. We have committed to international law and resolutions. Israel was supposed to do one thing, end its occupation and stop its colonial settlement expansion. It did not do this for once. All

the successive governments and the international community was supposed to provide accountability and guarantees. The US-led international community did not do so. So we are here today, Louise, and the question is, the most important question, how do we stop Israeli massacres that are about to happen against Palestinian civilians and how do we

- **Louise:** Excuse me. I want to jump in on – I appreciate the historical context and we will come back to that. Just on the last 48 hours though, do you support what Hamas launched on Saturday morning?
- **Zomlot:** Well this is not the right question, it's really the right question.
- **Louise:** It's an important question.
- **Zomlot:** No, it is not an important question.
- **Louise:** Whether you support their action or not is an important question.
- **Zomlot:** No, no, no, no, it is not an important question. Hamas is a group, is a militant group. You're talking with the Palestinian representative. Our position is very well known and clear And what is that? Do you support Hamas's actions? And then you cannot equate, you cannot equate, this is not about support or not support I am here to represent my people, the Palestinian people, what they are going through I'm not here to condemn anybody And if anybody that needs to be condemned, it's what you call the only democracy in the Middle East that is Israel, between parenthesis, that is doing what you have just reported targeting civilians and this has not just happened the last 48 hours
- **Louise:** Hamas was just targeting Palestinians but you won't condemn that?
- **Zomlot:** I'll tell you one thing, I'll tell you one thing Hamas is not the Palestinian government, ok? The Israeli government is giving orders for its organized army so please don't draw any symmetry here, don't equate, there is no way you can draw any symmetry and don't equate between the occupied and the occupier. This doesn't serve justice to understand for your audience and viewers the real situation. Since Israel's establishment it

has had one military doctrine. When it fights, it goes and fights civilians, kills civilians, so they pressure the fighters since 1948 and go back to the record and this has been repeated in Gaza and will continue to be repeated so the conversation is not a blame game. I am not in the business of blaming the victim here. The real conversation is how do we stop this vicious deadly cycle.

- **Louise:** You just condemned Israel for killing civilians and you won't condemn Hamas for killing civilians.
- **Zomlot:** How many times you have interviewed Israeli officials, Luis, hundreds of times, hundreds of times. How many times Israel have committed war crimes right live on your own cameras? Do you start by asking them to condemn themselves? Have you? You don't. You don't. No, no, I'll answer that question. You don't. You know why I refuse to answer this question? Because I refuse the premise of it. Because at the very heart of it is misrepresentation of the whole thing. Because it's the Palestinians that are always expected to condemn themselves. I mean, come on, this is a political conflict. We have been denied our rights for a long time. So this is the wrong starting point. The right starting point is to focus on the root causes. Is to try and get out of this extreme dark tunnel as opposed to this business by BBC and the mainstream media for 75 years. You bring us here whenever there are Israelis who are killed. Did you bring me here when many Palestinians in the West Bank, more than 200 over the last few months, do you invite me when there is such Israeli provocations in Jerusalem and elsewhere? Because Israel, what Israelis have seen, which we started by saying tragic, the last 48 hours, the Palestinians see every day for the last 50 years. You know the situation in Gaza, you've just described it. This is the biggest open air presence. Those people, 2 million, have been taken hostage by Israel for the last 16 years. So I'm saying this, just to say, Louis, perhaps

this is about time we abandon this rhetoric, very dangerous, this framework, and we start giving people the real ugly truth sometimes.

- **Louise:** What is the solution in your eyes?
- **Zomlot:** International law. That's it. What does that mean? The equal application of international resolutions and law and legitimacy as you did in Ukraine would you bring the Ukrainian ambassador here and start asking him to condemn some of his fighters? We need to fully and equally apply the rules that were created by the League of Nations after the horrors of the Second World War we need to make sure that Israel is not the exception. It has been for the last 75 years. We need to make sure that nobody is above the law. Britain is renowned, Louise, for the rule of law. I think that's the solution. Israel is an occupying force. It is responsible to provide protection for the people under its occupation. And should they commit crimes and crimes against humanity in the coming hours and weeks, And should they commit crimes and crimes against humanity in the coming hours and weeks, it must be held accountable by the international community and the international judicial system.

Appendix 5:

Piers Morgan interview with Bassem Yousef (first interview)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4idQbwsvtUo&t=5s
Piers Morgan interview with Bassem Yousef (second interview)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rqjO5Z9Lt_M&t=69s
Rahma Zein's video	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vhm87IXbP_xg

confronting CNN journalist	
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الملخص

تهدف هذه الأطروحة إلى فحص الخطاب الإعلامي لهيئة الإذاعة البريطانية (BBC) من خلال تغطية العدوان الإسرائيلي على غزة من عام 2008 إلى عام 2023، وانحياز هيئة الإذاعة البريطانية (BBC) تجاه إسرائيل و ضد الصوت الفلسطيني في وسائل الإعلام. كما تناقش هذه الأطروحة نظرية التأطير الإعلامي لتحلل الاتجاه الإعلامي لقناة البي بي سي وكيف تغطي وسائل الاعلام الصراعات بشكل عام والقضية الفلسطينية بشكل خاص. كما تدرس الأطروحة التحليل النقدي للخطاب وأهم المنظرين ونظرياتهم لفهم أعمق لمعنى التحليل النقدي للخطاب وربط الخطاب ومعانيه بالمعايير المجتمعية وتأثير الخطاب على تفكير الناس وآراءهم حول قضايا معينة، وذلك من خلال شرح النظريات المتعلقة بتحليل الخطاب النقدي والبناء عليها من قبل منظرين مثل فوكو، وفان ديك، ونورمان فيركلاف، وروث ووداك. كما تمت الإشارة إلى أهمية الإعلام الغربي وتأثيره على حياة الناس في تشكيل أفكارهم، وتأثير الصور التي يقدمها الإعلام الغربي عن الشرق الأوسط والعرب والمسلمين، وتأثير هذه الصور على هذه المجتمعات وانتشار الصور النمطية عنها حول العالم. تمت مناقشة فكرة الاستشراق عن إدوارد سعيد لتحليل صورة العرب في الإعلام الغربي. تم اعتبار بي بي سي أيضًا في هذه الأطروحة كمثال رئيسي لوسائل الإعلام الغربية و تم تحليل عناوين الأخبار التي نشرتها هيئة الإذاعة البريطانية أثناء العدوان الإسرائيلي على غزة. تناقش الأطروحة أيضا التلاعب اللغوي في الخطاب الذي تقدمه هيئة الإذاعة البريطانية في تمثيل الجانب الإسرائيلي والجانب الفلسطيني لدراسة تحيز هيئة الإذاعة البريطانية تجاه إسرائيل.