

The Discursive Representation of Social Groups through Lexical Choices in Headlines: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Western and Arab Online Reporting on Gaza War

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Abstract

This study offers a critical analysis of the representation of Israelis and Palestinians in headlines of the selected articles from Cable News Network (CNN), New York Times (NYT), Al-Ahram Weekly Online and Al Jazeera English online (AJE) coverage of the 2008 War on Gaza (Appendix 1). This analysis examines the way language is used to represent social actors involved in this conflict, and attempts to reveal the way lexical choices are politically and ideologically employed to affect the ideological stance of the reader. Headline analysis will be guided by Fairclough's (2003) three – dimensional Critical Discourse analysis (CDA) framework, and van Leeuwen's (2008) Social Actor Approach. In order to have a better understanding of media manipulation of its readers, certain aspects of the headline need to be addressed by trying to answer some questions such as: Which words are chosen to appear in the headline and what is the purpose of such choices? How are social actors represented through lexical choices? This analysis aims to compare the representation of Israeli and Palestinian actors in selected headlines of the four websites under study to show how political and ideological orientations of media organizations are reflected in discourse and the ideological construction of social actors.

Key words: CDA, headline, identity, ideology, lexical choices.

1. Introduction

On the 27th of December 2008 a new cycle of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict irrupted with Israeli air attacks followed by a massive ground offensive against Gaza, under the pretext that Israel is defending itself against Hamas rocket attacks. This episode of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict continued until the 18th of January 2009 and became to be known as Operation Cast Lead or Gaza War. The violence of the attacks and the imbalance of power between the Israeli and Palestinian sides resulted in a very high rate of casualties among Palestinians, mostly civilians. According to the United Nations reports approximately 1,400 Palestinians were killed in comparison to 13 Israeli deaths (Goldstone, 2009). Such violence and the high rate of fatalities among Palestinians have raised international concerns and attracted national and international media coverage of the event. Since the conflict involves two groups with different political, ideological and ethnical inclination, its coverage may

result in politically motivated and biased language use. Powerful groups, governments and news editors control news coverage to impose their own opinion and ideology (Richardson, 2007). This may distort the image of social actors and affect the way readers perceive them. For this reason, several researchers have been interested to investigate the news discourse of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict like, Philo and Berry (2004), Bazzi (2009), Richardson and Barkho (2009), and Wang (2017). These studies have adopted different approaches and methods to analyse the media coverage of the conflict and they have mostly concluded that the reporting was generally biased and tends to reflect the imbalance of power between the two conflicting parties. However, these studies have mainly focused on analysing British and American media outlets and little attention is given to Arab news sources.

The article aims to analyse lexical choices made to refer to and represent Palestinians and Israelis in selected headlines covering the conflict. The study adopts Fairclough's (2003) CDA approach and draws upon van Leeuwen's (2008) Representation of Social Actor as a method of analysis with the aim of revealing underlying ideologies and the use of power in representation of social actors. Fairclough (2003, p.27) explains that the relation between discourse and society is dialectical; therefore, it is important to examine the ideologies, opinions and representations the media is trying to propagate in society to uncover how social events affect the discursive use of language and how the discursive practices influence public opinion towards conflicting groups.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) aims to clarify ideological relations of power which underlie discourse and reflect the interaction between language, society and culture. Although CDA is concerned with the analysis of 'texts and interactions'; this is not where it begins. "It starts rather from social issues and problems, problems which face people in their social lives, issues which are taken up within sociology, political sciences and/or cultural studies" (Fairclough, 2001:26). What CDA attempts to prove, is that discourse is socially constitutive and at the same time it is socially conditioned. Hence, the role of CDA is perceived as "the uncovering of implicit ideologies in texts. It unveils the underlying ideological prejudices and therefore the exercise of power in texts" (Widdoson 2000: 157). Discourse does not stop at the grammatical aspects of language, but it goes deeper into the more complex relations between language, ideology and social interaction. Consequently, discourse can set the system of beliefs and values endorsed by an

individual or a society to provide explanation of social, cultural, and political situations going on in the world.

1.1 Fairclough's approach to CDA.

Fairclough's framework has been central to CDA studies, and is considered one of the most comprehensive frameworks of CDA. Fairclough's approach of CDA, emphasizes three key elements that should be considered when analyzing a communicative event: "text", "discourse practice", and "sociocultural practice" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 57). "Text" is defined as "the written or spoken language produced in a discursive event" (Fairclough, 1993: 138). Discourse on the other hand, is the socially determined use of language. Hence, the relation between language and society as a "dialectical" relationship. (Fairclough, 1989, pp.22-3). Referring to discourse as a social practice indicates that discourse constitutes situations, elements of knowledge, power relations and identities of people, and at the same time it is shaped by social, historical and political events. Fairclough (1995a) relies on Halliday's SFL to examine text from a multifunctional perspective, trying to identify and clarify the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions of language and discourse (p.57). The text articulates certain representations, reflects ideologies and re-contextualizes social practices. Furthermore, the text expresses a certain relation between the writer and reader.

1.2 Fairclough's contributions to media studies

Media discourse has attracted Fairclough's attention for its salient effect on a vast audience. Fairclough (1995b) argues that the importance of studying media discourse goes back to central role of mass media in today's world. He added that by analyzing the language of media the researchers may offer insightful explanations for 'sociocultural' changes (Fairclough, 1995b, p. 3). News reports can act as a powerful persuasive tool to direct public opinion through the messages they select to communicate to their audience. However, the wider impact of the media texts does not only rely on "how they selectively represent the world", but equally on "what sorts of social identities, what versions of 'self', they project and what cultural values these entail" (Fairclough, 1995b, p. 17). Accordingly, the media convey messages to their audience dispatching individual values, norms, beliefs and codes of behavior. Fairclough expresses a particular interest in media discourse analysis as it can reveal power relations, representations, and identities. He believes that news text analysis can demonstrate how subjective media representations can be and how far they are influenced by the political and social conditions (Fairclough, 1989, p. 3-5). Therefore, news reports may offer different explanations and arguments concerning the same incident; moreover, they

are used by the readers/audience to form their own arguments and ideologies especially as regards conflicting groups.

This complies with Fairclough's (2003, p. 124) idea that discourses do not simply "represent the world as it is", but "they are also projective, imaginaries, representing possible worlds which are different from the actual world, and tied in to projects to change the world in particular directions." When a certain group is represented in the media, as the Palestinians or Israelis in the present research, a certain image of this group is developed asserting its social and political identity and driving the audience to adopt certain ideological stances towards such a group. Fairclough (2003, p. 27) fears that these representations may be "framed" to draw a certain image for one of the groups. The projected image in the media text may or may not comply with the true identity of the group involved depending on how reporters or the media institutions publishing the report wants to frame these conflicting groups by lexical choices and vocabulary used to refer to members of these groups. Fairclough (2003, p.145) and van Leeuwen (2008, p.32) agree that representation of social actors is realized through their grammatical role in the clause and through more complex socio-semantic categories as well. In order to get a profound understanding of the representation of social actors when they are included in a text, it is important to examine whether they are personalized or objectified, nominated or classified, and genericized or specified. Therefore, this article examines selected categories incorporated in van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic inventory while examining the lexical choices made to represent Israeli and Palestinian actors in the selected headlines.

1.3. Van Leeuwen's Tools for Critically Analyzing Social Actors

Van Leeuwen (2008) provides CDA researchers with practical tools and analytical categories that can be used for the critical analysis of language usage within multidisciplinary frameworks. Van Leeuwen's (2008) CDA model is based on the notion that discourse is a recontextualization of social practice (p.5). His framework investigates the way social practices are discursively represented and transformed in the use of language and other semiotic means. In the process of recontextualization participants may be included or excluded, their roles may be foregrounded or backgrounded and their actions legitimized or delegitimized. Van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic inventory includes the following categories for ideologically realizing social actors: genericisation and specification, assimilation, association and dissociation, indetermination and differentiation, nomination and

categorization, personalization and impersonalization, functionalization and identification, and overdetermination. Fairclough (2003, p.155) points out that these representation choices are “socially significant”. Therefore, van Leeuwen’s (2008) socio-semantic inventory can be used to analyze the representation of social actors sociologically and critically before studying how they are realized linguistically.

2. The Role and Importance of Headlines in News Reporting

The choice of headlines is a key aspect in news reporting. A headline is the first element of the news report that the reader’s sight falls upon and for many readers browsing the headlines may be the only part of the news story they would ever read. For this reason, van Dijk (1985, 1988, 1995) conceived the headline as the most significant element of a news story as it plays a focal cognitive and ideological function which can influence readers’ interpretations and ideological stances. Headlines sum up the highlights of an intricate news story to grab the readers’ attention and invite them to read further (Schneider, 2000, p.48). Clearly, headlines draw attention to the most prominent aspect of the story while deemphasizing other aspects; this is done by including or deleting information from the headline. Together with leads headlines represent the topic or theme of the news story “and express the semantic macrostructure” (Van Dijk, 1988, p. 53). This macrostructure is the most remembered part of the news story. However, headlines may have other functions as well, not just summarizing a story. Editors may use headlines to foreground or highlight a certain aspect or detail; moreover, they may include information which may not appear in the body of the article.

Headlines are powerful structures that point to the reader the central aspects of the story and places the event within the social order. Their powerful impact may be due to their lexical density and briefness that create a strong emotional impact (White, 1997, p.7). Online headlines are even more powerful as they may encourage readers to go and read the news story or not (Saxena, 2004, p. 43). Headlines appear following one another on webpages, browsers or mobile phone alerts and a reader may choose to scan through the headlines alone to get a glimpse of what events are going around in the world without even having to read the whole news story. Headlines then become the only source of information on a certain event. Saxena (2004) argues that online headlines have invited a new genre of headlines namely “descriptive headlines” that are abundant with description, information and even comments (p. 43). The choice of certain lexical items as adjectives, adverbs, nouns and verbs to describe the event and social actors involved in it may risk the objectivity of the news editors. The use of emotionally charged semantic and lexicogrammatical items allows the news editor to create an interpersonal

relation with the reader, but at the same time breaches the neutrality of hard news (White, 1997, p. 5-7). For this reason, the present study examines emotionally loaded lexical choices together with the socio-semantic classification of social actors to reach a comprehensive understanding of the representation of Israeli and Palestinian actors and reveal the ideological stance of the four selected websites towards them.

3. Method of Analysis

3.1 Selected Data

Since the present study aims at investigating the representation of the Palestinian and Israeli actors in the Arab and western media, a corpus of news reports is selected from four websites: two of them represent Arab sources, namely *Al Ahram Weekly Online* and *Al Jazeera English Online (AJE)*, and two other websites represent western sources, namely *Cable News Network (CNN)*, and *New York Times (NYT)*. All the collected articles are published in English on the four selected websites. *Google* search engine as well as the search options on the websites were used to locate the articles. All the articles were covering the Israeli offensive against Gaza, entitled Operation Cast Lead, from 27th December 2008 to 18th January 2009 (Appendix I). The key words used to search for the articles were:

Gaza, Cast Lead, offensive against Gaza, Gaza war, Israeli offensive, Palestinian – Israeli conflict, Israeli attacks, and attacks in Gaza.

The corpus includes nineteen articles from *Al-Ahram Weekly Online*, forty-nine articles from *AJE*, thirty-eight articles from *CNN*, and forty-two articles from *NYT*; that accounts for the total number of hard news articles published online to report this operation on the four websites (Table 4.1). *Al-Ahram Weekly Online* accounts for the least number of articles among the four websites chosen for this corpus since it is the only weekly publication among them. *Al-Ahram Weekly Online* and *AJE* use multiple deck headlines, while *CNN* and *NYT* use single deck headlines. On *Al-Ahram Weekly Online* pages headlines are followed by a summary, *AJE* editors place a sub-heading including more details under the headline of the article, while *CNN* and *NYT* use a one-line headline.

Table 3.1.

Number and structure of Headlines of News Stories in the Selected Newspapers

Website	No. of Headlines	of Headline Format	Publication frequency
<i>Al-Ahram Online</i>	19	Headline and summary	Weekly
<i>AJE</i>	49	Headline and sub-heading	Daily
<i>CNN</i>	38	One-line headline	Daily
<i>NYT</i>	42	One-line headline	Daily
Total	148		

Hard news articles are selected on the basis of including direct coverage of the event, and excluding any other articles that express opinion or provide political commentary. Online news stories are selected for their vast outreach, and ease of access. Finally, the four websites under study are chosen for their high reputation in their countries and their wide circulation internationally. Moreover, Egypt, Qatar and the US are key players in the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations, therefore, it is interesting to examine how the political and ideological orientations of their governments influence the discursive practices involved in producing the news reports and representing Israeli and Palestinian actors.

3.2 Procedure of Analysis

To reach a better understanding of the way the social actors involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are represented in media texts and the power relations these texts are reflecting, present study adopts primarily a CDA approach to analysing lexicalization in selected news headlines. The analysis is guided by Fairclough's (2003) dialectical - relational CDA approach.

Fairclough identifies three distinctive aspects of discourse in the social world; discourse contributes to the constitution of social identities, social relationships, and systems of knowledge and beliefs. Discourse is shaped by social practices and can be reshaped by them (Fairclough, 2003, p, 126). This dialectical relation between discourse and society implies that particular discourses are formed in ways which are appropriate to the interests of positively or negatively representing social actors in given social contexts.

In light of Fairclough (2003) notion of discourse, this study focuses on analysing specific lexical and vocabulary patterns as sensitive indicators of socio-political relations and representations of social actors. The analysis of lexis examines the representation of different groups of the conflict, how they are categorized and the choice of descriptions used with these groups and their actions attaining to their positive or negative evaluation, legitimization or delegitimization.

Drawing on this understanding of CDA, this study incorporates selected categories of van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic inventory as a tool of investigating the semantic representation of Israeli and Palestinian actors. Van Leeuwen's (2008) framework is useful in articulating the role of social actors in the text by drawing socio-semantic categories rather than grammatical categories. The analysis looks into how social actors are categorized when included in the texts through *genericization* and *specification*, *individualization* and *assimilation*, *nomination* and *categorisation*, *functionalization* and *identification* in addition to *personalization* and *impersonalization*.

If social actors are genericized they are realized as groups or classes. When social actors are specified they are realized as real individuals that can be part of one's real world (van Leeuwen, 2008, pp.35-8).

Social actors can be referred to either as specified individuals or through assimilations describing them as groups. Individuality place the main emphasis on the social actors as single entities. Assimilations relate social actors to their social groups and create a sense of "conformity" with members of the same group (van Leeuwen, 2008, pp.37-8). Assimilations may also play a role in propagating stereotypes.

Nomination is realized by proper nouns and categorization occurs when social actors are referred to, based on their function or identities they share with other. (van Leeuwen, 2008, pp. 40-3). Identification is realized by classification, including ethnic, gender, age and religious classifications, relational identification and personal identification. Examining nomination and categorization strategies allows reserachers to acknowledge social actors who are individualized and humanized, and those who are positively or negatively evaluated.

Personalization takes place when social actors are realized as humans presented by personal or possessive pronouns, proper names or nouns. However, social actors can also be impersonalized when they are described by abstract nouns or concrete nouns that do not have the semantic property "human" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.46). Impersonalization is realized by "abstraction" or "objectivation".

Abstraction assigns abstract nouns that lack a human feature to actors. Objectivation occurs when social actors are substituted by metonymical references. Impersonalization intend to “background the identity and/or role of social actors; it can lend impersonal authority or force to an action or quality of a social actor; and it can add positive or negative connotations to an action or utterance of a social actor” (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.47).

In addition to these categories, the analysis of lexical choices in headlines examines the expressive value of nouns, adjectives, and verbs used to describe the actions of social actors or comment on them. Examining the expressive value of words reveals “the producer’s evaluation (in the widest sense) of the bit of the reality it relates to” Fairclough (1989, p. 112). Analysis of the expressive value allows the discourse analyst to reveal social identities and easily realize the ideological significances in the written reports.

4. Lexical Analysis- Representation of Israeli and Palestinian Actors in the Selected Headlines

In order to proceed with the analysis of labelling of actors, the social groups included in the headlines of the four websites under study are first categorized according to their nationality; i.e. Israelis and Palestinians. Then each group is divided into sub-groups according to their role in the conflict. Table (5.3) shows the proposed division of sub-groups.

Table 4.1

Division of groups and sub-groups in headlines

Role	Israelis	Palestinians
Military	Israeli Military Actors	Palestinian Resistance Actors
Political leadership	Israeli Political Actors	Palestinian Political Actors
Civilians	Israeli Civilians	Palestinian Civilians

4.1. Israeli Military Actors.

In the corpus of the headlines of the four websites under study, Israeli Military Actors are genericized and are not referred to as identifiable individuals. Genericization is realized through the mass noun ‘*Israel*’; plural forms without articles ‘*Israeli troops*’, ‘*Israeli forces*’ ‘*soldiers*’, ‘*Israeli jets*’, ‘*Israeli missiles*’, ‘*Israeli raids*’, ‘*attacks*’; indefinite article with a singular noun ‘*a captured Israeli soldier*’ and third person singular pronoun ‘*It*’.

Israeli Military Actors are also functionalized as ‘*Israeli troops*’, ‘*Israeli forces*’, ‘*Israeli ground forces*’ and ‘*soldiers*’, in the examined

headlines of *AJE*, *CNN* and *NYT* headlines. In this case they are collectivized and categorized by occupation. Such representation aims to show the Israeli Military Actors as a consensual and homogenous group and emphasizes their strength and power. The choice of words such as ‘*troops*’ and ‘*forces*’ frames the Israeli military as an organized officially recognized force not just a group of ‘*fighters*’ as the Palestinians.

The power of the Israeli Military Actors is further clarified as they are impersonalised, in the corpus of headlines collected from the four websites, through instrumentalization as:

‘*Israeli jets*’, ‘*armoured convoy*’, and ‘*Israeli missiles*’
and abstraction as:

‘*Israeli attacks*’, ‘*airstrikes*’, ‘*invasion*’, ‘*Israeli raids*’, ‘*Israel’s airstrikes*’, ‘*Israeli offensive*’, ‘*its aerial bombardment*’, ‘*onslaught*’, ‘*war*’ and ‘*campaign*’

These impersonalized lexical choices replace Israeli agents in headlines. The impersonalization of Israeli Military Actors serves to mystify the identity of the agent and at the same time frame Israel as a powerful State possessing a mighty military arsenal. Such impersonalization drives readers to comprehend the full power of Israel as seen in its forces, military machine, and military operations. It also helps mitigate responsibility of any particular human actor.

Each website has chosen between a variety of nouns and adjectives to refer to the Israeli attacks on Gaza. *AJE* special media coverage came under the title of *War on Gaza* transforming the incident from a mere episode in the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict into a full-fledged war. Mainly, the Arab websites, *Al Ahram Weekly Online* and *AJE*, tend to opt for more powerful emotionally loaded lexical items to describe the Israeli attacks examples from the corpus *Al Ahram Weekly Online* include:

carnage, brutal war, invasion, bloody aerial assault, flagrant Israeli war crimes, 'Crime of crimes', overwhelming onslaught.

In the examined corpus, *AJE* also uses emotionally loaded lexis in connection with Israel’s military actions as in the following examples:

deadliest attack, all-out war, ground offensive, ground assault, invasion, fighting rages, deadly Gaza attacks, air raids intensify, genocide, intense attack, intensive sea and air strikes, continuing assault,

These nominalizations and adjectives help the reader visualize the bloodiness and brutality of the situation on the ground. In *Al Ahram Weekly* and *AJE* headlines the war is described through the use of negative adjectives, which are rarely used by the western websites, as

flagrant, all-out-war, brutal, non-stop and crime of all crimes, as for the attacks they are further illustrated by adjectives such as *bloody, deadliest, overwhelming, intensive and intense*. *Al Ahram Weekly Online* plainly calls the Israeli attacks an '*invasion*' and *AJE* refers to Israel as '*the occupation*'. These lexical choices saliently reflect *Al Ahram Weekly Online* and *AJE* aim to delegitimize Israeli actions and show Israeli Military Actors as unjustifiably using violence against Palestinians.

On the other hand, in selected data from Western websites, *CNN* writers used lexical choices such as *clash, crossfire* and *conflict* to show its readers that Israel is involved in military action with its opponent in this case Hamas. *CNN* and *NYT* also used nouns as *incursion* and *battle* bringing to the reader's mind that it is a short and brief attack for a specific purpose. In addition, adjectives used by *CNN* and *NYT*, in the examined corpus, include *stepped up* and *broadening* which do not connote violence or bloodiness as much as they just insinuate a wider scope for the operations. Even when *all-out war* is used, it is placed between parentheses to detach it from being the stance of the website.

Thus, *CNN* and *NYT* hold both Israel and the Hamas equally responsible for the eruption of violence and create a sense of balance between the two powers. However, this is not the true situation as Israel has a formal army facing most of the time unarmed civilians, as confirmed by the UN reports (Goldstone, 2009). The lexis *CNN* and *NYT* use to describe of the military actions by Israelis while still showing Israel as a powerful military power, it implies that Israel is not an instigator of violence, it resorts to violence only when it is involved in a clash with Hamas and for a short period of time. *NYT* even goes to attracting sympathy to Israeli soldiers through the use of adjectives as in the headlines:

A captured Israeli soldier figures in military assessments and political calculus

Israelis honor fallen soldiers

The choice of the emotionally loaded words '*captured*' and '*fallen*' to describe Israeli soldiers shows their vulnerability and adds to the legitimacy of Israel in defending itself against Hamas.

The overall representation of Israeli Military Actors, in the four websites, serves an ideological purpose of representing the power and hegemony of Israel in this conflict. The representation aims at reflecting the military power and supremacy of the Israeli actors, Israel's ability to instigate action by virtue of its military capacity. However, the Arab websites differ from the western websites in perceiving Israel's military actions as legitimate or justifiable.

4.2. Palestinian Resistance Actors.

The only actors that engage in the fighting with the Israeli forces in this conflict is Hamas and its fighters. Hamas is also the group negotiating a ceasefire with Israel. Hamas also has a sort of political capacity as some of its members hold ministerial positions in the Palestinian cabinet. However, the representation of Hamas in the headlines of the four websites examined in this study aims to set Hamas apart from Palestinian Political Actors and Palestinian Civilian Actors for different ideological purposes.

The Palestinian Resistance is mainly genericized by a mass noun '*Hamas*', plural forms without articles '*Hamas leaders*', '*Palestinian fighters*', '*Hamas figures*' '*Hamas rockets*', and '*Hamas mortars*'; and third person singular pronoun '*It*'. Hamas genericization aims to represent the Palestinian Resistance as one homogenous group united together for the same purpose. This generic reference to Hamas in *Al-Ahram Weekly Online*, *AJE*, *CNN*, and *NYT* also aims to set Hamas apart from the Palestinian civilians and the Fatah led government. Moreover, by generically referring to Hamas, *AJE*, *CNN*, and *NYT* emphasize to their readers that Israeli military action is targeting Hamas and not the Palestinian civilians; although each website has a different ideological stance the drives such a representation. While *AJE* wants to direct its audience attention to Hamas capability to stand against Israeli military and defend the Palestinians, *CNN* and *NYT* have a different objective. *CNN* and *NYT* use Hamas as a pretext for the Israeli military operations and justify the violence enacted by the Israeli forces.

In this context, functionalization and personalization play an important role in reflecting the websites ideological stance towards Hamas. *AJE* refers to Hamas members as '*fighters*' framing them positively as the actors who are defending their land and people against an aggressor. In the Arab culture the term 'fighter' may carry some religious implications as well. *AJE* wants to represent Hamas to its readers as a group that does not submit to defeat easily and defends its rights. The term carries more positive connotations when it is modified by the adjective '*Palestinian*' classifying them by nationality to the Palestinian people and identifying them as belonging to the wider community of Palestinians.

Moreover, elite members of Hamas are functionalized and personalized as '*leader*' and '*commander*'. In *AJE* headlines Hamas elite members are mostly specified and individualized by a singular noun without an article. Hamas elite members are referred to as '*Group's field*

commander, *‘ Hamas leader*, *‘ Political leader of Hamas*, *‘ senior Hamas leader*, and *‘ senior leader*. Hamas actors are thus humanized to further emphasize their positive image to readers of the website and bring them closer to the reader. Modifications are added to stress their affiliation to the group (*Hamas*), military and political capacity (*field, political*) and high rank (*senior*). Moreover, this representation by *AJE* has an ideological purpose of framing Hamas members as official leaders adding to *AJE* legitimization of the group and its actions.

CNN and *NYT*, rarely functionalize Hamas or specify its members. Both websites aim to dehumanize Hamas and detach it from its readers. Similarly does *Al-Ahram Weekly Online*, by referring only generically to the group in its headlines as *‘ Hamas*’ or *‘ it*’. *CNN* specifies members of Hamas in the headlines when they are targeted by Israel as in *‘ 2 top Hamas figures*’ and *‘ 1 killed*’. This aims to show *CNN* readers that the purpose of the Israeli operations is targeting Hamas and not the Palestinian people.

AJE, *CNN* and *NYT* are also interested in making lexical choices that reflect the military power of Hamas. In *AJE*, *CNN* and *NYT* headlines, Hamas is objectified as *‘ Hamas rockets*’, *‘ Hamas mortars*’ and *‘ upgraded rocket arsenal*’, and abstracted as *‘ rocket attacks*’. Moreover, Hamas is also abstracted as *‘ resistance*’ and *‘ Hamas rule*’. Again, such references aim to show that Hamas has some sort of power to stand against Israel and carry military action.

Thus, the general image of the Palestinian Resistance in the four websites under study is framed in Hamas as a group separate from the Palestinian people and has the capacity to possess military equipment and fight against Israel. The ideological purpose of such representation differs from one website to the other based on the political stance of its affiliated government.

In *Al-Ahram Weekly Online* this representation reflects Egypt’s denouncement of Hamas actions seeing the Group as provoking Israel and instigating its attacks against Palestinians. When Operation Cast Lead was launched against Gaza, several Arab countries, primarily Egypt, blamed Hamas for taking unwise and uncalculated actions to provoke Israel. These states took such a stance as they were siding with Mahmoud Abbas as the legitimate Palestinian Authority, and declaring their opposition to Hamas’ close relation with Iran (Migdal, 2014, pp. 252-4). As seen from the collected *Al Ahram Weekly Online* headlines, Hamas is ***Fiddling while Gaza burns***, in reference to the irresponsible attitude of Palestinian factions who are pre-occupied by their own disputes rather than focusing on the Palestinian – Israeli conflict. *Al Ahram Weekly Online* also refers to Hamas unwise actions through this headline

Spoiling for a fight, and stating that *Hamas provoked Israel*. Such lexical choices represent Hamas as an irrational and irresponsible group that does not calculate the consequences of its actions on the Palestinian people in Gaza. This image of Hamas makes it difficult for readers to sympathize or side with Hamas during this particular period of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

AJE representation of Hamas in the selected headlines reflects its support for Hamas and presents it as capable of defending Palestinians and challenging Israel. There is seldom a headline attacking Hamas except when the *US Blames Hamas 'THUGS'*. Although the noun 'thugs' stirs all the negative meanings of an illegitimate, criminal, immoral group, still *AJE* detach itself from being responsible of such description by attributing it to the US and not even identifying who exactly says so. Thus, *AJE* remains consistent with its representation of Hamas as playing a vital role in defending the Palestinian land and people. *AJE* represents Hamas as a patriotic group ready to sacrifice its members for the sake of its people as in the headline *Hamas calls for third Intifada* and the subheading *Political leader of Hamas says "resistance will continue through suicide missions"*. Given the Islamist background of Hamas 'resistance' and 'suicide missions' are plausible acts when committed for the sake of defending one's country and people.

CNN and *NYT* on the other hand, representation of Hamas in the collected data reflects the US and Israeli opposition towards Hamas and aims to help their readers find justification for Israel's actions aimed to stop 'Hamas rockets'. This is reflected in *CNN* headlines as:

Olmert: No peace in Gaza till Hamas rockets stop
Bush blames Hamas for Gaza conflict
Olmert: Attack on Gaza was 'unavoidable'
Israel, U.S. target Hamas arms smuggling
Israel: Hamas mortars prompted attack near U.N. school

Moreover, examples from *NYT* headlines include:

Foreign Minister of Israel says Hamas should be condemned
Despite strikes, Israelis vow to soldier on

These headlines negatively frame Hamas as an instigator of violence and Hamas is delegitimized for using *arms smuggling*. Moreover, the headlines show the U.S. and Israeli stances towards Hamas, as it should be 'blamed' and 'condemned' and 'targeted' for its actions. At the same time, this allows the readers to see Israeli actions in response to Hamas as legitimized.

In the selected headlines under study, *CNN* and *NYT* make lexical choices that negatively represent Hamas and reflect its determination to continue the fight. In the analysed corpus, *CNN* headlines focus on Hamas rejection of any peaceful solution and that it will always continue to fight Israel. Therefore, in the headline '*Hamas promises a fight to the death*' the reporting verb '*promises*' is chosen to imply Hamas determination to fight Israel as long as it takes. The *NYT* follows the same line and shows Hamas as *Striking Deep into Israel*, and it *Employs an Upgraded Rocket Arsenal*. Hamas here is well armed as it is able to '*strike deep*' and by adding the adjective '*upgraded*' to describe its arsenal the editors implies that the military power of Hamas equals that of Israel. Moreover, in the *NYT* headline '*Israel declares cease-fire; Hamas says it will fight on*', *NYT* reporter compares between the Israeli inclination towards peace and Hamas insistence on fighting. This representation of *Hamas* in *CNN* and *NYT* as a defiant group seeking to engage in acts of violence ensures that readers will not sympathize with the group or see its actions as legitimate.

4.3. Israeli Political Actors.

Reference to Israeli Political Actors is almost limited in the headlines of the four websites. When Israeli Political Actors are included in the headlines they are mostly engaged in verbal processes to express the opinion of the Israeli government regarding justification of the operations or ceasefire. Being members of the elite in this context their official position is emphasized by mostly specifying and personalizing members of this sub-group.

In the examined corpus of news headlines from the four websites, Israeli Political Actors are nominated formally in *AJE* '*Livni*' and *CNN* '*Olmert*'. They are also nominated by their unique position as '*Foreign Minister*' in *AJE* and '*Foreign Minister of Israel*' in *NYT*. According to van Leeuwen (2008), nomination may be realized if a single social actor performs a certain function or occupation (p.41). Other references to Israeli Political Actors in the corpus of *AJE* *CNN* and *NYT* headlines include their institutionalization as '*Israel*', '*Israeli Cabinet*', and spatialization as '*Tel Aviv*' the seat of the Israeli government.

As for *Al-Ahram Weekly Online* the headlines excluded any specific reference to Israeli Political Actors, as the editorial strategy gives more attention to the military operations and the suffering of the Palestinian civilians.

The overall image of the Israeli Political Actors is that of government actors and official leaders entitled to convey the opinion and determination of the State of Israel.

4.4. Palestinian Political Actors.

This sub-group is mainly represented in *Al-Ahram Weekly Online* in the Palestinian President Abbas and his Ramallah emergency government. The *Weekly* nominated the Palestinian Political Actors officially as 'Abbas', classified them as a group '*Fatah*' and finally using the spatial reference '*Ramallah*' as the administrative capital of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA). This representation by *Al-Ahram Weekly Online* aims to highlight the official image of Palestinian Political Actors and legitimize the status of Abbas caretaker government which was challenged by Hamas and its parliamentary majority bloc. However, the limited recurrence of this sub-group in the headlines and its lack of action other than '*silence*' as in the sub-heading *Ramallah's silence on Israel's campaign of slaughter in Gaza is turning back on Fatah with a vengeance* and being '*in limbo*' in the headline *Abbas in limbo*, still frames Palestinian Political Actors as a group that lacks power and standing helpless specially in the face of Hamas.

AJE representation of Palestinian Political Actors focuses on Abbas and his attitude towards Hamas and attempt to plead for an end of the military operations. *AJE* specifies and formally nominate 'Abbas' by his last name and his official occupation '*President*', '*Palestinian President*', and '*Palestinian Leader*'. However, *AJE* excludes any reference to Abbas emergency government or its members from the headlines and nominates instead Hamas member as '*Hamas Interior Minister*' using Hamas as a modifier to stress that he is a member of its self-imposed government in Gaza. This representation of Abbas aims to show that *AJE* still respects him as an Arab and Palestinian leader, although his role is limited to blaming Hamas e.g. *Abbas blames Hamas for bloodshed* or pleads for a solution for the conflict as in the headline *Abbas urges action on Gaza*.

CNN radically excludes Palestinian Political Actors from their headlines and *NYT* generically refers to them as '*Palestinian leaders*'. This reflects their editorial ideology that aims to propagate the war as mainly an action against Hamas and not the Palestinian legitimate authority nor the Palestinian people. Nevertheless, this representation or rather lack of representation indicates that the news editors of the two websites see Palestinian Political Actors as not newsworthy for their audience or as lacking power to express opinion or undertake action in this particular episode of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

4.5. Israeli Civilian Actors

Al Ahram Weekly Online editors radically exclude Israeli civilians from their headlines while *AJE*, *CNN* and *NYT* offer a very limited

representation for this sub-group. For the Arab websites it is clear that they do not want to attract sympathy to the Israeli civilians, to a far extent to avoid accusations by their Arab followers that they are siding with Israel. However, this biased attitude contradicts the values of objective reporting.

In *CNN* and *NYT* analyzed corpus of headlines, editors of both websites aim to maintain the image of Israel as having the upper hand in this war and not suffering losses at the hand of Hamas. Therefore, they limit the representation of Israeli civilian victims in their headlines. *CNN* and *NYT* intend to maintain a positive presentation of Israel and gain the support of their readers for Israeli actions. Israeli civilians are represented as victims of crossfire in *CNN* headlines and they are genericized by plural without article as ‘*civilians*’, and ‘*civilian casualties*’. In *NYT* headlines, they are categorized by ethnicity as ‘*Israelis*’ to show their solidarity as a homogeneous group in situations when they ‘*vow to soldier on*’ or ‘*honor fallen soldier*’.

4.1.7. Palestinian Civilian Actors.

The overall image of Palestinian civilians in the headlines of the present corpus, is that of victims of the war. In *Al Ahram Weekly Online*, Palestinian civilians are personalized to help readers identify with them. They are genericized with plurals without articles as ‘*Palestinians*’, ‘*children*’ ‘*friends*’ and ‘*families*’. They are categorized and identified by ethnicity ‘*Palestinians*’ and ‘*Gazans*’, age ‘*Children*’ and relational identification as ‘*families*’. These categorizations frame Palestinians as vulnerable members of the community that should be protected not ‘*targeted*’ come ‘*under fire*’ or get ‘*wounded*’. This image will help readers to sympathize with the Palestinian civilians and feel their pain and suffering.

AJE offers that most varied representation of Palestinian civilians. *AJE* is mainly concerned with specifying Palestinian civilians through high numeric quantifiers and aggregation as in the following headlines and sub-headings :

Air assault targets security buildings killing at least 220 people and injuring 700 more

Gaza toll nears 300 amid new raids

Toll reaches 428 as Israel maintains its aerial bombardment of the Gaza Strip.

More than 300 children have been killed in Israel's continuing assault, UN says.

Israel kills dozens at Gaza school

Israeli shells hit UN school sheltering hundreds of civilians in Jabalya refugee camp.

Documented data allows readers to see news reporters as objective and creates trust between the reader and the media outlet. Furthermore, it helps readers visualize the magnitude of the military actions and the huge number of casualties these operations resulted in (van Leeuwen, 2009, p.37).

In *AJE* headlines, Palestinian civilians are genericized by plurals and third-plural pronoun, and categorized and identified by ethnicity ‘*Gazans*’, ‘*Palestinians*’, and by age ‘*children*’. Palestinians are functionalized as ‘*doctors*’ and ‘*patients*’. Besides such personalization of Palestinian civilians, *AJE* employs impersonalized reference to Palestinian civilians to illustrate that Israel’s military operations are extended beyond targeting people to the fundamental services necessary for their own survival and living. To fulfil this purpose *AJE* refers to Palestinian civilians by objectivation as ‘*hospitals*’, ‘*lifeline tunnels*’, and ‘*Gaza school*’ instead of referring to them as children or residents for example. These objects are ‘*hit*’, and ‘*pound*’ by Israel. *AJE* generally aims to portray an image of Palestinian civilians as victims, killed in huge numbers in Israeli operations and even if they survive the attacks they will suffer a hard life with no sources to sustain them.

CNN and *NYT* share the same representation of Palestinian civilians as victims with the Arab websites. In *CNN* and *NYT* Palestinian civilians are genericized through the mass noun ‘*Arab clan*’; plural forms without articles ‘*civilians*’, ‘*Palestinians*’ ‘*Gaza families*’, ‘*doctors*’, and ‘*witnesses*’. They are personalized and categorized by ethnicity ‘*Palestinians*’ and relational identification ‘*2 daughters*’ and ‘*Gaza family*’ and ‘*Gaza families*’. Palestinians are also specified by aggregation in *CNN* and *NYT* but by fewer quantifiers than *AJE* as ‘*30 civilians*’, ‘*4 Palestinians*’, ‘*375*’, and ‘*3 daughters*’. Only towards the end of the war *CNN* and *NYT* reports the approximate number of Palestinian casualties at 1,300 in *CNN* and 1,000 in *NYT*. Finally, Palestinian civilians are functionalized as ‘*doctors*’, and functionalized and specified by a singular noun without an article as ‘*doctor*’, ‘*Gazan doctor*’ and ‘*peace advocate*’. Still in *CNN* and *NYT* the overall image of Palestinian civilians is that of victims that deserve sympathy, although the responsibility of their suffering is not always clear. Civilians are casually present in the battles as *CNN* headline clarifies ‘*Civilians on both sides caught in crossfire*’ or *NYT* headline ‘*For Arab clan, days of agony in a cross-fire*’. The use of the noun ‘*crossfire*’ to refer to the Israeli attacks lays the responsibility of the Palestinian Civilians suffering on Hamas as well as Israel. Moreover, Palestinian Civilians appear as commentators of their own suffering as in *CNN* headlines ‘*Gaza hospital crowded with civilians, doctors say*’, and

'Palestinians: 1,300 killed, 22,000 buildings destroyed in Gaza' as well as *NYT* headline *'Gazan doctor and peace advocate loses 3 daughters to Israeli fire and asks why'*. Thus, *CNN* and *NYT* represent Palestinian civilians as victims of this war that deserves sympathy; especially as Hamas is partly involved in their suffering.

5. Conclusion

This study attempted to highlight the value of lexical choices in constructing the representation of social actors, specially, in a situation of conflict. It also tried to reveal the way media producers can influence their readers to adopt a negative or a positive stance towards one group or the other. The study made use of Fairclough's (2003) dialectical - relational CDA approach and van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic features to demonstrate the lexical choices made to refer to Israeli and Palestinian groups are ideologically and politically motivated.

The examination of lexical choices and socio-semantic representation of social actors showed that there are certain similarities and differences among the four websites under study.

The four websites, Israel is represented as a powerful military authority. Israeli Military Actors are mostly genericized to reflect their solidarity and impersonalized to mitigate human responsibility of any violent action and highlight Israel's image as a powerful State. However, Arab websites, *Al Ahram Weekly Online* and *AJE* use emotive language to draw condemnation towards Israeli military operations and attract sympathy towards Palestinian civilian victims. Lexical choices in *CNN* and *NYT*, on the other hand, aimed to represent Israeli Military Actors not as initiators of violence, but as responding to Hamas rocket attacks.

The four websites showed similarity in representing Hamas as the main opponent to Israeli military. In this regard, Hamas is mostly genericized and classified as a unified group set apart from the other Palestinian political actors and Palestinian civilians. Hamas military capacity is emphasized by *AJE*, *CNN*, and *NYT*, through objectivation and abstraction. However, there were also some differences in representing Hamas among the four websites.

Differences between the websites were also observed. *AJE* is the only website that aimed to represent Hamas positively and legitimize its members by specifying and individualizing Hamas members and reflecting an image of Hamas as a patriotic group defending the Palestinians. *AJE* lexicalization of Hamas aimed to draw readers' sympathy to the group. In contrast, lexical choices and nominalizations in *Al Ahram Weekly Online* represented Hamas as an irresponsible group provoking Israel. *CNN* and *NYT*, negatively represented Hamas as a group determined to continue fight and get engaged in illegitimate acts.

Moreover, *CNN* and *NYT* showed Hamas as rejecting peace and ceasefire. Thus, in *Al Ahram Weekly Online*, *CNN* and *NYT*, Hamas is negatively represented and its actions delegitimized, a matter which draws readers away from sympathizing with Hamas or its members.

Across the four websites, Israeli and Palestinian Political Actors were specified and identified in their official political capacity. This shows that the websites have preferable treatment to elite members of the society and high-ranking officials. Israeli Political Actors were represented as representatives the government and official leaders authorized to convey the opinion and determination of the State of Israel.

Political Actors played a limited role in this conflict and editorial strategies focused more on representing Groups involved in the military operations and those affected by it. When included in the headlines, Israeli Political Actors were specified and identified in their official political capacity. Israeli Political Actors were framed as representatives the government and official leaders authorized to convey the opinion and determination of the State of Israel. Moreover, when Palestinian Political Actors were included in the selected headlines, they were also specified and identified. This shows that the websites have preferable treatment to elite members of the society and high-ranking officials.

Differences in the representation of the Israeli and Palestinian Political Actors among the Arab and western websites were also observed. In *Al-Ahram Weekly Online* headlines Israeli Political Actors were excluded, as the editorial strategy put more emphasis on military operations and the suffering of the Palestinian civilians. In contrast, Palestinian Political Actors were radically excluded from selected *CNN* headlines, while in *NYT* they were genericized as '*Palestinian leaders*'. The analysis showed that editorial strategy of *CNN* and *NYT* ideologically aimed to focus on Hamas as the main target of Israeli military actions and not the Palestinian legitimate authority nor the Palestinian people. At the same time, exclusion of Abbas and his government from the headlines of the two websites indicated that their news editors ideologically did not perceive them as newsworthy for their audience and framed Abbas and his government as lacking power to express opinion or undertake action concerning the fighting in Gaza.

The study also showed that *Al- Ahram Weekly Online* and *AJE* lexicalization of Palestinian Political Actors aimed to legitimize their roles; however, it also reflected the incapacity of Abbas in finding a solution for the conflict. Abbas and Hamas are represented as two political opponents, with Abbas blaming Hamas for the violence and rejecting its actions.

The study found that the four websites recognized Palestinian Civilians as victims and their lexicalization draws sympathy to their vulnerable state. Palestinian Civilians were mostly personalized and genericized to attract the readers' sympathy and they were specified by numeric aggregation to present readers with actual data about the number of casualties. *Al- Ahrām Weekly Online* and *AJE* used emotionally loaded lexis to victimize the Palestinians and draw the readers' sympathy towards them. Relational identification was also used to create a connection between readers and the victims. On the other hand, the radical and partial exclusion of Israeli Civilians was ideologically driven to maintain a powerful image of Israel and Israeli actors.

Finally, the present study highlights a number of remarks. First, CDA has proven to be a useful approach to compare the representation of Israeli and Palestinian groups in two major Arab websites and two powerful western websites, and analyse the lexical choices and representational categorize in the selected headlines. CDA helps reveal the ideological use of language to represent the parties involved in the conflict and their actions. Second, analysis of lexical choices helps reflect bias in news coverage, but more importantly it reveals how media institutions can manipulate their readers and lead them unconsciously to adopt certain political stances. Moreover, CDA helps prove that although media institutions and news producers claim to have the authority to inform people of the truth; however, their word choices reveal that their truth would vary as regards which party of the conflict they side with.

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Appendix 1

Headlines from the Four Selected Websites

The appendix includes the data that was used for analysis. The headlines are presented in bold to separate them from subheadings. The articles are collected from 27th December 2008 till 18th January 2009 from the websites of, *Al-Ahram Weekly Online* and *Al Jazeera*, *CNN*, and *New York Times*, using the keywords: Gaza, Palestinian, Israeli, offensive, Gaza War.

Articles retrieved from *Al-Ahram Weekly Online*

Since *Al-Ahram Weekly Online* is a weekly publication it has the least number of articles among the four websites under study; however, it was particularly chosen for its renowned position in the Arab world and wide readership worldwide.

Articles retrieved from <i>Al-Ahram Weekly Online</i> : http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/ and https://www.masress.com/ *		
No.	Date	Headline
1	2009, January 1	Fiddling while Gaza burns What does it take to unite against the invasion, asks Khaled Amayreh in Ramallah
2	2009, January 1	Is the world watching? Without justification, <u>Israel</u> kills, writes Saleh Al-Naami
3	2009, January 1	Palestine's Guernica Mustafa Barghouti cuts down the myths Israel spins in the media to justify its most recent campaign of slaughter
4	2009, January 1	Spoiling for a fight Hamas provoked Israel and received the response it wished for, argues Emad Gad
5	2009, January 1	Raining death Saleh Al-Naami reports from Gaza on the carnage wreaked by five days of Israel's bloody aerial assault
6	2009, January 8	Assistance already delivered The ghosts of Israel's war on Lebanon in 2006 hang over Gaza's battlegrounds. Omayma Abdel-Latif writes from Beirut on Hizbullah's options
7	2009, January 8	Children under fire Aside from its direct killings, Israel's continued siege on Gaza and the psychological trauma of its war offensive are destroying life, especially children, writes Saleh Al-Naami
8	2009, January 8	No going back now Israel may be seeking to destroy Hamas, but what it is actually doing is destroying any possibility for peace, writes Khaled Amayreh in Ramallah

9	2009, January 8	Searching for an exit Diplomacy rears its reluctant head and the "truce" word is suddenly everywhere as Israel's war on Gaza enters its third week. Saleh Al-Naami reports from the besieged Strip
1	2009, January 15	Abbas in limbo Ramallah's silence on <u>Israel's</u> campaign of slaughter in Gaza is turning back on Fatah with a vengeance, writes Khaled Amayreh
1	2009, January 15	Families targeted Israel is using weapons of mass destruction to take out ordinary families in Gaza, reports Saleh Al-Naami
1	2009, January 15	Gazan tragedy brought home Some Palestinians wounded in Gaza have been taken to <u>Egypt</u> for treatment. Nesmahar Sayed heard the sound of pain
1	2009, January 15	Non-stop Doaa El-Bey failed to find any sign that <u>Israel's</u> attack on Gaza will soon end
1	2009, January 15	White phosphorous but no flag The Palestinians refuse to succumb to defeat in the face of flagrant <u>Israeli</u> war crimes. Saleh Al-Naami reports from Gaza
1	2009, January 22	Calm after the storm? Who won and who lost in <u>Israel's</u> brutal war on Gaza, and what lies ahead now? Saleh Al-Naami explores possibilities
1	2009, January 22	'Crime of crimes' Former judge at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, Fouad Riad, tells Amira Howeidy that <u>Israel</u> is guilty of genocide in its 22-day war on Gaza
1	2009, January 22	Still breathing The endurance of Palestinians in Gaza in the face of Israel's overwhelming onslaught is humbling, demanding, and should be met by our action, writes Caoimhe Butterly* from Gaza City
1	2009, January 22	Vista of endless ruin With <u>Israel's</u> guns temporarily silent, Gazans are seeing the full scale of destruction and death <u>Israel</u> visited upon them, writes Saleh Al-Naami
1	2009, January 22	With friends like these By Sherine Bahaa KHALED AMAYREH, the Al-Ahram Weekly correspondent in the West Bank was arrested Sunday evening by the Preventive Security Forces (PSF) in

		Hebron. He was released after two days. Amayreh, 52, lives in Dura, 12 miles southwest of Hebron and has worked as the Weekly correspondent since 1997, as well as for a number of other media outlets.
* Note: Some of the articles are no longer retrievable from <i>Al-Ahram Weekly Online</i> archives; yet they are saved on <i>masress.com</i> database. <i>Masress</i> is a website that collects news from 105 Egyptian newspapers, without editing or changing their original content.		

Articles retrieved from *Al Jazeera English* online:

Articles retrieved from <i>Al Jazeera English</i> Online: http://www.aljazeera.com/		
No.	Date	Headline
1	2008, December 27	Hundreds die in Israel raid on Gaza Air assault targets security buildings killing at least 220 people and injuring 700 more.
2	2008, December 28	Abbas blames Hamas for bloodshed President says attacks on Gaza could have been averted if Hamas extended truce.
3	2008, December 28	Arab leaders 'to meet' on Gaza Qatar has called for a summit of Arab League leaders to be held in Doha next Friday.
4	2008, December 28	Arab street angry over Gaza attacks Tens of thousands protest across middle east over Israeli bombardment.
5	2008, December 28	Gaza toll nears 300 amid new raids UN urges end to military operations as Israel gives army go ahead to call up reservists.
6	2008, December 28	Hamas calls for third Intifada Political leader of Hamas says "resistance will continue through suicide missions".
7	2008, December 28	Hezbollah fighters placed on alert Leader says Israeli forces along border with Lebanon may be preparing an attack.

8	2008, December 28	Israel resumes Gaza bombardment Ground offensive threatened after the deadliest attack on Palestinians for decades.
9	2008, December 28	US blames Hamas 'thugs' for deaths White House urges Palestinians to stop rocket attacks as others condemn Israeli raids.
1	2008, December 28	Israeli jets pound Gaza tunnels Lifeline tunnels near Rafah hit on second day of air attacks on Gaza.
1	2008, December 29	US pushes to curb Hamas Move comes as UN chief calls for end to civilian casualties on both sides.
1	2008, December 30	Israel in 'all-out war' with Hamas Death toll climbs as Israeli jets bombard Gaza strip for third consecutive day.
1	2008, December 31	Obama's Gaza silence condemned Is the US president-elect "complicit" in Israel's Gaza raids by remaining silent?
1	2008, December 31	Israel rebuffs Gaza ceasefire calls Palestinian president strikes conciliatory tone with Hamas as Israel rejects truce plan.
1	2008, December 31	Israel rules out immediate truce Tel Aviv rejects French ceasefire proposal to allow humanitarian aid into Gaza.
1	2008, December 31	Israeli vessel hits Gaza-bound boat Aid boat limps to Lebanese port after being "rammed" and forced to return.
1	2008, December 31	Pressure builds for Gaza ceasefire Israel and Hamas urged to agree temporary truce as death toll nears 400.
1	2009, January 1	Livni: no crisis in Gaza strip Foreign minister rejects EU truce and says Israel "supplying comprehensive aid" to Gaza.
	<u>2009, January 2</u>	<u>Angry protests over Gaza offensive</u> <u>Demonstrations staged in several</u>

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		countries decrying Israeli offensive.
	2009, January 2	Fears grow of Gaza ground assault Israeli strike kills senior Hamas figure as ground forces prepare for possible invasion.
	2009, January 2	US 'working towards Gaza ceasefire' US secretary of state condemns Hamas for holding Palestinians in Gaza "hostage".
	2009, January 3	Bush calls for pressure on Hamas US president says Palestinian faction 'instigated' Israeli attacks on Gaza.
	2009, January 3	Gaza mourns as strikes continue Toll reaches 428 as Israel maintains its aerial bombardment of the Gaza Strip.
	2009, January 3	Israel begins Gaza ground offensive Armoured convoy and troops enter Gaza Strip as Hamas vows to defeat Israeli forces.
	2009, January 3	Israel continues Gaza assault Hamas warns Israel against ground offensive as group's field commander dies in bombardment.
	2009, January 4	Israel pushes deeper into Gaza Intensive sea and air strikes accompany Israeli ground offensive on the Gaza Strip.
	2009, January 4	Israeli ground troops enter Gaza Heavy fighting reported as Israel launches its ground offensive on the Gaza Strip.
	2009, January 5	Fighting rages in Gaza Palestinian fighters battle Israeli ground forces in and around Gaza City.
	2009, January 5	Hamas confident of Gaza victory Senior leader says "victory is coming" as Israeli ground offensive splits Gaza Strip.
	2009, January 5	Hamas 'to attend' Cairo truce talks Diplomatic efforts aimed at getting ceasefire stepped up as Israeli offensive continues.
	2009, January 6	Civilian deaths mount in Gaza war

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		Israeli artillery hits hospital as Palestinian death toll rises to at least 548.
	<u>2009, January 6</u>	<u>Israel rejects truce proposal</u> EU ceasefire proposal spurned as US blames Hamas for fighting and humanitarian situation.
	<u>2009, January 6</u>	<u>Israel's 'colonial tactics' decried</u> Analyst says Hamas rockets are not the cause but a response to the occupation.
	<u>2009, January 7</u>	<u>Abbas urges action on Gaza</u> Palestinian leader says diplomatic delays would lead only to further tragedy in Gaza.
	<u>2009, January 7</u>	<u>Israel kills dozens at Gaza school</u> Shells hit UN school sheltering hundreds of civilians in Jabaliya refugee camp.
	<u>2009, January 7</u>	<u>Scores killed as Gaza UN school hit</u> Israeli shells hit UN school sheltering hundreds of civilians in Jabalya refugee camp.
	<u>2009, January 8</u>	<u>Israel fires on UN Gaza convoy</u> Lorries come under fire while travelling to Erez crossing to pick up aid for distribution.
	<u>2009, January 8</u>	<u>Israel resumes deadly Gaza attacks</u> Air raids intensify as Israel moves to broaden offensive after three-hour lull.
	<u>2009, January 8</u>	<u>Israeli bombardment pounds Gaza</u> Tunnels and homes around Rafah come under intense attack after Israeli warning.
	<u>2009, January 10</u>	<u>Gazans: 'We face a dark destiny'</u> Palestinians from the Gaza Strip explain how Israel's ground offensive is affecting them.
	<u>2009, January 10</u>	<u>Israel 'shelled Gaza civilians'</u> Palestinians were moved into a house which was later hit by Israeli fire, UN says.
	<u>2009, January 11</u>	<u>Death toll in Gaza exceeds 850</u> Israeli assault enters third week with

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		military warning it will "escalate" the conflict.
	<u>2009, January 12</u>	<u>Gazans fear Israel using phosphorus</u> Patients' injuries consistent with the use of controversial chemical, doctors say.
	<u>2009, January 12</u>	<u>Israeli troops battle Gaza fighters</u> Intense clashes reported on the edge of Gaza City as offensive continues for 17th day.
	<u>2009, January 16</u>	<u>Children 'paying price of Gaza war'</u> More than 300 children have been killed in Israel's continuing assault, UN says.
	<u>2009, January 16</u>	<u>Gaza hospitals and UN warehouse hit</u> Offensive enters 21st day after millions of dollars in food and medicine go up in flames.
	<u>2009, January 16</u>	<u>Israeli missiles kill Hamas leader</u> Hamas's interior minister was killed in an Israeli air raid on his brother's house.
	<u>2009, January 16</u>	<u>Relative calm descends on Gaza</u> Bodies are pulled from the rubble as Israel says it has hit 40 targets on Friday.
	<u>2009, January 17</u>	<u>Israel shells UN school in Gaza</u> War rages for 22nd day amid speculation of imminent Israeli 'unilateral ceasefire'.

Articles retrieved from CNN:

Articles retrieved from CNN: http://edition.cnn.com/		
No.	Date	Headline
	<u>2008, December 28</u>	<u>Gaza humanitarian plight 'disastrous,' U.N. official says</u>
	<u>2008, December 28</u>	<u>Hundreds dead, injured in Gaza as Israeli airstrikes continue</u>
	<u>2008, December 29</u>	<u>Aid reaching Gaza, but U.N. says it's not enough</u>
	<u>2008, December 29</u>	<u>Israeli airstrikes in Gaza enter third day</u>
	<u>2008, December 29</u>	<u>Sources: Gaza death toll from Israeli offensive exceeds 375</u>
	<u>2008, December 30</u>	<u>Gaza: Crucible of conflict</u>

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	<u>2008, December 30</u>	Gaza relief boat damaged in encounter with Israeli vessel
	<u>2008, December 30</u>	Israel considers truce amid airstrikes
	<u>2008, December 31</u>	Olmert: No peace in Gaza till Hamas rockets stop
	<u>2009, January 2</u>	<u>Bush blames Hamas for Gaza conflict</u>
	<u>2009, January 2</u>	Israel bombs as tanks wait on outskirts of Gaza
	<u>2009, January 2</u>	Israelis strike homes of 2 top Hamas figures; at least 1 killed
	<u>2009, January 3</u>	At least 4 Palestinians killed in Israeli ground assault
	<u>2009, January 3</u>	In ground incursion, Hamas promises a fight to the death
	<u>2009, January 4</u>	Civilians on both sides caught in crossfire
	<u>2009, January 4</u>	Israeli troops push forward, splitting Gaza
	<u>2009, January 4</u>	Olmert: Attack on Gaza was 'unavoidable'
	<u>2009, January 5</u>	Doctor in Gaza: Patients 'lying everywhere'
	<u>2009, January 5</u>	Gaza horrors sow seeds for future violence
	<u>2009, January 6</u>	Gaza hospital crowded with civilians, doctors say
	<u>2009, January 6</u>	In Gaza, living with anger and fear
	<u>2009, January 6</u>	Is Gaza 'occupied' territory?
	<u>2009, January 6</u>	Israel: Hamas mortars prompted attack near U.N. school
	<u>2009, January 6</u>	Israel to open 'humanitarian corridor' for Gaza aid

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	<u>2009, January 9</u>	<u>Israel, Hamas brush off U.N. cease-fire resolution</u>
	<u>2009, January 9</u>	<u>Israel kills 30 civilians at shelter, witnesses tell U.N.</u>
	<u>2009, January 11</u>	<u>Israelis, Hamas clash near Gaza City, witnesses say</u>
	<u>2009, January 12</u>	<u>Group accuses Israel of firing white phosphorus into Gaza</u>
	<u>2009, January 12</u>	<u>Israel tightens grip on Gaza City; Hamas stays defiant</u>
	<u>2009, January 14</u>	<u>Israel explains Gaza media restrictions</u>
	<u>2009, January 16</u>	<u>Israel, U.S. target Hamas arms smuggling</u>
	<u>2009, January 16</u>	<u>UK Jewish lawmaker: Israeli forces acting like Nazis</u>
	<u>2009, January 17</u>	<u>Israel declares unilateral cease-fire in Gaza</u>
	<u>2009, January 17</u>	<u>Israelis edging closer to cease-fire agreement in Gaza</u>
	<u>2009, January 18</u>	<u>Hamas, Israel set independent cease-fires</u>
	<u>2009, January 19</u>	<u>Palestinians: 1,300 killed, 22,000 buildings destroyed in Gaza</u>
	<u>2009, January 19</u>	<u>Israel says it plans swift Gaza withdrawal</u>
	<u>2009, January 21</u>	<u>Israeli troops complete Gaza withdrawal</u>

Articles retrieved from NYT:

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No.	Date	Headline
	2008, December 28	Foreign Minister of Israel says Hamas should be condemned
	2008, December 28	Israel reminds foes that it has teeth

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	2008, December 29	A captured Israeli soldier figures in military assessments and political calculus
	2008, December 29	Israeli troops mass along border; Arab anger rises
	2008, December 29	No early end seen to 'All-Out War' on Hamas in Gaza Israeli aircraft continue raids on Gaza; Arab anger rises
	2008, December 30	Amid a buildup of its forces, Israel ponders a cease-fire
	2008, December 30	Despite strikes, Israelis vow to soldier on
	2008, December 31	In dense Gaza, civilians suffer
	2008, December 31	Israel rejects Gaza cease-fire, but offers aid
	2008, December 31	Striking deep into Israel, Hamas employs an upgraded rocket arsenal
	2009, January 1	In a broadening offensive, Israel steps up diplomacy
	2009, January 2	Israel lets some foreigners leave Gaza
	2009, January 3	Israeli troops launch attack on Gaza
	2009, January 3	Is the real target Hamas rule?
	2009, January 4	Gaza hospital fills up, mainly with civilians
	2009, January 5	In Fatah-governed West Bank, solidarity with Hamas
	2009, January 5	Israel deepens Gaza incursion as toll mounts
	2009, January 5	Warnings not enough for Gaza families
	2009, January 6	Israel puts media clamp on Gaza
	2009, January 6	Israeli shells kill 40 at Gaza U.N. school
	2009, January 6	Rice heads to U.N. for talks on Gaza cease-fire
	2009, January 7	Grief and rage at stricken Gaza school
	2009, January 7	Israel resumes attack after pause for aid delivery
	2009, January 7	Israelis honor fallen soldiers, while seeing the Gaza campaign as justified
	2009, January 8	Fighter sees his paradise in Gaza's pain
	2009, January 8	Israel condemns Vatican's 'concentration camp' remarks
	2009, January 8	Israel faces mounting outcry on Gaza war
	2009, January 8	Red Cross accuses Israel of neglecting Gaza wounded
	2009, January 9	30 Confirmed dead in shelling of Gaza

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		family
	2009, January 9	For Arab clan, days of agony in a cross-fire
	2009, January 10	A Gaza war full of traps and trickery
	2009, January 10	As talks falter, Israel warns of more extensive attacks
	2009, January 12	U.N. warns of refugee crisis in Gaza strip
	2009, January 13	Hamas fighters display mix of swagger and fear
	2009, January 13	Israel says Hamas is damaged, not destroyed
	2009, January 14	Egypt cites progress toward truce as Gaza toll exceeds 1,000
	2009, January 14	War on Hamas saps Palestinian leaders
	2009, January 15	Israel shells U.N. site in Gaza, drawing fresh condemnation
	2009, January 16	Israeli cabinet appears ready to declare a Gaza cease-fire
	2009, January 17	Gazan doctor and peace advocate loses 3 daughters to Israeli fire and asks why
	2009, January 17	In homes and on streets, a war that feels deadlier
	2009, January 17	Israel declares cease-fire; Hamas says it will fight on