

# The Faculty of Arts and Education

# **MASTER THESIS**

	Spring semester, 2018			
Study program: MLIMAS-1 17H	Open/Confidential			
	Open			
	Rida Elarkoubi			
Author: Rida Elarkoubi	(signatur author)			
Supervisor: Dr. Peter Paul Ferry				
Title on master thesis: Language in the News: Constructing the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict through Use of Language				
Word of reference:	Pages: 85			
Language and conflict, critical discourse analysis, the news.	+ attachment/other: 27			
	Stavanger, 11/05/2018			

## **Abstract**

The current study provides a critical discourse analysis of 18 news reports taken from the *Hamodia* English newspaper and the Aljazeera English website covering the Israeli-Palestinian conflict between the years 2015 and 2017. Having selected 9 news reports from each news outlet, the study looks at how these two news outlets construct the events of the same conflict differently, motivated by their ideologies and respective points of views regarding the conflict. The study analyzes the selected news reports on two linguistic levels: the lexical level and the grammatical level. The study investigates, lexically, how the social actors of the conflict are constructed and referred to, and then compares the findings between the two news outlets. As for the grammatical level, the study investigates and compares the grammatical structures used to frame the social actions of the Palestinian and Israeli social actors.

The study attempts to understand whether or not the selected news reports show any linguistic patterns, whether lexical or grammatical, that are governed by factors other than those of English linguistics and journalistic style. By so doing, the study is therefore able to link these patterns to the broader socio-ideological context of the news reports, and interpret the patterns accordingly. In interpreting the data, the study relies on the fundamental hypotheses of critical discourse analysis, mainly the idea that language is a social practice, which means that the critical analyst must take the social dimension of language as an integral factor that determines the shape and form of language.

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### 1. Introduction

"Israeli murderers are called commandos, Arab commandos are called terrorists... the CIA does not kill anybody anymore, they neutralize people, or they de-populate the area"

American stand-up comedian George Carlin (Youtube1990)

This is a study of how the *Hamodia* English newspaper and the Aljazeera English website used language in their news reports to frame the Israeli-Palestinian conflict between the years 2015 and 2017. Using tools from critical discourse analysis, the current research examines and compares the ways in which *Hamodia* and Aljazeera employ language to construct the Israeli-Palestinian conflict differently and how their linguistic choices reflect the underlying ideological positions they adopt.

In October 2015, a wave of mutual violent attacks between Israelis and Palestinians erupted in the west bank and east Jerusalem. The attacks took the form of individual initiatives from both sides, and sometimes group clashes and police interventions. The attacks usually took the form of knife or gun attacks, and less frequently the form of a car ramming attack. To the time of writing this study, according to Ma'an News Agency, casualties on the side of Palestinian exceed 235 deaths, as well as thousands of others injured, detained, or having suffered from smoke inhalation. On the Israeli side, around 59 people were killed, and few hundred injured (Benoist 2016: 4).

In their coverage of the conflict, Israeli and Arab news outlets differed significantly. They not only covered the conflict, but also got involved in the conflict, and became integral parts of it. In our example, the Aljazeera channel, as shall be detailed in the coming chapters, proved overwhelmingly pro-Palestinian, and more importantly, anti-Israeli. This is most evident in the last Israeli decision to revoke Aljazeera's media credentials, because it "incites" violence, as stated by the Israeli minister of communication (*The Independent* 2017).

On the other side of the conflict, *Hamodia* proved no less involved in the conflict. The newspaper, as shall be detailed in the coming chapters as well, continues to depict the conflict as one between Israeli civilians and Palestinian terrorists. The newspaper spares no effort to use all

possible linguistic formations and techniques for the sake of constructing the conflict in accordance with its political point of view.

The involvement of the Media in the conflict attempts to frame the local as well as the global opinion regarding what is happening on the ground. This purpose is achieved by providing ideologically constructed narratives of the conflict, where the story is composed of hidden ideological judgments and dichotomies such as "us" versus "them", "good" versus "evil" among others. These ideological dichotomies are often conveyed implicitly in the form of innocent linguistic formations which seek to attract the reader's sympathy towards one side of the conflict instead of another. In other words, these ideological judgments hide in the form of a linguistic choice, and as readers go through the newspaper texts, they unconsciously internalize these judgments without being aware of it.

In order to unmask these ideological messages, this study takes the form of a two-dimensional textual analysis: a grammatical analysis and a lexical analysis. The division draws upon the traditional dualism between paradigmatic and syntagmatic levels of signification in Structural Linguistics (Chandler 2005: 21). Each group of articles is analyzed on both levels: first on the lexical level to examine the type of lexical words that are used to construct the social actors. Second, on the grammatical level, to investigate the grammatical structures employed to frame the actions practiced by these social actors.

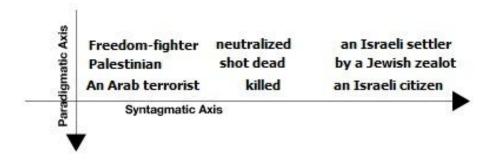


Fig.1: Synatgmatic versus Paradigmatic levels of analysis.

Following the structure of the analysis, the thesis is divided into three chapters. The first chapter offers a general theoretical context for theory and method, as well as for the tools which are employed in analyzing the selected news reports. To achieve this, the first chapter introduces the theory of critical discourse analysis and its notion of language. It prepares the discussion by stretching briefly from the far theoretical origins of critical discourse analysis, and it provides a detailed explanation for the selected theoretical tools, their definitions, roles and functions. These theoretical discussions are backed up by concrete and relevant examples.

The second chapter provides the lexical analysis of the selected news reports. It looks at how lexical words are employed in the selected groups of articles to address the social actors involved in the conflict. This chapter analyzes the way the structure of reference can construct the identity of social actors ideologically, and it compares the use of lexical words in both groups of articles to figure out how the two sides of the conflict are addressed. The purpose of this chapter is to understand how the news outlets employ the lexical level of language to permeate their reports with their respective ideologies.

In the third chapter, the study analyzes the grammatical structures employed to frame the violent actions carried out by the involved social actors. Focus is on three grammatical structures: passive voice and nominalization, and to the active voice. The chapter examines thoroughly how the selected groups of reports situate the violent actions of Palestinians and Israelis in these grammatical frames, in what cases they prefer certain structures over other ones, and whether or not there is an organized pattern in choosing between these grammatical structures.

Interpretation of data, which takes place in the sections following the presentation of data, relies on fundamental assumptions from critical discourse analysis; chiefly the idea that grammatical and vocabulary choices should be treated as potential traces of ideological mystification, and not as mere meaningless stylistic variants (van Leeuwen 2009: 281). In interpreting the data, the study situates the presented data into the context of the news outlets in which they appear; the data is linked to the general perspective of the news outlet regarding the conflict, and thus interpreted accordingly.

# 2. Critical discourse analysis and media

Critical discourse analysis includes a variety of analytical approaches, theories and methods that all claim to approach texts in a critical way. Given this, it can difficult to provide a definition that combines the characteristics of all these approaches and theories in one or two paragraphs. However, a common feature between these approaches and theories can be taken as the broad definition of critical discourse analysis. Fairclough, one of the leading figures in the field defines critical discourse analysis as follows:

By critical discourse analysis I mean discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony. (Fairclough 1995: 3)

Critical discourse analysis can thus be understood as the analysis of language in relation to its broader socio-ideological setting so as to expose the way it reproduces, or equally important, challenges the dominant ideology (Richardson 2007: 27). In other words, "discourse analysis challenges us to move from seeing language as abstract to seeing our words as having meaning in a particular historical, social and political condition" (Nwafor, Gloria 2014: 1). It follows from this notion that any text, whether spoken or written, can be raw material for critical discourse analysis, from religious books and commercial advertisements all the way to folk songs and short stories. All manifestations of language can be analyzed critically.

Among all formations and manifestations of language, media is especially relevant to the study of critical discourse analysis because it is literally made out of words and pictures (Hartley 1995: 5). Critical discourse analysis understands representation in the news as a constructive practice. Events and ideas are not communicated neutrally in their natural structure, as it were, because they have to be transmitted through some medium, in our case written language, with its own structural features, and these structural features are already impregnated with social values

which make up a potential perspective on events (Fowler 1991: 25). Therefore critical discourse analysis, by studying the minute details of these texts, seeks to deconstruct the newspaper texts and relate the apparent linguistic formations to the ideas, beliefs, and ideologies adapted by the news company in question (Fowler 1991: 5). Stated in other words:

News is the representation of the world in language; because language is a semiotic code, it imposes a structure of values, social and economic in origin, on whatever is represented; and so inevitably news, like other discourse, constructively patterns that of which it speaks. News is a representation in the sense of construction; it is not a value-free reflection of facts.

(Fowler 1991: 4)

The partiality of news language becomes most obvious in times of military conflicts, because the news company finds itself enforced to rapidly line up on the side of its favoured ideological camp and start "fighting" its own war (Bazzi 2009: 1), or using Umberto Eco's language: *Semiological Guerilla Warfare* (Eco 1986: 1). A semiotic warfare is the process of selection and transformation of raw facts to form an ideological narrative that is, in our case, called "news"; this process targets the consciousness of the audience and orients it towards one camp of the conflict instead of another. This can explain, for instance, the reason why the Israeli forces IDF chose to bombard the complex of Al-manar TV Channel in its war on Lebanon in 2006 (Conway 2007: 243).

### 2.1. The critical study of newspapers

The study, in particular, of newspapers reports by critical discourse analysts can be traced back to the mid-seventies, when Roger Fowler, Tony Trew and other linguists from the University of East Anglia made a marking contribution to the study of discourse in the newspapers in their co-authored book entitled *Language and Control* (1979). The authors introduced a group of analytical tools for analyzing and deconstructing newspaper discourse linguistically, so as to bring to light the guiding ideologies behind these newspapers.

In chapters 6 and 7 of the book, Tony Trew analyzed the different grammatical structures used in the newspapers reports to address the shooting and killing of unarmed demonstrators by the Harare Police forces in Rhodesia 1975 (Trew 1979: 106-7). Trew noticed that in describing the event, the *Rhodesia Herald* wrote "A political clash has led to death and injury", while the *Tanzanian Daily News* wrote "Rhodesia's white suprematist police...opened fire and killed thirteen unarmed Africans" (van Leeuwen, Kress 2006: 2). Trew noticed that different grammatical structures, let alone the lexical words such as "white suprematist" and "unarmed demonstrators", reflect different guiding ideologies of the newspapers (van Leeuwen, Kress 2006: 2).

The linguistic analysis of newspapers reports provided in *Language and Control* formed a new trend in applied linguistics, called at that time critical linguistics; the name developed later and became interchangeable with critical discourse analysis (Wodak 2001:1). The linguistic tools that were introduced initially in chapters 6 and 7 were also extended and developed as more linguists and analysts joined the emerging field. Further contributions by Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress in *Language as Ideology* (1979) and *Discourse and Practice* (2008) are now almost indispensable for anyone attempting to carry out this type of critical analysis.

Exploiting the interdisciplinary nature of critical discourse analysis (Widdowson 2004: 2), this study draws from the numerous theoretical sources in the field, including, but not limited to the aforementioned works. The current study incorporates three analytical tools. On the lexical level, social actor theory and connotation analysis are selected for examining the lexical words and their ideological functions in the newspapers. On the grammatical level, grammatical analysis, of the type introduced above, is selected for analyzing different structures of grammar employed in the selected reports.

The following sections represent the two levels of analysis that are applied to the news reports. On each level, a general theoretical perspective is provided first, and then in the following sections, the specific analytical tools are introduced and explained, all with relevant examples.

# 3. Lexical analysis

John Richardson points out that the analysis of particular words used in the text of a newspaper is almost always the first stage of any discourse analysis, because words, according to him, "convey the imprint of society and of value and judgments in particular" (2007: 47). Lexical analysis can be simply defined as the analysis of what words are used to describe people, events, and actions in a given text. Although this form of analysis can be used to analyze all forms of language, including nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs, it is however used more often to analyze the nouns and adjectives that particular text employs (Richardson 2007: 47). For this, the current study employs lexical analysis to analyze the way social actors are referred to and constructed in each news outlet.

Lexical analysis lies on a fundamental premise in critical discourse analysis which says that linguistic signs are never arbitrary (Kress 1993: 1). Contrary to Saussurean linguistics, lexical analysis believes that the relationship between the signifier and the signified is one of motivation (Kress 1993: 1), where the signifier is motivated by the interest(s) of the sign producer. It follows from this that a word, or a signifier, is not a reflection of the nature of the thing or person being addressed as much as it is a reflection of how the sign producers sees that thing or person, put in other words, "the way that people are named in news discourse can have significant impact on the way in which they are viewed" (Richardson 2007: 47).

The above quotation sums up the entire philosophy behind lexical analysis in that the ultimate goal of this analysis is to see why and how people, or things in general, are named. Following this philosophy, a number of theories and analytical tools have emerged in order to improve lexical analysis and to get better results. The following two sections represent the two theories selected for lexical analysis in this study: social actor theory and connotation analysis.

## 3.1. Social actor theory

Influenced by Michael Foucault's discourse analysis and Michael Halliday's systemic functional grammar, van Leeuwen has introduced the social actor theory (2008: 1). Van Leeuwen describes social actor theory as the analysis of how social actors are represented in English discourse (van Leeuwen 2008: 23). According to this theory, any actor is a part of numerous differing social categories: "We all simultaneously possess a range of identities, roles and characteristics that could be used to describe us equally accurately, but not with the same meaning" (Richardson 2007: 49).

A social actor may be a male, and 23 years old, and a Palestinian, as well as being unemployed, and Christian, along with being single or married, as well as many other categories (Richardson 2007: 49). In representing social actors, the writer is confronted with the choice of which characteristics to highlight and which ones to deemphasize. Some of these characteristics illustrate the individuality of the specific social actor, and eventually his distinction from other individuals in his cultural group. Other characteristics emphasize the social actor's generic or collective identity: religion, culture, and citizenship, among others (van Leeuwen 2009: 282). To represent a social actor, a choice has to be made first of whether to represent him as a specific individual or a part of larger genre or group, and in either case, there are further social categories to choose from (van Leeuwen 2009: 282).

When represented as a specific individual (individualization), the writer emphasizes the social actor's ordinariness (van Leeuwen 2004: 96), and more importantly his "every man qualities" that might be shared by other people cross-culturally (van Leeuwen 2004: 96). The reader is invited to think of the social actor as an individual whose characteristics are common among other people cross-culturally, his cultural and religious backgrounds are obscured and go unmentioned, and consequently this enhances the impression that the social actor belongs to the rest of people more than he belongs to an isolated cultural group. On the other hand, if the social actor is represented in terms of his generic group identity (collectivization), this produces, in addition to being isolated away as an "other", what van Leeuwen calls the "they are all the same" effect (van Leeuwen 2009: 282). This means that a reader is tempted to think of the social actor

as part of larger and an isolated group that shares characteristics internally, but barely have any thing in common with the rest of the people (van Leeuwen 2004: 96, Richardson 2007: 50).

By naming social actors, language creates homogenous identities out of very complicated and diversified phenomena (Richardson 2007: 50). The enormous number of details and characteristics constituting a social actor are reduced to solely one aspect, usually the one which we are affected by the most (Richardson 2007: 49). With the word "Palestinian", all the other humane characteristics that a Palestinian shares with the rest of people, mainly being a human being, man or woman, single or married, are obscured and reduced into one mono-dimensional category: being a Palestinian. This is simply because being a Palestinian is the characteristic that matters the most in a conflict between two culturally different groups of people.

As a result of representing social actors in terms of their group qualities, a gap of identity separating "us" from "them" is therefore created (van Leeuwen 2004: 96, Richardson 2007: 51). Consequently, the reader is tempted to approach the conflict as being of a particular nature: not a conflict between two groups of people who share so many aspects with some minor cultural nuances, but as a conflict between two distinct groups of people who, thanks to being labeled differently, barely share anything in common. Having approached the conflict on this basis, the reader is also compelled to choose which party to support, and when he does choose, only then does ideology achieve its final goal. Something similar to the following dichotomy dominates the reader's way of thinking about the conflict (van Leeuwen 2009: 282, Richardson 2007: 51):

<u>Us (specific)</u>	VS	Them (generic)
Worker		Palestinians
Civilian		Arabs
Student		Muslims

### 3.2. Connotation Analysis

Initiated by Louis Hjelmslev (Chandler 2005: 36), and developed by Ronald Barthes (Chandler 2005: 30), the idea of connotation as a second order of signification has acquired considerable attention in critical discourse analysis. According to this theory, words have two levels of meaning: a denotative level and a connotative level (Barthes 1964: 30). On the first level, a reader deals with the literal meaning of the word. "Red" is a word that refers to certain chrome in the color-spectrum, but, on the second level, the word "red" can bear a variety of associated meanings, such as communism, blood, prohibition and many others. Ronald Barthes (1964: 30) discusses connotation in relation the language and the press:

As for the Press, which can be reasonably considered as an autonomous signifying system, even if we confine ourselves to its written elements only, we are still almost entirely ignorant of a linguistic phenomenon which seems to play an essential part in it: connotation, that is, the development of a system of second-order meanings, which are so to speak parasitic on the language proper.

Barthes sees the connotative stratum of meaning as parasitic on the language proper because it goes beyond what was assumed on the part of language, mainly being a mere referential system whose value is determined solely by the external objects it refers to (Fowler 1991: 1). Taking into consideration the connotative dimension of language, words acquire more than a just relationship with the external world, but more importantly, a relationship between the language and speech community (Hartley 1995: 1).

According to Hartley, when people learn to speak, they learn much more than just words (1995: 1). From the very beginning they use language not just to name things, but, also, to work out how to behave towards other people and the world out there (Hartley 1995: 1). For instance, "together with the words "biscuit" and "dog" they may learn approval, similarly, together with the words "hot" and "dirty" they may learn not to touch the gas stove or that otherwise quite tempting object left behind by a cat" (Hartley 1995: 1).

Within the parameters of this study, together with the words "Palestinian" and "Israeli", a newspaper not only refers to a group of individuals with certain defining characteristics, if it does this at all; but it also determines the form of the relationship that will stand between the reader and these groups of people. Exploiting the connotative dimension of language, the words "Palestinian" and "Israeli" acquire an additional stratum of meaning, in particular that they generate moral and ideological associations in the mind of the reader. At the very least, these two words, can invite their readers to either approval or aversion in approaching their referents. In this sense, language becomes a sort of a social point of view towards the world, not a mere objective map for it (Fowler 1991: 25).

The connotative meaning of the words "Palestinian" and "Israeli" can be established by being collocated continually and systematically with other words in the sentence. For instance, the word "Palestinian" can be collocated with the word "terrorist", and the word "Israeli" can be collocated with the word "settler". By collocating words together in a continuous and a systematic pattern, connotative meanings are constructed and recycled in the mind of the audience, such that even in cases where the word "Palestinian" is mentioned alone, associations with terrorism would still occur.

# 4. Grammatical Analysis

Unlike lexical analysis, the grammatical analysis is concerned with how actions that are performed by the social actors are positioned into certain grammatical structures (Mills 1995: 143-144). Kress and van Leeuwen noted that the political views of newspapers are not only encoded through different vocabularies (of the well known "terrorist" versus "freedom fighter" type), but also through different grammatical structures (2006: 2). In order to understand how grammatical structures can carry ideology, it is essential to start by looking at Michael Halliday's systemic functional grammar, as this theory is the foundation of the idea of grammar as an ideology carrier (Fowler 1993: 65-75).

Michael Halliday is the first linguist to develop a fully-fledged theory in which grammatical structures are considered structures of experience, not mere linguistic vessels for pre-existing and pre-structured experiences (Fowler 1993: 28-32). Systemic functional grammar understands language as a system that evolved under the pressure of certain social and eventually ideological needs and concerns (Fowler 1993: 28-32). According to Michael Halliday (1985: 101), this means that:

Grammar goes beyond formal rules of correctness. It is a means of patterns of experience... It enables human beings to build a mental picture of reality, to make sense of their experience of what goes on around them and in inside them.

In this sense, the social experiences of reality are encoded in the grammatical structures of language, and the obvious diversity of grammatical structures is but a manifestation of the diversity of social experiences. To capture the essence of this idea, it is necessary not to think of grammar as an isomorphic reflection of the structure of the world, but to see it as a constructive medium that shapes the way we see the world. In representing social experiences as linguistic entities, there is always a range of choices to be made, and every text which has been produced could have been produced differently, always depending on the perspective (Mills 1995: 143-144).

Under the influence of systemic functional grammar, and the idea that grammar structures mental experience, Toney Trew, and other linguists from the University of East Anglia, introduced a group of grammatical formations they thought were employed interchangeably in representing the same action, but with different significations and impressions (van Leeuwen 2009: 280). The most widely used grammatical tools in analyzing newspaper texts are Passivization and Nominalization (Kress, Hodge 1979: 23). These two tools have been used extensively in analyzing political speeches, news reports, and other texts (van Leeuwen 2009: 282).

The following sections introduce the three grammatical structures that this study attempts to detect in the selected news reports, their definitions, and how they affect the overall meaning of a sentence.

#### 4.1. Nominalization

Nominalization is the grammatical transformation of verbs into nouns. It can be achieved by adding additional inflectional suffixes such as in the example of *I will act* turned into *I will make* an action, or by adjusting the order of the sentence without adding any suffixes to the verb such as in the example of *I can change* turned into *I will make change*. It can be through adding additional morphemes or not, depending on the type of the verb in question. When such a grammatical transformation occurs, the action which was previously perceived as process is thought of as a thing, following the controversial idea that nouns stand for things and verbs for processes (van Leeuwen 2009: 280).

Nominalization can generate many changes on the linguistic level. In addition to the creation of new nouns, nominalization results in the deletion of one or more agents. Moreover, the newly created nouns can themselves become agents which require other verbs. Finally, since nouns are not marked with tense, the need for adding a tense for the verb is dropped (Kress, Hodge 1979: 27).

These linguistic effects generated by the process of nominalization parallels another set of effects that is believed to take place on the mental level of the reader. First, the most relevant mental effect here is the shift of attention from the social actor to the social action and so the reader no longer questions the social actor since it is not there; rather he or she focuses on the newly created noun as a self-standing object (Kress, Hodge 1979: 27). Second, the transformation of a verb into a noun makes the reader perceive processes as things, which is a very serious change as well. Let us consider the following example:

1. Police said the <u>slain</u> terrorist, a 37-year-old father of four from the nearby Palestinian village of Beit Suriq, had an Israeli work permit.

Source: *Hamodia* English Newspaper, September 26, 2017

In the above example the word "slain", which functions as an adjective, is in its origin a verb. The noun "slain" condenses the sentence *Israeli Security Forces slew a Palestinian* into the noun "slain". After dismissing the social actor and its action, which is always the first step in nominalization, the noun is taken and placed as an adjective to the word "terrorist".

### Verb → Noun → Adjective

Another point to be made regarding the above example is that it is good indicator of the interactive relationship between the grammatical and lexical levels of representation. If the sentence had sufficed to nominalize the verb in order to obscure the social actor, the sentence would have looked like this: *the slain Palestinian*. It is true that there is no mention of the Israeli social actor in the former sentence, yet a possibility of the reader asking why the Palestinian was slain and who slew him is always present, and this possibility was tackled by the word "terrorist". The word "terrorist" is used instead of the word "Palestinian", in which case it does not matter who killed the "terrorist", and more importantly, it is perfectly understood why he was killed. Unlike the word "Palestinian", the word "terrorist" answers both questions, and works hand in hand with nominalization to justify the killing.

The impression that a reader is left with after reading the transformed sentence is substantially different from the impression he would get after reading the original denominalized sentence. The reader has no interest in knowing who made the action, or why, since the word "terrorist", along with the grammatical structure, blocks the way for such type of critical approach to the event. The result is a passive reader whose way of interpreting the event is ideologically pre-determined by the linguistic adjustments of the sentence.

#### 4.2. Passivization

Passivization is a grammatical transformation in which the traditional word order in English is reversed so that the subject, which appears as the first component in an active sentence, is moved to the last position. The active voice in the sentence Security forces killed a Palestinian man becomes the sentence A Palestinian man was killed by security forces. Such a grammatical transformation results in some linguistic changes. First, the order of the sentence is reversed, and the subject's position is taken by the affected agent, as the first word in the sentence. Second, the actor is no longer attached directly to the verb; it requires the proposition "by" in order to

combine with the verb. Third, the verb "to be" is introduced. Last but not least, passivization makes deleting the agent possible.

Like in the case of nominalization, these linguistic changes parallel another set of mental effects generated by the process of the passivization. Most obviously, the theme of the sentence shifts from being about the social actor who caused a certain action to happen to being about the affected agent to whom the reported action is done. And even if the agent is not deleted from the sentence, the link between it and its action becomes weaker and the causal relationship between the two parts becomes syntactically looser (Kress, Hodge 1979: 27). Because the action is complete, it looks more like a state of being or an adjective, rather than a process that is happening to the affected agent (Kress, Hodge 1979: 27). Let us consider the following example:

2. The terrorist was shot and killed by security forces.

Source: *Hamodia* English Newspaper, September 26, 2017

The above example, which was taken from the same article as the former one, illustrates clearly how the passive voice can be employed in the context of newspaper articles. Quite similar to the case of nominalization, the grammatical structure of this sentence has conveyed a very controversial idea of somebody killing somebody else without focusing on the identity of the killer and his motivation. This happens because the spot of concentration has been shifted to the beginning of the sentence:

In the simple active voice, the subject of the verb, the agent, does something to someone or something other than or separate from itself. In the passive voice, the agent is deemphasized and often goes unmentioned, so that an outcome can be described without it being necessary to indicate explicitly who or what was responsible for it.

(Shotter, Gergen 1979: 13)

4.3. Activization

Contrary to the two grammatical forms introduced above, activization is the grammatical

structure where the agent or subject is stated, and more importantly prioritized. The subject is

mentioned as the first item, followed by the verb, and then by the object. The active voice is

considered as the traditional word order, not least because of its wide spread and use in most

languages of the world. The active voice is the opposite of passivization not on the level of its

structure only, but also on the level of the mental effects that are believed to be generated by the

active voice.

Using the active voice brings the social actor to light, and emphasizes his role and impact;

however, it does not totally obscure the action, as the verb remains within the sentence. This

grammatical structure is useful in certain contexts of military conflicts. such the Israeli-

Palestinian conflict. In certain cases, if the newspaper covering the conflict is at odds with the

reported social actor, it might use the active voice in order to accentuate his responsibility of

certain undesirable actions such as stabbing someone. By so doing, a newspaper invites its

readers, implicitly, to classify that social actor within one of the previously established categories

of good or evil people. Let us consider the following example:

3. Israeli border police shot dead a Palestinian who stabbed them at a police station in the

Old City of Yerushalayim early Monday.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, 13 March, 2017

The example mentioned above is a good illustration of how the responsibility of the social

actors behind their actions is prioritized. There is no chance that the reader will fail to recognize

that the Palestinian individual is the cause of the stabbing attack and the one to be blamed for it.

By attributing "evil actions" to these attacks, the active voice is therefore a useful grammatical

instrument for the demonization of social actors.

20

# 5. Methodology: searching for patterns

The current study employs the lexical and grammatical tools introduced in the previous sections in order to look for linguistic patterns in the selected news reports. First, the study detects the occurrences of all the linguistic units, be them grammatical or lexical, before quantifying these linguistic units and turning the numbers into percentages and eventually into pie charts. The purpose of this process is to achieve a scientific level of accuracy in observing and organizing the data, and to facilitate the process of checking whether the reports show any tendencies towards employing certain patterns of grammatical or lexical structures that are governed by factors other than those of English language and journalistic style.

Lexically, the study detects the occurrences of the collectivizing and individualizing forms of addressing social actors, after adjusting them to suit the nature of this study (see section 8.). All occurrences are detected, counted, and then presented in pie charts. By so doing, it becomes possible to identify whether or not the news outlet in question follows any particular pattern in representing the social actors of the conflict. If, for example, the study finds that *Hamodia* shows a strong tendency to refer to the Palestinian social actors based on their citizenship (collectivization), this is interpreted as an attempt to create the "they are all the same" effect, and furthermore, to categorize the social actor as an "other". Conversely, if the study shows that *Hamodia* uses more characteristics-based reference to refer to Israelis, this is interpreted as an attempt to create the "every man qualities" effect, and to categorize the social actor within the category of "us".

On the lexical level, the study employs connotation analysis to analyze and interpret the type of words used, instead of their structure. This connotation analysis is a qualitative interpretation that aims at backing up the results of the quantitative analysis conducted with social actor theory. By using the two analytical tools together, the study has therefore selected an effective and a productive framework for analyzing ideology on the lexical level of these news reports.

Grammatically, the study detects all occurrences of all the attacks by both Palestinians and Israelis. Then, the study counts how many times each of the three selected grammatical forms –nominalization, passivization, and activization- are used to address the attacks, and whether there is any observable pattern of employing one of these grammatical forms more or less frequently than the other ones. If it is confirmed that certain structures are preferred and therefore used systematically more frequent than the other ones, the study then attempts, in the analysis section, to interpret these patterns in accordance with the theory of critical discourse analysis. If, for example, the study finds that Aljazeera's reports use considerably less active voice in reporting the attacks carried out by Palestinians, this is interpreted as an attempt to mitigate the link between the attack and the attacker.

When interpreting the data, the study interprets the quantified linguistic patterns, not the individual sentences or words such as the case with many critical discourse studies (Mellanen 2012, Persson 2013). By doing this, the study transcends the individual grammatical and lexical choices into a more general perspective that focuses on the linguistic pattern as a whole. The choice of interpreting general linguistic patterns instead of individual linguistic units was taken because of the problematic nature of the last form of analysis, mainly the problem of over-interpretation, which is explained in more detail in the following section.

### **5.1. Limitations**

Any theory or methodology, whether in the humanities or otherwise, has its own shortcomings and vulnerabilities; scholarly effort aims at detecting these shortcomings, criticizing them, and overcoming them. And while it is not always possible to completely overcome certain weaknesses in some theories, mitigating the effects of these weaknesses is certainly a less challenging task. Critical discourse analysis, in general, has received a variety of critiques that target its general guiding principles, as well as specific approaches within the field. Since the current study is using critical discourse analysis as a general theoretical umbrella, rather than a specific approach, we discuss only those limitations that apply to critical discourse analysis in its most general form.

One typical criticism that scholars have continuously expressed regarding critical discourse analysis is that it tends to over-interpret the linguistic data or corpus that it analyzes. Widdowson, a well known critic of critical discourse analysis, has argued that the analyses provided in critical discourse analyses are often "ready-made interpretations which, in effect, serve as a kind of pre-textual priming, designed to dispose us to read this text in a particular way" (2004: 142). Critical analysts, Widdowson argues, are often inclined, if not committed, to interpret language in an ideological way. Being convinced that there is no such a thing as the arbitrariness of signs, critical analysts always seek to find the ideological factors behind the shape of language (Wodak 2001: 5).

The current study fully acknowledges and understands that the relationship between ideology and the shape of language is not mechanical, such that any lexical or grammatical choice is necessarily motivated by ideological factors. The study takes into consideration the fact that linguistic and stylistic factors can exert strong influence on the shape of the reports' language. For example, using a noun to refer to an attack carried out by Palestinians can be a linguistic necessity rather than an ideological choice. In fact, the study is rather cautious in its interpretation and analysis of the data, that being most obvious in adapting a quantitative approach in dealing with the linguistic units, in order to avoid, as far as possible, any form of anecdotal evidence based on analyzing individual words or sentences. By quantifying linguistic units, and interpreting patterns instead of individual words, the study assures the highest degree of accuracy in dealing with the data, and eventually, a good degree of objective analysis based on clearly quantified tendencies and patterns, instead of mere subjective impressions. Furthermore, by observing and analyzing the patterns critically, the study introduces its hypotheses as a set of falsifiable assumptions which can be validated when the patterns match the assumptions, or otherwise falsified when they do not. Falsifiability is often not a choice in the traditional form of analyzing sentences one by one, since over-interpretation can always self-fulfill the study simply by interpreting the results in a way that matches the initial hypotheses of the study.

In another attempt to mitigate the critical analyst's strong inclination towards over interpretation of the data, the study states the particular parts of the reports where the detected linguistic units show more frequently. The purpose of this process is to avoid the ideological interpretation of discourse in places where the linguistic and stylistic factors are more urgent and

determinant. For example, using nominalization and passivization in headlines is generally agreed to be a feature of English speaking newspapers, thus the stylistic interpretation would be prioritized in such cases. By doing so, the study contextualizes language even further, and focuses ideological interpretation of language, particularly but not exclusively, to the places where the journalistic writer has more freedom to make linguistic choices, such as in the body of the report.

Another problem that is directly linked to this study is the reaction of the readers to the news reports under analysis. Critical discourse analysis tends to claim to have the ability of knowing the mental effects of the linguistic arrangements of texts, but one can hardly find a critical analysis that is backed up by an interview or a questionnaire which expresses the exact reactions or impressions that readers get from the analyzed news reports. The task is almost impossible, not only because it is difficult to find the online readers who read the exact reports selected in this study and ask them about their impressions, but also because such a task would go totally beyond the scope and nature of the critical linguistic study provided here.

In the face of such a problem, this study prefers not to make the reaction of the reader towards the analyzed reports an essential concern of its analysis, and rather to focus more on detecting and interpreting linguistic patterns critically. However, following the theoretical framework provided by Hodge and Kress about grammatical structures and their mental effects (Kress, Hodge: 1979: 20), the study can always speculate about the possible, sometimes probable, effects of certain grammatical or lexical structures. It can be difficult to know what particular information readers get from a sentence; yet, a more achievable task is to speculate about what information they do not get from the sentence. Since the current study takes as a theoretical framework works of Hodge and Kress on the grammatical level, and van Leeuwen on the lexical one, it suffices to look for the effects of each linguistic unit in these theoretical frameworks, and just allude to the possible mental effects of each form of language on the reader.

#### 5.2. Selection of data

It is now an established tradition for critical analysts and students who attempt to carry out a critical discourse analysis of newspapers to select news reports that deal with the same topic (see Mellanen 2012, Persson 2013). The critical analyst, in his selection of news reports that cover the same events, assumes that the selected reports have no further reasons of why they should be different from each other, since they are dealing with the same topic. By analyzing a multiplicity of reports that all claim to objectively narrate a certain event, the analyst can easily speculate that the differences thus found between these reports are differences of ideology, since the event reported is the same.

Following the logic introduced above, the current study established four criteria for the selection of the news reports. The first criterion was relevance. This was met by searching keywords such as "stabbing attack" or "Palestinian stabbing attack", in the research engine of each news outlet's website. This was the most efficient way to reach directly the relevant reports, instead of using broader keywords such as "the Israeli-Palestinian conflict". The Aljazeera English website displayed more than 140 news reports. The *Hamodia* English website provided more than 240 news reports. These were a mix of reports that covered attacks and described their details, as well as those reports which discussed the phenomenon in general with a lot of quotes from politicians. That being the case, it was inevitable to apply further criterion in order to refine the research results and limit the research to only those reports that are comparable to each other.

To refine the results, the second criterion was applied: comparability. This criterion meant that all the reports which did not deal directly with one or more attacks were excluded from the study. This included all articles of opinion, reports of political statements and announcements regarding the conflict as well as analyses of the wave of violence by the journalists affiliated to the news outlets. Sometimes even some reports dealing with certain attacks were excluded because they included too much political material or political commentaries at certain parts of the reports.

This criterion of comparability limited the research results to only those reports which were direct descriptions of the ongoing attacks, and by applying it, the criterion brought down the total number of news reports to 80 reports for Aljazeera, and around 100 for the *Hamodia* newspaper. Even after limiting the researching range to only those reports which contained direct descriptions of the attacks, the two lists of articles from each news outlet too broad a range of attacks. It was essential that the selected reports describe very attacks, this is to ensure that different attacks do not impose different stories on the reports.

To ensure the above directive, the third criterion was introduced: similarity. This criterion required that the reports to be selected should be similar in terms of the nature of the attack being reported. Other news reports which described stone throwing or other forms of attacks were excluded, with only the reports which described stabbing and shooting attacks selected. Furthermore, the study was committed to selecting reports which shared similar plots, with the Palestinian part being almost always the part that initiates the attack, and the Israeli part being the part that counter attacks. Fortunately, this was not very difficult, because the reported attacks shared a general guiding strategy that each individual has followed, which made the reports covering these attacks closer to each other in terms of their plot and story. By applying the third criterion, the number of the selected reports was brought down to around 20 reports for each news outlet.

Taking into account the extensive analysis that this study attempted to apply to the news reports, 40 reports was still too large a sample within the scope of the current study, especially if we take into account the limited time allotted for the research. At this point, I applied the fourth criterion: processability of the reports. This criterion meant that the exact number of the reports that will be selected for the study is determined by the scope of the study and its time frame. Given these two factors, I decided to select 9 news reports from each news outlet to end up with a totality of 18 news reports that formed the corpus of the current study. The number 18 can thus be said to be the intersection point of four criteria: relevance, comparability, similarity, and processability.

### 5.3. Reliability of the analytical tools

Taken together, the analytical tools chosen for this study constitute a complete and integrated tool kit for the analysis of the selected texts on the two axes of analysis. Each one of the previous analytical tools was selected for a specific form of textual analysis, with a specific role and function. Moreover, each of the tools can work jointly along with the other tools in order to achieve the same final goal of this research: to trace language back to its ideological origins in the selected articles.

Lexical analysis is more popular among academics and students of critical discourse analysis; it continues to be used extensively in the analyses of political speeches, newspapers, advertising posters, and others (see Baidoun 2014, Persson 2013, Bazzi 2009, and Persson 2013). Except for the social actor theory, these studies use more or less the same lexical tools introduced previously, and in all cases, the starting hypotheses were validated at the end of each research projects.

The social actor theory was introduced recently to the field of critical discourse analysis, and this makes it less known among students than other analytical frameworks of older critical analysts such as Fairclough. However John Richardson makes good use of the theory in his analysis of the representation of Muslims in British newspapers (2009), which offers a useful model for this study. Certain modifications have been made to the social actor theory, in order to meet the nature of the reports under study (see section 8.).

With regards to the grammatical analysis provided here, it can be said that this is the first time it is employed in its current form. The structure of data gathering and interpretation is largely the student's own creation, being largely inspired by the nature of the selected reports and the analytical tools. Similar analyses have been conducted with Trew, Hodge, Kress (1979), but no quantitative studies have been conducted in order to search for grammatical patterns in news reports. Therefore, the current study can be said to be first one to examine the grammatical analysis of the type Trew and Hodge and Kress have initiated against a relatively medium set of data using a quantitative approach.

Before proceeding to the analysis section, and in order for the abovementioned tools to make sound analyses and interpretations of the data against their contextual background, it is necessary that the reader has good knowledge of the selected news outlets, their editorial policies and political stances regarding the conflict. The following sections introduce the conflict in more detail, in addition to introducing the two news companies of Aljazeera and *Hamodia*, their national and international status, as well as their political philosophies with regards to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict,

# 6. Background of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is an ongoing military conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians as regards who has the right to establish a state on the geographical spot known historically as Palestine. The conflict bursted out in the mid-twentieth century, after numerous waves of Jewish immigrants came and inhabited large parts of Palestine, which was at that time under the British mandate. The conflict saw some major wars that are considered as historical cornerstones in the history of the conflict, mainly the 1948 war, 1967 war, and the 1973 war, which is the last major war between Palestinians and Arabs on one side, and the Israelis on the other. While the period of major wars has ended some 40 years ago, when Egypt signed the peace treaty with Israel in 1978, other forms of war between the two parts of the conflict have substituted the traditional form of direct military confrontation.

Between the years 2015 and 2017, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict saw yet another escalation of violence between Israelis and Palestinians, this time the conflict took place mainly in the West Bank an East Jerusalem. The wave of violence started in September 2015 in the form of a largely uncoordinated series of stabbing and shooting attacks from the side of the Palestinians against Israeli soldiers and settlers. Israeli soldiers often replied with shooting attacks which usually resulted in the killing of the Palestinian attackers. Most attacks were individually planned, which made them difficult to predict beforehand.

According to Shin Bet, The Israel Security Agency, "between 1 October 2015 and 1 October 2016 there was a total of 166 stabbing attacks and 89 attempted stabbings; 108 shootings; 47 vehicular (ramming) attacks; and one vehicle bus bombing" (MFA: 2018). These attacks have faced violent counter-attacks in the form of shootings from the Israeli side as well as individual stabbing attacks by Israeli settlers in Palestine. Numerous human rights organizations, such as Amnesty International, for example, have accused the Israeli army of extrajudicial killings, saying the Israeli army kills Palestinians on the flimsiest reasons, sometimes even without seeing a weapon (Baker: 2015, B'tselem: 2015).

According to many Palestinians, this wave of attacks is their revolution against the Israeli occupation of their lands. This wave of violence is known in many Arab media channels and newspapers as the Third Intifada, meaning the third uprising, or sometimes the revolution of knives (Aljazeera Arabic 2015). While this is how many Palestinians conceive the attacks, many Israelis, on the other side, believe that the attacks are pure terrorism, since they sometimes targets Israeli civilians (Segal 2015). These antagonizing ethical and ideological perspectives concerning the nature of the conflict extended to the media as well, with some of the media channels encouraging the Israeli point of view and others propagating the Palestinian view. The current study selected two news outlets that are well known of supporting different sides of the conflict in order to assure that their ideologies and biases will flow on the linguistic level of their reports.

# 7. Background of the news outlets

The following two sections introduce the selected news outlets, along with their stand points regarding the issue of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

### 7.1. Background of Aljazeera TV channel

Aljazeera, literally "the Island" in Arabic, is a Qatari-based broadcaster in Doha. Aljazeera was founded on 1 November 1996 and initially funded with a \$150 million loan by the then prince of Qatar, Hamad bin Khalifa (Zayani 2005: 54). According to an opinion poll conducted by the University of Maryland and Zogby International for Research Services, Aljazeera dominates around 53% of the total viewership in the Arab World (Telhamim 2008: 99). This makes the Aljazeera channel the most viewed TV channel in the Arab world. For this, Aljazeera largely affects, and is affected by, the dominant political ideas prevailing among the population of the Arab world.

On 15 November 2006, Aljazeera Media Network established an Aljazeera English sister channel that now has its head-quarters in Doha and London. Aljazeera English has a very high level of viewership, estimated to be around 130 million homes in more than 100 countries around the world (Cohen 2009: 2). The channel has a website that posts written reports throughout the day. All the selected articles for this study are taken from Aljazeera English website.

Along with it being the only Arab channel that hosts highly polarized debates about the Arab political regimes, Aljazeera was the only channel in the world to air video tapes of Osama Bin Laden and other affiliates to Al-Qaida talking to the West (Zayani 2005: 5). The former achievement gave Aljazeera an unprecedented fame in the Arab World while the latter lifted Aljazeera to the level of an international TV channel, receiving considerable attention from critics and governments alike (Zayani 2005: 6).

Driven by its own understanding of Pan-Arabism, Aljazeera stands firmly on the side of the Palestinians in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, although minor differences do occur between the Arabic version and the English version, such as the systematic use of the word "martyr" to describe Palestinian dead in Aljazeera Arabic. Yet, generally speaking, the two channels share the same guiding philosophy regarding the conflict (Zayani 2005: 7). Israel has a long record of verbal hostility towards Aljazeera, as it has been continuously accused by Israeli officials of supporting terrorism (Kane 2017: 2) and inciting and encouraging violence (The Agerholm

2017). This verbal hostility did not materialize until 2017 when the State of Israel decided to revoke Aljazeera's media credentials and close its offices in Jerusalem (*The Agerholm* 2017).

In reporting the Israeli-Palestinian conflict between 2015 and 2017, the Aljazeera channel is one of the very few International channels to cover the conflict extensively. Unlike other English-speaking news outlets, Aljazeera shows a detailed and continuous coverage of the mutual attacks between Israelis and Palestinians between 2015 and 2017.

Given the clear and firm political position that Aljazeera holds regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and given its easily accessible and continuous coverage of the conflict, there remains no doubt that selecting reports from Aljazeera's English website for this comparative study is a practical decision and that the selected news reports are data-rich and thus suitable for the comparative nature of this study.

## 7.2. Background of the *Hamodia* newspaper

Hamodia is an Israeli daily newspaper based in Jerusalem, Israel. The newspaper was established in the year 1950 by Rabbi Y.L. Levin (Hamodia 2017). The newspaper describes itself as a Jewish newspaper, with its slogan being "The Newspaper of Torah Jewry". In 1998, the American English edition of Hamodia was launched, according to the newspaper, to serve the burgeoning Jewish community in the United States. The English newspaper has a digital edition that is updated continuously; all the selected articles for this study are taken from the digital edition:

*Hamodia* defines its self as a high quality newspaper: *Hamodia*, the name synonymous with the highest level of quality journalism presented through the Torah perspective, reaches and influences hundreds of thousands of Jewish households worldwide through its daily and weekend editions. *Hamodia*'s digital edition, which began in 2010, makes the

daily edition accessible to readers throughout the country and across the world who are beyond the delivery area of a daily newspaper. (*Hamodia* 2017)

Hamodia is a strong and an influential newspaper in the traditional Haredi community in Israel. (Baumel 2006: 55). The prominent Israeli newspaper Haaretz describes Hamodia as the most influential newspaper in the Haredi community (Chizhik: 2015: 3). On the question of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the newspaper is no less involved in the conflict than Aljazeera. Driven by its own Torah perspective of the conflict, the newspaper stands firmly on the Israeli side. When it comes to the particular issue of Jerusalem, the newspaper is even more orthodox, believing that the city, united and undivided, belongs wholly and exclusively to the Jews (Baumel 2006: 57).

Given the firm religious perspective regarding the conflict, and given the extensive coverage shown by *Hamodia* of the conflict, one cannot think of a more suitable newspaper for this comparative study. Preliminary observations already suggest, quite strongly, that *Hamodia*'s religious philosophy regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict blatantly dominates the linguistic choices and the general form of the selected reports, leaving no doubt that further analysis will reveal even more aspects of ideology and bias.

Taken together, Aljazeera and *Hamodia* constitute a fertile field for critical discourse analysis. The polarized ideological positions of these two news outlets regarding the conflict mean that these news outlets will spare no effort in promoting their political points of view. This study tracks these ideologies, unmasks their linguistic covers, and demonstrates clearly the link between the linguistic choices of each groups of reports as well as their guiding ideological backgrounds.

# 8. Representing the social actors

The current chapter analyzes the representation of Israeli and Palestinian social actors in the two groups of selected reports. By "social actor", the study refers to any individual(s) that is related directly to the attack under report; this means that other social actors mentioned in the reports, such as political spokesmen, politicians and commentators, are not counted in this study because they are not related directly to the act of violence and because they differ from one report to another. Throughout the report, the social actors belong to, exclusively, two groups of people: Palestinians and Israelis; no other citizenships are counted in the study. In representing these two social actors, the selected news outlets commit to using one of the following three forms of reference:

- a. <u>Characteristics-based reference</u>: reference is achieved by stating the individual or personal characteristics of the social actor, rather than his citizenship.
- b. <u>Citizenship-based reference:</u> reference to the social actor is achieved by stating the citizenship of the social actor.
- c. <u>Full reference</u>: reference is achieved by stating both the citizenship which stands as a modifier, plus some other personal characteristic.

Distinction between these three forms of reference is based on van Leeuwen's distinction between collectivized and individualized forms of reference that has been discussed previously in the theoretical chapter (see section. 3.1). Characteristics-based reference is counted in this study as an individualizing form of reference, since the focus of this form of reference is the personal characteristics of the individual social actor rather than his group or cultural characteristics. Citizenship-based reference is considered in this study to be a collectivizing form of reference, since what it focuses on is the collective identity of the social actor, be it ethnic or civil. The third form is what is called full reference, since it merges the two types of addressing in one form; starting with the group identity such as the citizenship, and ending with the personal characteristic of the individual.

Note that the distinction explained above is not exactly the one introduced by van Leeuwen in social actor theory but is a modified version of it. In social actor theory, many categories, not just citizenship, can be taken as collectivizing forms of reference; even the profession can be taken as a collectivizing form of reference if used constantly and systematically to address a certain social actor (van Leeuwen 2009: 282). Nevertheless, this study takes citizenship to be the main, but not the only, form of reference that can be considered as a collectivizing form of reference. The reason behind this choice is because citizenship, unlike other categories, creates a unique, distinctive and isolated group of people that cannot be found cross-culturally, one cannot belong to the group of "Palestinians" and in the same time to the group of "Americans". With the category of profession for example, an individual can be a security staff member and American, Palestinian, or French in the same time. Whereas with the category of citizenship, if one is Palestinian this means that he or she is automatically isolated and classified within the category of "them" as an individual cannot belong to two cultures in the same time.

Van Leeuwen uses the term "generic reference" to describe what is called in this study "citizenship-based reference", as opposed to what he calls "specific reference", which is called in this study "characteristic-based reference" (van Leeuwen 2009: 282). In his analysis of the different effect that each of the two forms of reference generate, Van Leeuwen states that "Generic reference plays a large role in establishing "us" and "them" groups, for in-stance "us, Europeans," and "them, non-European immigrants"." (van Leeuwen 2009: 282). Similarly, the study seeks to understand how Israeli and Palestinian citizenships are used to label social actors in order to isolate them from each other on one side, and from the reader on the other.

# 9. Description of data (Aljazeera)

The following sections provide detailed description of the lexical data in Aljazeera's reports.

## 9.1. Aljazeera's reference to Palestinian social actors

Reference to the Palestinian social actors occurs 111 times in Aljazeera's reports. Characteristics-based reference appears as the most dominant form of reference, occurring 59 times, which amounts to 53% of the total references to the Palestinian social actors. Citizenship-based reference appears as the second most dominant form of reference, as it occurs 37 times, which amounts to 34% of the total references to Palestinian social actors. Lastly, full reference comes as the least used form of reference, occurring 15 times, which amounts to 13% of the total references.

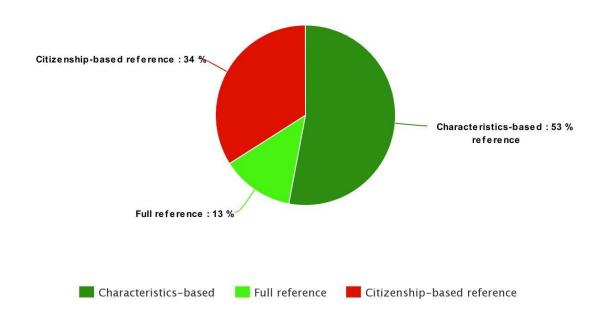


Fig. 2: Reference to Palestinian social actors in Aljazeera's reports.

9.2. Characteristics-based Reference

As noticed earlier in Fig.2, characteristics-based reference is the dominant form of reference to

the Palestinians in Aljazeera's reports. This form of reference aims to highlight the personal

characteristics of the Palestinian social actor such as his or her full name, sex, age, marital status,

or job, among others. Reference to these characteristics happens at the expense of the social

actor's cultural and group characteristics, such as his citizenship or religion. This form of

reference emphasizes the individuality and distinction of a person, as it de-contextualizes the

person from his cultural and religious background. Let us consider the following examples:

1. Among the victims were three construction workers and a municipal employee who was

described as a **Bedouin** Palestinian from a nearby village.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 9 Oct 2015

2. Six Palestinians were killed by Israeli security forces since Saturday. Among them were

three protesters, including a 13-year-old boy, and three suspects in stabbing attacks who

were fatally shot at the scene.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 9 Oct 2015

3. The troops fatally shot 23-year-old Maram Saleh Hassan Abu Ismail and her younger

brother Ibrahim, 16, at the Qalandia military checkpoint between the central West Bank

city of Ramallah and East Jerusalem, according to the Palestinian Authority's Ministry of

Health.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 27 Apr 2016

4. Since October 1, Israeli forces or settlers have killed at least 72 Palestinians - including

unarmed protesters, bystanders and alleged attackers - across Israel, the occupied West

Bank, including occupied East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 27 Apr 2016

5. Earlier this week, Israeli forces killed three Palestinians in one day, including an eight-

month-old baby who suffocated from tear gas inhalation.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 1 Nov 2015

9.3. Citizenship-based reference

Citizenship-based reference is the second most dominant form of reference to Palestinian social

actor, making 34% of the total references to Palestinians. This type of reference appears more

frequently in headlines and sub-headlines, possibly because considerations of headline style and

space are more urgent in headlines than they are in the body of the article which limits the

freedom of the writer in regards to the linguistic choices that he or she can make.

Citizenship-based reference functions in a completely different manner from the previous

forms of reference as it obscures the personal details and information of the social actor, while, at

the same time highlighting one single aspect of the individual: citizenship. Aljazeera usually uses

this form of reference, in addition to the headlines and sub-headlines, when it refers to the

engagement of Palestinians in general into the conflict or when referring the casualties of the

Palestinian side. In general, Aljazeera uses this form of reference when it needs to discuss the

conflict more abstractly. Examples include:

6. Israeli forces have shot dead at least two Palestinians and wounded another after two

separate attacks that killed an Israeli border policewoman outside the Old City of

occupied East Jerusalem.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 16 Jun 2017

7. During that same time, Israeli forces have killed over 255 Palestinians; Israel says most

of them were attackers, others died in clashes with Israeli forces.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 26 Sept 2017

8. It brings the death toll from the past 24 hours to five. On Friday, three Palestinians and

one Jordanian were shot and killed by Israeli forces in separate areas across the occupied

West Bank and East Jerusalem.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 17 Sept 2016

9. Israeli soldiers shot dead a Palestinian after he allegedly stabbed a soldier in the occupied

West Bank, the Israeli military said, in the latest killing in a 24-hour spike in violence.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 17 Sept 2016

10. A Palestinian has been shot dead after an alleged stabbing attack near an illegal

settlement in the occupied West Bank, the Israeli army has said.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 1 Feb 2016

9.4. Full reference

Full reference features in only 13% of the references to Palestinian social actors. Unlike former

types of reference, full reference merges the functions of the both characteristics-based reference

and citizenship-based reference, creating a mixed effect of both individuality and group identity.

Let us consider the following examples:

11. The station interviewed a resident of Har Adar, an illegal settlement near Jerusalem, who

said the gunman had arrived with a group of Palestinian labourers and opened fire on

paramilitary Israeli police guards.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 26 Sept 2017

12. A Palestinian suspect was shot and killed at the scene.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 9 Oct 2015

13. Israel army kills Palestinian siblings in "attack"

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 27 Apr 2016

14. On Wednesday, two Palestinian protesters were shot and critically wounded by Israeli

soldiers during a protest near the settlement of Beit El.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 1 Feb 2016

15. Palestinian man shot dead after alleged stabbing attack

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 17 Sept 2016

10. Aljazeera's reference to the Israeli social actors

Reference to the Israeli social actors occurs 86 times in Aljazeera's selected reports with

Aljazeera retaining the three forms of reference without any significant changes. Notably, the

distribution of dominance among these three forms of reference is very different from the

Palestinian focus. Characteristics-based reference is the least used form of reference, featuring in

13% of references. Citizenship-based reference comes as the second most dominant form of

reference, featuring in 21% of references. Last but not least, full reference comes as the most

dominant form of reference, dominating 66% of the references to the Israeli social actor.

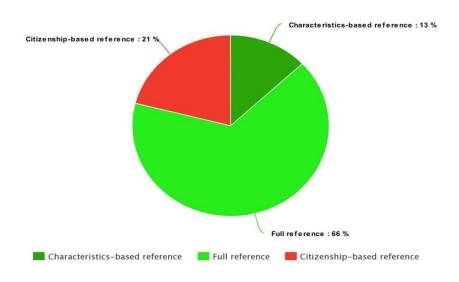


Fig.3: Reference to Israeli social actors in Aljazeera's reports

### 10.1. Characteristics-based reference

As noticed above in Fig 3, characteristics-based reference is the least used form of reference to the Israeli social actors in Aljazeera's reports. This form of reference, as we have seen in previous sections, aims to highlight the personal non-group characteristics of the Israeli social actor, such as his or her sex, age, or job. However, in this particular case, there is less diversity in the type of characteristics highlighted by Aljazeera's reports. Most, if not all, of the characteristics of the Israeli social actors can be classified within the category of profession. Unlike the case with representing the Palestinian social actors, where the personal characteristics range from sex and age all the way to personal name and job, the Israeli social actors are referred to almost exclusively in terms of their military job or role in the conflict. No serious focus on other personal characteristics has been detected. Let us consider the following examples:

16. Israeli soldiers shot dead a Palestinian man after he allegedly stabbed a <u>soldier</u> in the occupied West Bank

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 17 Sept 2016

17. Soldiers were alerted by a suspect attempting to infiltrate the area of Salit

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 1 Feb 2016

18. When security forces approached the suspect, he tried to stab them, and, facing an

imminent threat, the soldiers shot him

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 1 Feb 2016

19. Thousands of police officers were also deployed across the city on Friday.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 9 Oct 2015

20. The troops fatally shot 23-year-old Maram Saleh Hassan Abu Ismail and her younger

brother Ibrahim, 16, at the Qalandia military.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 27 Apr 2016

10.2. Citizenship-based reference

Citizenship-based reference is achieved when Aljazeera's reports refer to the Israeli social actor

using the word "Israeli" or "Jew" exclusively, with no further nouns attached. This form of

reference is relatively dominant, as it constitutes 21% of the total references, ranking the second

most used form of reference to the Israeli social actor. In function, this form of reference blurs

completely any other humane aspect or personal characteristic of the social actor, with the

individuality of the Palestinian social actor covered under the group identity from which the

social actor is seen to be part of.

Similar to the case with the representing the Palestinian social actor, Aljazeera uses this

form of reference more frequently when dealing with the conflict in general, stating its broad

lines, or in writing headlines and sub-headlines. Let us consider the following examples:

21. During the same period, Palestinian attackers have killed at least 33 Israelis in stabbing,

shooting and car-ramming attacks.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 17 Sept 2016

22. At least 25 Israelis have been killed in attacks carried out by Palestinians.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 1 Feb 2016

23. The restrictions come a day after at least eight Israelis were injured in four separate

stabbing attacks.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 9 Oct 2015

24. Meanwhile, at least 29 Israelis were killed in shooting and stabbing attacks carried out by

Palestinians, says Israel's ministry of foreign affairs.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 27 Apr 2016

25. Three Israelis have been shot and killed, and a fourth wounded, in a settlement in the

occupied West Bank, Israeli army radio reported.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 26 Sept 2017

10.3. Full reference

Full reference is achieved when the report states the citizenship, whether religious, ethnic, or

civil plus some other personal characteristic of the Israeli social actor. Using the word "Israeli"

as an adjective that modifies further nouns is similar in function to the characteristics-based

reference; however, in the current case, there is less diversity in the type of personal

characteristics highlighted by the reports. The vast majority of the full references use the word

"Israeli" plus the military aspect of the social actor. Full reference dominates 66% of the total

references to the Israeli social actor, ranking the most dominant form of reference among all. Let

us consider the following examples:

26. Israeli forces have shot dead at least two Palestinians and wounded another after two

separate attacks that killed an Israeli border policewoman outside the Old City of

occupied East Jerusalem, officials said.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 16 Jun 2017

27. Earlier this week, Israeli forces killed three Palestinians in one day, including an eight-

month-old baby who suffocated from tear gas inhalation.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 1 Nov 2015

28. Israeli forces have shot and killed two Palestinians as they allegedly attempted to stab

soldiers at a checkpoint between occupied East Jerusalem and the rest of the West Bank.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 27 Apr 2016

29. Israeli soldiers shot dead a Palestinian man after he allegedly stabbed a soldier in the

occupied West Bank, the Israeli military said, in the latest killing in a 24-hour spike in

violence.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 17 Sept 2016

30. Since October 2015, Israeli forces and settlers have killed at least 215 Palestinians,

including unarmed demonstrators, bystanders and attackers.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 17 Sept 2016

11. Interpretation of data

The following two sections interpret the above described data following the theoretical

framework provided by van Leeuwen, that is social actor theory, and connotation analysis of

Barthes.

#### 11.1. Collectivization versus individualization

When representing the social actors involved in the conflict, Aljazeera shows a clear tendency to employ lexical words in patterns that are different from each other. This is most evident in the distribution of the three forms of reference to the Israeli and Palestinian social actors.

When representing the Palestinian side of the conflict, Aljazeera demonstrates a repeated tendency to individualize the Palestinian social actors, and moreover, a tendency to highlight the humane characteristics and personal uniqueness of the individual Palestinian social actors. Although reference to the Palestinian social actor occurs 25 times more than the Israeli social actor, the word "Palestinian" appears less frequently. This is because Aljazeera uses the word "Palestinian" in only 47% of references to Palestinian social actors, compared to 87% when referring to the Israeli social actor.

This, as van Leeuwen argues, creates the effect of "every man qualities" (van Leeuwen 2004: 96), The generated effect contributes to the creation of the notion of ordinariness (Richardson 2007: 50), inviting the reader to think of the Palestinian social actors as a group of workers, employers, civilians, children, or some other universal humane characteristic that reflects the ordinariness and humanity of the Palestinian individuals. This means that the reader is invited to look at the represented social actor as someone who belongs to the category of "us" more than the category of "them".

Highlighting ordinary characteristics of individuals serves important purposes. First, it detaches the individual from his cultural and religious context, which means acquitting the social incubator of the person from any relationship to the incident of violence. Also, by highlighting the humane characteristics of individuals, Aljazeera reduces the possibility of producing a negative stereotype that covers all of the social group to which the individuals belongs; it besieges the charge within the limitations of the individual actor, it does not allow it to become a charge of the whole surrounding society. All this prevents creating a negative reaction from the side of the readers towards Palestinians.

Conversely, Aljazeera shows clear tendency to collectivize the Israeli social actor, and to describe him in terms of his group characteristics. This is most evident in the fact that

characteristics-based reference is the least used form of reference to Israelis. As mentioned before, Aljazeera uses the word "Israeli" in 87% of references to the Israeli social actor, which means that only 13% of the references to Israeli social actors actually focus on the non-group humane aspects of Israelis. As a result, the Israeli social actors are depicted as a homogeneous group, and in the rare event of referring to the Israelis based on their personal characteristics, Aljazeera highlights nothing but their military job.

According to van Leeuwen, this form of reference creates what is called the "they are all the same" effect (van Leeuwen 2004: 96), meaning that it pushes the reader towards conceiving the Israeli social actor as one assimilated, integrated and isolated chunk of people who share characteristics internally and barely have anything in common with other people from other cultures (van Leeuwen 2004: 96). This contributes to creating a category of people which results in the isolation of the Israeli social actor from other people, creating a gap of identity between Israelis and Palestinians on one hand, and between Israelis and the readers on the other.

## 11.2. Connotation analysis

Aljazeera shows a strong and observable tendency to employ, quite clearly, particular sets of lexical words when it comes to describing the two sides of the conflict. These words might seem innocent descriptions of the social actors at first glance; however, when one analyzes the connotative level of these words in relation to the news outlets, further ideological and political meanings are revealed.

The vast majority of Israeli individuals reported by Aljazeera, as detailed previously, are referred to exclusively in terms of their military job. To describe someone as a soldier is on the basic denotative level a mere reference to his individual characteristics or job. However, on a more figurative level, the word acquires significant political, moral, and ideological meanings. In the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, words such as "soldier", "army", and "military", bring about connotations of force, aggression and occupation. These connotations are essential in

the process of judging and categorizing the Israeli social actor as the evil initiator of the whole conflict, and the one to be blamed for it.

On the other hand, a very good number of Palestinian individuals are described in terms of other humane aspects, such as being a "youth", "female", "construction worker", or "employer". In the particular context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, these words call to mind a number of significant connotations such as civilianness, innocence, peacefulness, weakness, and oppressedness. In general, the words used by Aljazeera to describe Palestinians enhance the notion of Palestinians as a group of peaceful and oppressed victims.

Combined together, the two lexical arenas chosen to describe the Israeli and Palestinian social actors constitute clear opposites which result in moral and ethical oppositions as well. Hand and in hand with the collectivizing/individualizing techniques of reference, Aljazeera has used its set of lexical options in an effective way in order to implicitly categorize the social actors mentioned in its reports, and more importantly, to establish the desired relationship of sympathy between readers and Palestinians on one hand, and that of apathy between readers and Israelis on the other.

# 12. Description of data (Hamodia)

The following sections provide detailed description of the lexical data of *Hamodia*'s reports.

### 12.1. Hamodia's reference to Palestinian social actors

In spite of being considerably shorter than Aljazeera's reports, *Hamodia*'s reports are no less dense when it comes to referencing the Palestinian social actors. *Hamodia*'s reports refer to Palestinian social actors 67 times. Similar to Aljazeera, reference to the Palestinian social actors takes one of the following three forms:

- a. <u>Characteristics-based reference:</u> This form of reference is achieved when *Hamodia* refers to the Palestinian social actor based on one or several personal characteristics.
- b. <u>Citizenship-based reference</u>: This form of reference is achieved by stating the Palestinian citizenship, whether ethnic or civil, of the Palestinian social actor.
- c. <u>Full reference</u>: This form of reference is achieved through stating both, the Palestinian citizenship plus some further personal characteristics of the social actor.

The distribution of dominance among these three forms of reference is sharply in favour of the first form. Characteristics-based reference dominates almost 75% of the references to the Palestinian social actors, compared to 15% for the full references, and only 10% for the citizenship based reference.

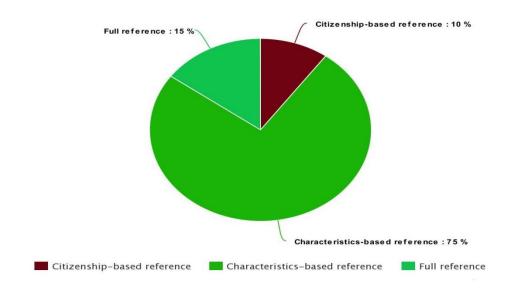


Fig. 4: Reference to Palestinian social actors in *Hamodia* newspaper.

12.2. Characteristics-based reference

Normally, characteristics-based reference is the type of reference that would construct a social

actor in terms of his uniqueness and distinction from the rest of the categories; it is normally

used to prevent creating stereotypes and general statements about social actors. Nevertheless,

Hamodia makes a totally different use of this form of reference, as it focuses on one single

category of the social actor, being a "terrorist", and it therefore repeatedly uses this category

whenever referring to the Palestinian social actor. By doing so, Hamodia has emptied

characteristics-based reference from its normal function; in fact, it has used it exactly as it would

use citizenship-based reference and other forms of collectivizing references. Let us consider the

following examples from *Hamodia* newspaper:

31. The IDF said in a statement that "a terrorist armed with a knife attempted to stab IDF

forces operating on a road between Adam Square and Kalandiya."

Source: *Hamodia* English Newspaper: 20 June, 2017

32. "In response to the immediate threat, forces fired toward the terrorist and a hit was

confirmed," it said, confirming the terrorist's death.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper: 20 June, 2017

33. The terrorist was arrested by security forces and was being questioned.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper: 26 August, 2015

34. Also Wednesday, security officials announced that they had arrested overnight Tuesday

the terrorist who ran down an Israeli in October 2015. The terrorist, a resident of the

village of Dahariya ...was murdered on October 20th, as he was returning home from

Otniel, where he was in charge of the yeshiva high school kitchen.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper: 9 March, 2016

35. The soldiers shot and seriously wounded a <u>50-year-old female terrorist</u> who was

brandishing a knife; she later died of her wounds. No Israelis were injured in the incident.

The terrorist had attempted to attack several police officers and was shot by security

forces.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, March 8, 2016

12.3. Citizenship-based reference

Hamodia rarely uses citizenship-based reference to represent Palestinian social actors: only 10%

of the references to Palestinians appear in the form of citizenship-based reference, while the rest

ninety percent takes other forms. It is important to remind the reader that citizenship-based

reference includes ethnic citizenship such as being an Arab, along with the civilian citizenship;

ethnic citizenship appears frequently in *Hamodia*'s reports. Examples include the following:

36. An Arab attempted to stab an IDF soldier Wednesday morning at a checkpoint in western

Shomron.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, 9 March, 2016

37. Azrihov was injured when an Arab went on a stabbing rampage in the Petach Tikvah

open market Tuesday evening.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, 9 March, 2016

38. The Palestinian "opened his shirt, drew a pistol and fired at the security staff and troopers

at close range," said the police spokeswoman.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, 26 Sept, 2017

39. Israeli border police shot dead a Palestinian who stabbed them at a police station in the

Old City of Yerushalayim early Monday.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, 13 March, 2017

40. Security forces closed the entrances and the roads to the nearby villages of Silwad town

and Ein Yabrud following the killing, preventing Palestinians from going in and out of

the two municipalities.

Source: *Hamodia* English Newspaper: 3 Nov, 2016

12.4. Full reference

Hamodia uses full references in 15% of the total references to Palestinian social actors. Hamodia

sticks to the general guidelines of this form of reference, as it states both the Palestinian

citizenship plus the personal characteristic of the social actor. The second part of the full

reference, however, functions more as a collectivizing form of reference, due to its systematic

focus on one single category of the social actor. Let us consider the following examples:

41. A Palestinian man who attempted to stab IDF soldiers Tuesday afternoon at the pillbox

guard post on the road between Kalandiya and Adam, in the Binyamin region north of

Yerushalayim, was shot and neutralized.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, 20 June, 2017

42. A knife-wielding Palestinian terrorist lunged at a group of Border Police officers near

Damascus Gate in Yerushalayim's Old City on Wednesday, lightly wounding one of

them before they managed to subdue him.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, 26 August, 2015

43. The Damascus Gate area has been a frequent venue for Arab terrorist stabbers to strike

Israelis.

Source: *Hamodia* English Newspaper, 8 March, 2016

44. Palestinian Terrorist Killed by Israeli Police in Yerushalayim

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, 13 March, 2017

45. A Palestinian terrorist opened fire early on Tuesday at the entrance to Har Adar,

northwest of Yerushalayim, killing three Israeli security force guards, Hy"d, and

critically wounding a fourth.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, 26 Sept, 2017

13. Hamodia's reference to Israeli social actors

Hamodia commits to the same division of referencing forms when representing the Israeli social

actors; moreover, the distribution of dominance is quite similar to the distribution of dominance

in its representation of the Palestinian social actor. Characteristics-based reference still appears

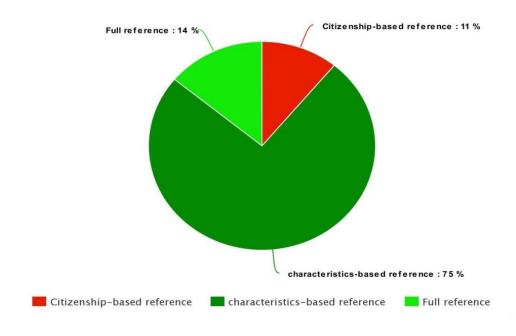
as the most dominant form of reference, identical to the case of Palestinians social actors,

constituting 75% of the total references to the Israeli social actor. Full reference appears as the

second most dominant form of reference, as it features in around 14% of the total reference to

Israeli social actors. Lastly, citizenship-based reference is the least used form of reference,

appearing in around 11% of the references.



F.5: Representation of Israeli social actors in *Hamodia* newspaper

### 13.1. Characteristics-based reference

As stated above, *Hamodia* newspaper uses characteristics-based reference in 75% of the references to the Israeli social actors, identical to its representation of the Palestinian side. However, unlike with Palestinian case of characteristics-based reference in which only one category was highlighted, mainly that of the Palestinian social actor being a "terrorist", *Hamodia* retains the normal function of characteristics-based reference. *Hamodia* sheds light on the variety of personal characteristics, such as job, sex, age, personal name, or daily activity. Let us consider the following examples:

46. <u>Security forces</u> closed the entrances and the roads to the nearby villages of Silwad town and Ein Yabrud following the killing, preventing Palestinians from going in and out of the two municipalities.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, 3 Nov, 2016

47. Meanwhile, the condition of Yonatan Azrihov, the 40-year-old victim of a stabbing attack in Petach Tikvah Tuesday, was much improved Wednesday, doctors said. Azrihov was

injured when an Arab went on a stabbing rampage in the Petach Tikvah open market

Tuesday evening.

Source: *Hamodia* English Newspaper, 9 March, 2016

48. Wednesday, security officials announced that they had arrested overnight Tuesday the

terrorist who ran down an Israeli in October 2015. The terrorist, a resident of the village

of Dahariya, near Yattir in the south Chevron Hills, killed Avraham Chasno, Hy"d, 54, of

Kiryat Arba. Chasno was murdered on October 20th, as he was returning home from

Otniel, where he was in charge of the yeshiva high school kitchen.

Source: *Hamodia* English Newspaper, 9 March, 2016

49. Together, the two allegedly murdered Richard Lakin, Andrei Guborg and Haviv Chaim,

Hy"d, and injured several other passengers.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, Nov 9, 2015

50. Magen David Adom said that in addition to the three men in their 20s and 30s who were

killed, a fourth Israeli man, 32, was evacuated to a hospital in critical condition.

Source: *Hamodia* English Newspaper, 26 Sept, 2017

13.2. Citizenship-based reference

Citizenship-based reference features in only 11% of the occurrences, ranking the third and least

used form of reference. As seen previously, citizenship-based reference highlights nothing but

the citizenship of the Israeli social actor. This form of reference appears more frequently when

dealing with the conflict in general, or when *Hamodia* newspaper is referring to the Israeli social

actor in plural. The following examples illustrate this:

51. The Damascus Gate area has been a frequent venue for Arab terrorist stabbers to strike

Israelis. The last attack was on Feb. 18, when two Israelis were stabbed and injured in an

attack. Border Police on patrol opened fire and neutralized the terrorist stabber. One Arab

bystander was injured in the incident as well.

Source: *Hamodia* English Newspaper, 8 March, 2016

52. Also Wednesday, security officials announced that they had arrested overnight Tuesday

the terrorist who ran down an Israeli in October 2015.

Source: *Hamodia* English Newspaper, 9 March, 2016

53. An Arab attempted to stab an IDF soldier Wednesday morning at a checkpoint in western

Shomron. The incident occurred at a checkpoint near the town of Elkana, near Petach

Tikvah. B'chasdei Shamayim, no Israelis were injured in the incident. The terrorist was

shot and killed.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, 9 March, 2016

54. The soldiers shot and seriously wounded a 50-year-old female terrorist who was

brandishing a knife; she later died of her wounds. B'chasdei Shamayim, no Israelis were

injured in the incident. The terrorist had attempted to attack several police officers and

was shot by security forces.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, 8 March, 2016

55. The soldier was attacked as he guarded a bus stop near Ofra Thursday afternoon, the IDF

said. "Responding to threat, forces at the scene shot the terrorist, resulting in his death," it

added. An army spokesperson said that, bchasdei Shamayim, no Israelis were wounded in

the event.

Source: *Hamodia* English Newspaper, 3 Nov, 2016

13.3. Full reference

Hamodia employs full references in 15% of the references to Israeli social actors. On such

occasions, *Hamodia* highlights more than just one single category. Unlike the case with the

Palestinian social actors, *Hamodia* highlights a variety of personal characteristics of the Israeli

social actors; some of these characteristics are job, sex, activity at time of attack, and age. Let us

consider the following examples:

56. The suspects were wanted for participating in rioting and throwing stones and firebombs

that endangered Israeli civilians and IDF soldiers. Several of the suspects were also

charged with belonging to Hamas. All were being questioned on their activities by

security forces.

Source: *Hamodia* English Newspaper, 8 March, 2016

57. Israeli border police shot dead a Palestinian who stabbed them at a police station in the

Old City of Yerushalayim early Monday.

Source: *Hamodia* English Newspaper, March 13, 2017

58. Magen David Adom said that in addition to the three men in their 20s and 30s who were

killed, a <u>fourth Israeli man</u>, 32, was evacuated to a hospital in critical condition.

Source: *Hamodia* English Newspaper, 26 Sept, 2017

59. A Palestinian terrorist opened fire early on Tuesday at the entrance to Har Adar,

northwest of Yerushalayim, killing three <u>Israeli security force guards</u>, Hy"d, and

critically wounding a fourth.

Source: *Hamodia* English Newspaper, 26 Sept, 2017

60. He aroused the suspicion of private guards and paramilitary Israeli police posted at the

entrance checkpoint. Asked to halt, the Palestinian "opened his shirt, drew a pistol and

fired at the security staff and troopers at close range," said the police spokeswoman.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, 26 Sept, 2017

# 14. Interpretation of data

The following two sections interpret the above described data following the theoretical framework provided by van Leeuwen, that is social actor theory, and connotation analysis of Barthes.

### 14.1. Collectivization and individualization

As shown in the previous sections, *Hamodia* newspaper distributes the three forms of references in equal proportions, regardless of whether the social actor is Palestinian or Israeli. This might suggest that distributional choices of *Hamodia* newspaper are driven by factors other than those of its ideology and perspective regarding the conflict, and that the linguistic and stylistic factors are the shaping forces behind these choices. However, it is important to stop here and discuss the way *Hamodia* used citizenship-based reference, and how it differs from the normal citizenship-based reference.

When representing Palestinians, *Hamodia* uses a lot of characteristics-based reference, not to highlight the variety of humane personal characteristics of the Palestinian as one would usually expect from this form of reference, but to focus light on one exclusive category: "terrorism". In 63% of the characteristics-based references and full references, *Hamodia* uses the word "terrorist" as the sole aspect that constitutes the identity of the Palestinian social actors; so rather than using characteristics-based reference in a natural way to focus light on the individual and its personal characteristics such as its sex, age, or job, *Hamodia* has created one category of "terrorism" in which it stacked Palestinians, just like it would do with the category of citizenship.

It can be concluded that the tendency towards collectivizing the Palestinian social actor is present even in what is supposed to be an individualizing form of reference. Characteristicsbased reference loses its capacity to highlight the peculiarity of individuals, as it is used constantly and systematically to highlight only one category of the individual's identity. In so doing, characteristics-based reference ends up being a form of collectivizing rather than individualizing reference, because it creates a homogenous category of people through repeatedly using the group name instead of the unique characteristics of each individual.

In effect, this constant and systematic attribution of the category of Palestinianism and terrorism creates "they are all the same" effect, creating one homogeneous identity that applies to large number of distinct Palestinian individuals, blurring their individuality and uniqueness, and foregrounding their Palestinianism and terrorism. In this sense, one can conclude that *Hamodia* goes one more step in its process of collectivizing reference, choosing to depict Palestinians not only as a group of Palestinians, but particularly as a group of Palestinian *terrorists* who share their Palestinian and terrorist identities all together.

Conversely, *Hamodia* has shown a different use of characteristics-based reference, as there is a lack of domination of any single word or category when referring to Israelis. Certain characteristics of the Israeli social actors revolve around sex, personal name, and activity at the moment of the attack, or job, such as security forces, police officers, and, very rarely: army. *Hamodia* refuses to let any single category or word dominate the characteristics being highlighted; rather it has distributed the dominance fairly equally among the aforementioned categories.

This shows that in representing the Israeli social actor, *Hamodia* uses characteristics-based reference in a more normal way, coming back to the original function of characteristics-based reference. In its origin, characteristics-based reference functions to individualize the social actors being represented, and to prevent creating large labels that refer to people indistinctively. *Hamodia* does not use characteristics-based reference in a normal way when representing Palestinians, and it therefore empties it from its normal individualizing function.

In effect, *Hamodia* has constructed Israelis as a group of distinct individuals who belong to different categories. As a result, this inflates the individuality of the Israeli social actor on the expense of his group identity, creating what is called the "every man quality" effect (van Leeuwen 2004: 96, Richardson 2007: 50), and preventing the creation of any large labels or group identities that blur the individuality of the Israeli social actor.

## 14.2. Connotation analysis

Another form of politico-ideological use of lexical words is the type of aspects and characteristics that are highlighted in the identities of the social actors, and the type of lexical words selected for them. In describing the Palestinian and Israeli social actors, *Hamodia* shows very clear determination to use particular sets of words with explicit politico-ideological associations and moral connotations.

When referring to the Palestinian side, *Hamodia* uses, quite clearly, the highly debated and widely rejected word of "terrorist". The word calls in a number of morally negative connotations, not least those of evilness, terror, aggression, and in particular, aggression on innocent people. This highly charged word is used particularly to demonize the Palestinian social actor in the mind of the reader, and to depict him or her as the initiator of the whole conflict and the one to be blamed for it.

The word "terrorist" has come under serious attack from many critics and journalists, mainly due to the fact that it can be used by everyone to describe their political enemies, regardless of their behaviour on the ground. In BBC's editorial guidelines we read (BBC 2017):

The word "terrorist" itself can be a barrier rather than an aid to understanding. We should try to avoid the term, without attribution. We should let other people characterize while we report the facts as we know them.

In describing the Israeli social actor, *Hamodia* chooses a different set of lexical words, with a different set of connotations. Most obviously, *Hamodia* highlights categories of job such as security guards, border police, or sex such as man or female, and activity at the moment of the attack. These categories and the words used to describe them call in a variety of positive connotations and meanings.

The connotations that *Hamodia* highlights are mainly those of safety, security, protection, civilianness, innocence, and peacefulness. These connotations are essential to understanding *Hamodia*'s perspective. The need to emphasize these connotations associated with the Israeli side cannot be understood except if taken in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Having categorized the Palestinian social actor as the assailant terrorist who launches attack on civilians, *Hamodia* complements the image by associating Israeli social actors with the position of defense. All in all, the words used by *Hamodia* to describe Israelis enhance the idea of Israelis as the civilized and peaceful nation that is being attacked constantly by a group of terrorists.

## 15. Conclusion

The findings of this lexical study indicate three points. First, that *Hamodia*'s and Aljazeera's lexical choices and options in reporting the Israeli-Palestinian conflict between 2015 and 2017 are partially ideologically guided by their respective points of views regarding the conflict. Second, the study has shown, in clear and quantified forms, the lexical techniques through which these two news outlets permeate their reports with ideology, and third, this study has put forward the possible effect of these lexical techniques and choices on the overall conveyed message. In so doing, this chapter has answered the questions set forth at the beginning of the study, and it has therefore achieved its general purpose.

# 16. Representing the social actions of the conflict

The word "social action" is the technical term used in this study to describe the material actions and reactions of the Palestinian and Israeli social actors in the context of the conflict under report. By material actions, the study refers exclusively to any act of violence or attack that is being reported. The distinction between the material action which takes place on the ground from one side, and the linguistic picture of that material action on the other side, is important to understanding this grammatical study and its results.

Essential to the current study is the idea that material actions have no natural structure or frame in the real world (see section 1.4), and that the only structure they can acquire, as long as this study is concerned, is the linguistic one (Halliday 1985: 101). In representing a social action, there are a variety of possible grammatical structures to choose from, and while they can all represent the same action, the meanings and associations vary depending on the selected linguistic frame. For this reason, it is important for a critical linguist to see the selected grammatical structures as conventional, and to deconstruct these linguistic structures in order to understand the reason(s) why certain structures were selected instead of others.

In analyzing the selected reports, this study investigates the use of three grammatical structures: nominalization, passivization, and activization. The study first detects the occurrences of these three grammatical structures in detailed and quantified forms, and then looks at whether or not these grammatical structures are used systematically in patterns, and under what circumstances. Finally, the study interprets the gathered data based on central ideas from critical discourse analysis.

The study detects, as a first stage, all occurrences of the social actions that include a shooting, stabbing, or ramming attacks. In general, any action than involves a direct attempt to neutralize the other side is counted. The attack has to be clearly deliberate and rational, when a fast driving car, for example, is suspected of being a ramming attack without clear evidence that the driver was intending to attack the Israeli soldiers, it is not counted because it does not meet the criteria of deliberateness.

The violent social actions carried out by the Palestinian and Israeli social actors appear in one of the following grammatical forms:

- a- <u>Nominalized social actions:</u> when social actions appear in the form of a noun, regardless of whether or not the agent is stated, it is counted as a nominalized social action.
- b- <u>Passivized social actions</u>: when a social action appears in the form of a passive verb, regardless of whether or not the agent is stated, it is counted as a passivized social action.
- c- <u>Activized social actions:</u> when a social action appears in the form of an active verb, regardless of its tense, it is counted as an activized social action.

# 17. Description of data (Aljazeera)

The following sections provide a detailed description of the grammatical options and structures made in Aljazeera's reports.

## 17.1. Aljazeera's reference to Palestinian social actions

Reference to the Palestinian violent social actions occurs 68 times in Aljazeera's reports; these actions of violence are distributed almost exclusively among stabbing and shooting attacks, and less frequently car-ramming attacks. The most dominant grammatical form is the nominalized form, dominating 63% of the total references to the Palestinian violent social actions. Passivization is the second most dominant grammatical form used to address to Palestinian

violent actions, with a percentage of 19%, and last comes activized social action, appearing in less than 18% of Palestinian violent social actions.

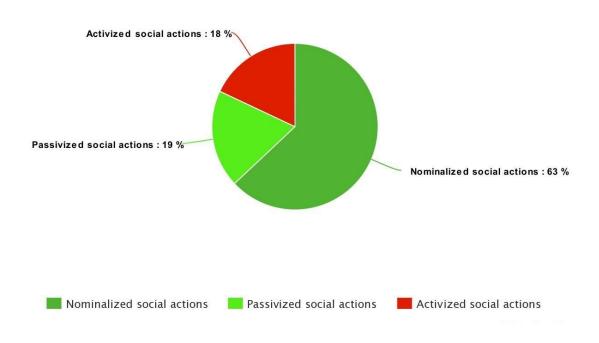


Fig. 6: Reference to Palestinian violent social actions in Aljazeera's reports.

## 17.2. Nominalized Palestinian social actions

As seen in Fig.6, nominalization is the most dominant grammatical form used to address Palestinian social actions in Aljazeera's reports. There is no particular part of the reports where nominalization occurs more frequently; this means that it is distributed fairly homogeneously throughout the different parts of the report, be it a headline, sub-headline, body of the report, or a concluding paragraph. Some nominalizations appear alone without stating the social actor; other

appear attached to a social actor by linking word such as "by". Let us consider the following

examples:

1. Since October 2015, a number of local and international human rights groups have raised

concerns that Israeli security forces have used excessive force when confronting

Palestinians who had carried out attacks or been suspected of doing so.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 16 Jun 2017

2. Israeli forces have shot dead at least two Palestinians and wounded another after two

separate attacks that killed an Israeli border policewoman outside the Old City of

occupied East Jerusalem, officials said.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 16 Jun 2017

3. Since September 2015, Palestinians have killed 48 Israelis, two visiting Americans and a

British tourist in stabbings, shooting and car-ramming attacks.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 26 Sept 2017

4. Hours later a stabbing attack in Tel Aviv injured four people, including an Israeli soldier.

A Palestinian suspect was shot and killed at the scene. He was identified as 25-year-old

Thaer Abu Ghazaleh

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 9 Oct 2015

5. Over the past week, four Israelis have been killed along with seven Palestinians, four of

them after alleged attacks on Israelis.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 8 Oct 2015

17.3. Passivized Palestinian social actions

Passivization is the second most dominant grammatical form used to address violent Palestinian

social actions. Similar to nominalization, passivized social actions can show up at any part of the

reports. Sometimes passive verbs are accompanied by their subject, and other times they appear

alone. Let us consider the following examples:

6. Thirty-five Israelis were also killed in the past 11 months, in stabbing and shooting

incidents carried out by Palestinians.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 5 Sept 2016

7. Meanwhile, at least 29 Israelis were killed in shooting and stabbing attacks that were

carried out by Palestinians, says Israel's ministry of foreign affairs.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 27 Apr 2016

8. Three Israelis have been shot and killed, and a fourth wounded, in a settlement in the

occupied West Bank, Israeli army radio reported.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 26 Sept 2017

9. Early on Thursday, a 25-year-old Israeli yeshiva student was severely injured as a result

of being stabbed in upper body.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 9 Oct 2015

10. In the first incident, a 23-year-old Israeli female officer was stabbed by one attacker and

taken to hospital in critical condition, police said. The officer, identified as Hadas Malka,

later succumbed to her wounds.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 16 Jun 2017

17.4. Activized Palestinian social actions

Activized social actions are the least used grammatical form to address Palestinian acts of

violence. Like other grammatical forms, they can appear in any part of the reports, but

observation shows that they show slightly more frequently at the beginnings of the reports. By

definition, activized social actions require a predicate, or a social actor, which means that all the

activized social actions studied here are actually attached to a social actor. Examples include:

11. Israeli soldiers shot dead a Palestinian man after he allegedly stabbed a soldier in the

occupied West Bank, the Israeli military said, in the latest killing in a 24-hour spike in

violence.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 17 Sept 2016

12. A spokeswoman said on Saturday that the 'assailant armed with a knife stabbed an

[Israeli] soldier' during a 'routine security check' before being shot dead in the West

Bank city of Hebron.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 17 Sept 2016

13. The latest incident comes a day after a Palestinian police officer was killed after allegedly

opening fire on Israeli soldiers at a checkpoint near the illegal settlement of Beit El in the

West Bank.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 1 Feb 2016

14. Hours later a stabbing attack in Tel Aviv <u>injured</u> four people, including an Israeli soldier.

A Palestinian suspect was shot and killed at the scene. He was identified as 25-year-old

Thaer Abu Ghazaleh.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 9 Oct 2015

15. Israeli soldiers has shot dead a Palestinian who had they alleged earlier attempted to

attack them in the occupied West Bank.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 1 Nov 2015

# 18. Aljazeera's reference to Israeli social actions

Reference to Israeli violent social actions occurs 76 times, slightly more than the Palestinian social actions, in the nine selected reports; these acts of violence are exclusively those of shooting attacks, sometimes expressed by the word "kill". Having been the most dominant grammatical form used to address Palestinian social actions, nominalization has shrunk dramatically to become the least used grammatical form used to address Israeli social actions. Similarly, activized social actions, which showed in around 18% of reports of Palestinian social actions, became the second most used grammatical form, dominating around 42% of the total grammatical forms used. Lastly, the passive form has increased to dominate 47% of the grammatical forms used, ranking it the most dominant grammatical form of all.

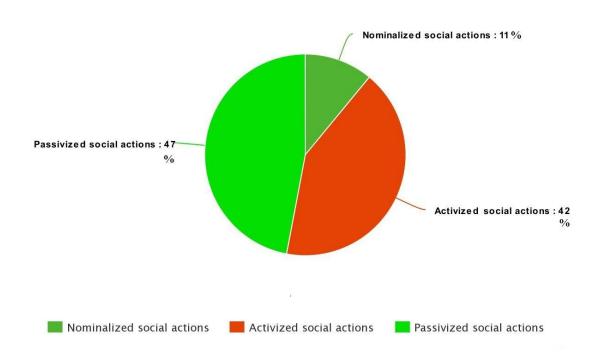


Fig.7: Reference to Israeli social actor in Aljazeera's reports.

18.1. Nominalized Israeli social actions

As seen in Fig.7, nominalization is the least used grammatical form used to address Israeli social

actions in Aljazeera's reports. There is no particular part of the reports where nominalization

occurs more frequently; this means that the distribution of this grammatical form is

homogeneous throughout the different parts of the reports. Some nominalizations appear alone

without stating the social actor; others appear attached to a social actor by linking word such as

"by". Let us consider the following examples:

16. Sunday's incident in the Beit Einun village near Hebron marks the latest killing in several

weeks of violence, as tensions between Israel and Palestine surge.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 1 Nov 2015

17. In the latest wave of increased violence since October 2015, it is estimated that Israeli

troops and settlers are responsible for the killing of at least 223 Palestinians, including

unarmed demonstrators, bystanders and alleged attackers.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 5 Sept 2016

18. Human rights groups have accused Israeli forces of unlawful killings and using lethal

force in situations where non-lethal measures would have been appropriate.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 17 Sept 2016

19. The <u>attack</u> comes at a time of soaring tensions over the al-Aqsa Mosque compound in

occupied East Jerusalem and after a week of Palestinian stabbing attacks targeting

Israelis.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 9 Oct 2015

20. Israeli settlers have also launched a wave of attacks targeting Palestinians in areas across

the West Bank.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 9 Oct 2015

18.2. Passivized Israeli social actions

Passivization is the most dominant grammatical form used to address Israeli violent social

actions. Although passivized social actions can show up at any part of the report, they are

slightly more frequent in the headline, perhaps due to reasons of space and style. Sometimes

passive verbs are accompanied by their subject, and other times they appear alone, leaving the

social action unspecified. Let us consider the following examples:

21. The Palestinian health ministry initially said it had been officially informed that three

Palestinians were killed in Friday's simultaneous attacks in locations near Damascus

Gate. It later issued a correction, saying that two had been killed and one wounded.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 16 Jun 2017

22. Hours later a stabbing attack in Tel Aviv injured four people, including an Israeli soldier.

A Palestinian suspect was shot and killed at the scene. He was identified as 25-year-old

Thaer Abu Ghazaleh.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 9 Oct 2015

23. Of that total, six Palestinians were killed by Israeli security forces since Saturday. Among

them were three protesters, including a 13-year-old boy, and three suspects in stabbing

attacks who were fatally shot at the scene.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 9 Oct 2015

24. At least 31 Palestinians have been killed since the beginning of the year, according to

United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs' figures.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 9 Oct 2015

25. Mustafa Nimr, 27, was killed at approximately 2am on Monday, when Israeli forces

opened fire at the car he was driving, also wounding his sister's husband, Ali Nimr.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 5 Sept 2016

18.3. Activized Israeli social actions

Activized Israeli social actions are the second most dominant grammatical form used to address

Israeli acts of violence. Like other grammatical forms, they can appear in any part of the reports,

but appear slightly more frequently at the beginnings of the reports. By definition, activized

social actions require a predicate, or a social actor; this means that all the activized social actions

studied here are actually attached to a social actor. Let us consider the following examples:

26. Israeli forces have shot and killed two Palestinians as they allegedly attempted to stab

soldiers at a checkpoint between occupied East Jerusalem and the rest of the West Bank.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 27 Apr 2016

27. The troops fatally shot 23-year-old Maram Saleh Hassan Abu Ismail and her younger

brother Ibrahim, 16, at the Qalandia military checkpoint between the central West Bank

city of Ramallah and East Jerusalem.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 27 Apr 2016

28. During that same time, Israeli forces have killed over 255 Palestinians; Israel says most

of them were attackers, others died in clashes with Israeli forces.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 26 Sept 2017

29. Israeli forces have shot dead at least two Palestinians and wounded another after two

separate attacks that killed an Israeli border policewoman outside the Old City of

occupied East Jerusalem, officials said.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 16 Jun 2017

30. Throughout that period, Israeli forces and illegal settlers have killed at least 209

Palestinians, including alleged attackers and protesters, according to the Palestinian

health ministry.

Source: Aljazeera English Website, 27 Apr 2016

# 19. Interpretation of data

The following section interprets the previous data in terms of how it constructs the social actions carried out by the conflicting social actors in relation to the guiding ideology of Aljazeera TV channel (see section 6.1).

## 19.1. The grammatical pattern

Aljazeera shows a clear tendency to employ grammatical structures in different patterns depending on the identity of the perpetrator. This is most obvious in its distributional choices of nominalized, passivized and activized grammatical structures to report the actions of violence carried out by Israeli and Palestinian social actors.

First, it is significant to note that the number of Israeli attacks being reported is higher than the number of Palestinian attacks: 68 Palestinian attacks were reported compared to 76 Israeli attacks. This can be interpreted as another attempt by Aljazeera to focus more on the Israeli attacks, either by increasing the number of the attacks reported, or by using certain grammatical structures which highlight the precise details of these attacks.

When referring to the Palestinian attacks that were carried out against Israeli social actors, Aljazeera uses low numbers of the active voice. Only 18% of the Palestinian attacks are reported in the active voice; of this 18%, around 33% of the active voices used are actually modified by the word "alleged". The word "alleged" mitigates the credibility of the reported attack. By using the word "alleged", either as a participle or an adverb, Aljazeera depicts the attack as less credible or less documented than the rest of social actions. Israeli attacks are never accompanied by the word "alleged".

Conversely, an important number of Palestinian attacks are reported using the nominalized structure. Aljazeera has transformed 63% of the Palestinian attacks into nouns, blurring their social actors, either completely or partially, and blurring the very nature of the attack itself. Furthermore, Aljazeera uses a number of passive voices to represent Palestinian attacks. Passive structure, being slightly different from nominalization, can blur the social actor in question and leave him or her unspecified.

By using these two grammatical structures, Aljazeera contributes to disguising the Palestinian social actor as the sole actor responsible behind the attacks, and in the case of nominalization, the nature of the attack itself is partially disguised. By turning the attack into a noun, Aljazeera "offers a less specific representation of an action, largely because it stands for a process while simultaneously eliding those involved in the process" (Simpson, Mayr 2010: 24).

On the other hand, Aljazeera almost reverses this distributional pattern when reporting the Israeli attacks against Palestinian social actors. Active verbs, which were barely used in a complete manner when reporting Palestinian attacks, suddenly increase in number and dominate almost half the grammatical structures used. Nominalization, which dominated the vast majority of grammatical structures used when reporting Palestinian attacks, has shrunk dramatically to become the least used grammatical form.

All in all, there is a clear tendency towards using grammatical structures in a way that highlights the responsibility of the Israeli social actor behind Israeli attacks; conversely, there is a very clear tendency, in fact almost a commitment, to using grammatical structures in a way that hides the responsibility of the Palestinian social actors of Palestinians attacks. This distributional pattern cannot be explained in terms of pure linguistic or stylistic choices; they make sense only when put in the context of the long-standing support that Aljazeera network has constantly shown towards the Palestinian side of the conflict.

By underplaying, or mitigating, the intensity and the nature of the Palestinian attacks, Aljazeera prevents against creating a negative response in the mind of the readers. Having constructed the Palestinian social actor as the weak and peaceful victim of the conflict (see chapter 2), Aljazeera sees it a necessity to construct the behavior of the Palestinian social actor in a way that does not contradict the previously established image of the Palestinians as the

oppressed group, therefore the actions have to be in line with the identity of their social actors in terms of their moral legality.

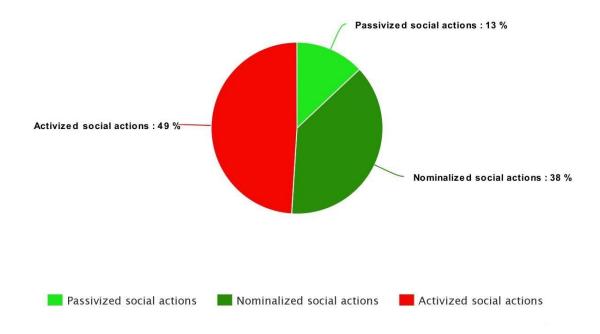
On the other hand, Aljazeera displays an obvious attempt to demonize further the Israeli social actor by attributing as many attacks as possible to him. Moreover, by using the active voice more than other grammatical structures, Aljazeera makes it clear that the Israelis are the responsible social actors behind the reported attacks. All these grammatical adjustments are pretty much in line with the previously established category of Israelis as an aggressive and occupying force.

# 20. Description of data (Hamodia)

The following sections provide detailed description of the grammatical data of *Hamodia*'s reports.

#### 20.1. Hamodia' reference to Palestinian social actions

Reference to the Palestinian attacks occurs 71 times in *Hamodia*'s reports; these actions of violence are distributed mostly among stabbing and shooting attacks, and less frequently carramming attacks. The most dominant grammatical form is the activized form, dominating 49% of the total references to the Palestinian violent social actions. Nominalized grammatical structures are the second most dominant form of reference to Palestinian violent actions, dominating 38%. Lastly, passivized social actions come as the least used grammatical form, featuring in around 13% of the references to Palestinian violent social actions.



F.8: Reference to Palestinian social actions in *Hamodia*'s reports.

#### 20.2. Nominalized Palestinian social actions

As seen in Fig.8, nominalization appears as the second most dominant grammatical form used to address violent Palestinian social actions in *Hamodia*'s reports. Nominalization appears significantly more frequently at or near the concluding paragraphs, or in headlines. Some nominalizations appear alone without stating the social actor; other appear attached to a social actor with a linking word such as "by". Let us consider the following examples:

31. The latest attempted attack comes just days after a policewoman was fatally stabbed outside the Old City of Yerushalayim on Friday, in a coordinated <u>shooting</u> and <u>stabbing</u> attack.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, June 20, 2017

32. Security forces closed the entrances and the roads to the nearby villages of Silwad town

and Ein Yabrud following the killing, preventing Palestinians from going in and out of

the two municipalities.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, November 3, 2016

33. IDF soldiers overnight Monday sealed the house of the family of Samir Skapi in

Chevron. In a joint operation with Border Police and the Shin Bet, the house of the

terrorist who killed Border Guard Binyamin Yaakobovitz, Hy"d, in a car ramming attack

in November was sealed.

Source: *Hamodia* English Newspaper, March 8, 2016

34. In a separate item, the Yerushalayim DA's Office on Monday filed an indictment against

Balal Abu Gaanam for three murders and seven attempted murders in the October 12

Armon Hanatziv terror attack.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, November 9, 2015

35. The terrorist, armed with a knife, followed two officers in the early morning to a police

station near Lions Gate along the Old City walls and stabbed both of them, inflicting

slight wounds, police spokesman Micky Rosenfeld said. The attack took place shortly

after 4 a.m.

Source: *Hamodia* English Newspaper, March 13, 2017

20.3. Passivized Palestinian social actions

Passivization is the least used grammatical form used to address violent Palestinian violent social

actions. There is no particular part of the reports where passivization occurs more frequently; this

means that the distribution of this grammatical form is homogeneous throughout the different

parts of the reports. Sometimes passive verbs are accompanied by their subject, and other times

they appear alone, leaving the social action unspecified. Let us consider the following examples:

36. The soldier was attacked as he guarded a bus stop near Ofra Thursday afternoon, the IDF

said. "Responding to threat, forces at the scene shot the terrorist, resulting in his death," it

added.

Source: *Hamodia* English Newspaper, Nov 3, 2016

37. The Damascus Gate area has been a frequent venue for Arab terrorist stabbers to strike

Israelis. The last attack was on Feb. 18, when two Israelis were stabbed and injured in an

attack.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, March 8, 2016

38. 3 Israeli Guards, Hy"d, Killed by Palestinian Terrorist in Har Adar

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, Sept 26, 2017

39. The latest attempted attack comes just days after a policewoman was fatally stabbed

outside the Old City of Yerushalayim on Friday, in a coordinated shooting and stabbing

attack.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, June 20, 2017

40. Chasno was murdered on October 20th, as he was returning home from Otniel, where he

was in charge of the yeshiva high school kitchen. Palestinians blocked the highway with

burning tires and pelted his car with stones, causing him to stop on the side of the road

and exit his vehicle. He was then hit by the truck and fatally wounded.

Source: *Hamodia* English Newspaper, March 9, 2016

#### 20.4. Activized Palestinian social actions

Activized social actions are the most dominant grammatical form used to address Palestinian acts of violence. Like other grammatical forms, these can appear at any part of the reports, but they do appear slightly more frequently at the beginnings of the reports. By definition, activized social actions require a predicate, or a social actor; this means that all the activized social actions studied here are actually attached to a social actor. Let us consider the following examples:

41. YERUSHALAYIM - A Palestinian terrorist <u>opened fire</u> early on Tuesday at the entrance to Har Adar, northwest of Yerushalayim, <u>killing</u> three Israeli security force guards, Hy"d, and <u>critically wounding</u> a fourth.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, Sept 26, 2017

42. "He then took the opportunity to follow them when they entered the entrance to the police post and <u>stabbed</u> both of the officers, <u>moderately wounding</u> them. The officers responded in a life-threatening situation and opened fire and shot and killed the terrorist.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, March 13, 2017

43. The police said the man approached the officers at a checkpoint and told them he was not feeling well. They warned the man to stop, but he kept coming, then pulled out a knife and, shouting "Al-lahu Akbar," <u>stabbed</u> an officer in the leg, <u>wounding</u> him lightly.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, August 26, 2015

44. An Arab <u>attempted to stab</u> an IDF soldier Wednesday morning at a checkpoint in western Shomron. The incident occurred at a checkpoint near the town of Elkana, near Petach Tikvah. B'chasdei Shamayim, no Israelis were injured in the incident. The terrorist was s shot and killed.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, March 9, 2016

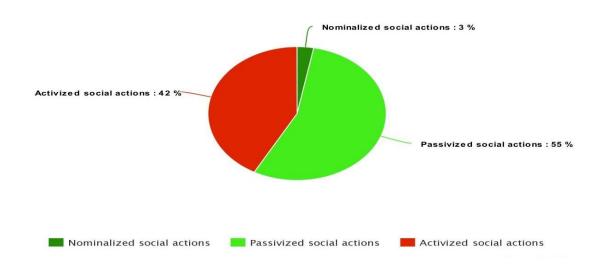
45. YERUSHALAYIM - Security forces prevented a terror attack outside the Damascus Gate in the Old City of Yerushalayim Tuesday morning. The soldiers shot and seriously

wounded a 50-year-old female terrorist who <u>was brandishing</u> a knife; she later died of her wounds. B'chasdei Shamayim, no Israelis were injured in the incident. The terrorist had <u>attempted to attack</u> several police officers and was shot by security forces.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, March 8, 2016

### 21. Hamodia's reference to Israeli social actions

Reference to violent Israeli social actions occurs 31 times in *Hamodia*'s reports, sharply less than the Palestinian attacks. These acts of violence are exclusively those of shooting attacks, sometimes expressed by the word "kill", and other times euphemized by other words such as "thwarted" or "neutralized". Having been the most dominant grammatical form used to address Palestinian social actions, activized social actions have decreased in number and have become the second most dominant grammatical form used to address Israeli social actions. Furthermore, passivized social actions, which were the least grammatical forms used to represent Palestinians attacks, have increased to become the most dominant grammatical form, dominating 55% of the total grammatical forms employed. Lastly, nominalization has decreased sharply in dominance, and became the least used grammatical form, dominating only 3% of the grammatical forms employed.



F.9: Reference to Israeli social actions in *Hamodia*'s reports.

21.1 Nominalized Israeli social actions

As seen in Fig.9, nominalization appears as the least used grammatical form used to address

Israeli social actions in Hamodia's reports. Since nominalization occurs only 1 time in

addressing the Israeli violent social actions, it is impossible to talk about any pattern of use. The

sole example of nominalization in *Hamodia*'s reports is the following:

46. "In response to the immediate threat, forces fired toward the terrorist and a hit was

confirmed," it said, confirming the terrorist's death.

Source: *Hamodia* English Newspaper, June 20, 2017

21.2. Passivized Israeli social actions

Passivization is the most dominant grammatical form used to address Israeli violent social

actions. Although passivized social actions can show up at any part of the reports, they show

significantly more frequently in the headlines of the reports. Sometimes passive verbs are

accompanied by their subject, and other times they appear alone, leaving the social action

unspecified. Let us consider the following examples:

47. The terrorist was shot and killed by security forces. Police said the slain terrorist, a 37-

year-old father of four from the nearby Palestinian village of Beit Suriq, had an Israeli

work permit.

Source: *Hamodia* English Newspaper, Sept 26, 2017

48. YERUSHALAYIM - An Arab terrorist armed with a knife who attempted to stab a

soldier at a bus stop near Ofra, in the Shomron, was shot dead by security forces, the IDF

said.

Source: *Hamodia* English Newspaper, Nov 3, 2016

49. YERUSHALAYIM - An Arab attempted to stab an IDF soldier Wednesday morning at a

checkpoint in western Shomron. The incident occurred at a checkpoint near the town of

Elkana, near Petach Tikvah. B'chasdei Shamayim, no Israelis were injured in the

incident. The terrorist was shot and killed.

Source: *Hamodia* English Newspaper, March 9, 2016

50. The soldiers shot and seriously wounded a 50-year-old female terrorist who was

brandishing a knife; she later died of her wounds. B'chasdei Shamayim, no Israelis were

injured in the incident. The terrorist had attempted to attack several police officers and

was shot by security forces.

Source: *Hamodia* English Newspaper, March 8, 2016

51. Attempted Stabbing Attack Thwarted, Terrorist Killed.

Source: *Hamodia* English Newspaper, June 20, 2017

21.3. Activized Israeli social actions

Activized social actions are the second most dominant grammatical form used to address Israeli

violent social actions. Like other grammatical forms, activized social actions can appear in any

part of the reports, meaning that the distribution of this grammatical structure is fairly

homogeneous throughout the different parts of the reports. By definition, activized social actions

require a predicate, or a social actor; this means that all the activized social actions studied here

are actually attached to a social actor. Let us consider the following examples:

52. YERUSHALAYIM - IDF troops <u>killed</u> a 19-year-old Palestinian woman who approached them at the Tapuach intersection in the Shomron while holding a knife.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, October 19, 2016

53. YERUSHALAYIM - Security forces prevented a terror attack outside the Damascus Gate

in the Old City of Yerushalayim Tuesday morning. The soldiers shot and seriously

wounded a 50-year-old female terrorist who was brandishing a knife; she later died of her

wound s.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, March 8, 2016

54. "He then took the opportunity to follow them when they entered the entrance to the

police post and stabbed both of the officers, moderately wounding them. The officers

responded in a life-threatening situation and opened fire and shot and killed the terrorist".

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, March 13, 2017

55. YERUSHALAYIM (Reuters/Hamodia) - Israeli border police shot dead a Palestinian

who stabbed them at a police station in the Old City of Yerushalayim early Monday.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, March 13, 2017

56. The soldier was attacked as he guarded a bus stop near Ofra Thursday afternoon, the IDF

said. "Responding to threat, forces at the scene shot the terrorist, resulting in his death," it

added.

Source: Hamodia English Newspaper, Nov 3, 2016

### 22. Interpretation of data

The following section interprets the previous data in terms of how they construct Israeli social actions in relation to the guiding ideology of *Hamodia* newspaper (see section 7.2).

#### 22.1. The grammatical pattern

*Hamodia* newspaper shows a clear inclination towards employing grammatical structures in different patterns depending on the identity of the social actor. This is evident in the number of attacks ascribed to each social actor, and more importantly, in the distributional choices of nominalized, passivized and activized grammatical structures that it makes for reporting the attacks carried out by Israeli and Palestinian social actors.

When reporting the Palestinian attacks, *Hamodia* narrates a higher number of attacks compared to the number of attacks allotted for the Israeli social actions; *Hamodia* reports 71 attacks by Palestinians compared to only 34 attacks by Israelis. This in itself is ideologically significant, as it indicates that *Hamodia*'s main concern is to report the Palestinian violence against Israelis and bring it to light, but not the other way around. Although the total number of Palestinian casualties caused by Israeli attacks, or counter-attacks, is much higher than the number of Israeli casualties caused by Palestinian attacks (see section 1.), the impression taken from *Hamodia*'s reports is however reversed.

On the grammatical level, *Hamodia* tends to use activized social structures more than passive and nominal structures. Around half the number of grammatical structures employed are framed in the active voice while the other half is shared between nominalization and passivization. This inclination towards using a considerably higher number of active verbs can be partially explained by *Hamodia*'s intent on stating and emphasizing the responsibility of the Palestinian social actor behind the attacks under report.

Having used the lexical words to establish the Palestinian social actors as the terrorists who launch attacks on Israeli civilians (see chapter 2), *Hamodia* now employs grammatical structures, in line with lexis, to further enhance this already constructed image of Palestinians. By attributing as many attacks as possible to Palestinians, and by highlighting the responsibility of these Palestinians behind the attacks through employing the active voice more than other grammatical structures, *Hamodia* has achieved its strategic aim of demonizing the Palestinian social actors and their actions.

On the other hand, when reporting the Israeli attacks against Palestinians, *Hamodia* uses lower numbers of the active voice, and considerably higher percentage of passivization. The passive voice suddenly became the most dominant grammatical form used to address Israeli attacks. The Israeli attacks always come in the form of a counter-attack, as they always appear after reporting one or several Palestinian attacks at the beginnings of the report. By quoting military spokesmen, such as in the following quote, "The statement noted that soldiers had been under immediate threat from the Palestinian when they opened fire on him." (*Hamodia*: June 20, 2017), *Hamodia* prioritizes the Israeli point of view and leaves no doubt that the Israeli attacks are a form of self-defense.

*Hamodia* newspaper loosens the causal relationship between the attack and the attacker and shifts focus from this relationship towards other aspects of the process. All in all, by justifying the Israeli attacks on Palestinian social actors, focusing more on the Palestinian attacks against Israelis, and by using a lot of the passive voice to obfuscate the Israeli attacker, *Hamodia* newspaper contributes to the previously established image of Israelis as a group of civilized and innocent people (see chapter 2).

These grammatical patterns cannot be fully explained by mere stylistic or linguistic justifications. Considerations of reporting language and journalistic style are definitely one of the important factors in shaping the grammar of the reports, but, as shown by the data, these patterns are not always the same, and they frequently change dramatically with no obvious stylistic reasons. That being the case, the study finds it indispensable to conclude that the grammar of *Hamodia*'s reports is partially shaped by its own ideology and standpoint regarding the conflict under report.

### 23. Conclusion

This chapter can be concluded by indicating three general points that are related to the questions raised at the beginning of this study. First, the study has found out that *Hamodia*'s and Aljazeera's grammatical options and choices in representing the Israeli and Palestinian attacks against each other are partially motivated by the ideologies and political standpoints of these news outlets. Second, the study has shown, in clear and quantified forms, the grammatical techniques through which these two news outlets permeate their reports with ideology. Third, and following the theoretical framework provided by Hodge and Kress, this study has put forward the possible effect(s) that these grammatical techniques and formations may have on the overall conveyed meaning. In so doing, this chapter has answered the questions set forth at the beginning of the study, and it has therefore achieved its general purpose.

#### 24. General conclusion

To discuss the general findings of this study, it is important to remind the reader of the research questions, the method and structure, and most importantly, the working hypothesis of the research. This is in order to be able to evaluate the results and findings of the thesis in relation to its general aim and purpose.

The study has attempted to understand how ideology permeates the language of two groups of news reports which deal with the same wave of violent attacks between Israelis and Palestinians in the years 2015 and 2017. Being grounded on principles of critical discourse analysis, the study has taken for granted the idea that ideology is a shaping factor behind the form of language. As such, the study did not seek to understand whether or not ideology exists behind these reports as much as it sought to understand how this ideology actually shapes and determines the linguistic formations and options shown by the news outlets.

To achieve the above described purpose, the study has selected two news outlets that are well known for their firm and opposing political standpoints regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This choice was taken in order to ensure that the clear contradictions between the political points of view of the news outlets will flow on the linguistic surface of the reports and result in wide differences that can be detected and analyzed critically. Following this logic, the study expected to detect linguistic patterns in the analyzed news reports that are governed by factors other than those of English language and journalistic style; moreover, the study expected to find some degree of causal relationship between these linguistic patterns and the ideology of the news outlet in question.

After scrutinizing and analyzing all the reports from both news outlets on the lexical level as well as the grammatical level, the study has revealed a set of linguistic patterns that cannot be fully explained by pure linguistic or stylistic justifications. The study has observed that certain linguistic patterns do change, sometimes dramatically, without any obvious linguistic or thematic reason. These switches and sudden changes in the language of the news reports were notable, given the fact that both news outlets are covering the same events, and in fact they are analyzing the same aspects of the same event. Given this, the question as to why these linguistic

patterns were employed in the way they were employed was raised. But before we proceed to the critical explanation of these linguistic patterns, let us remind the reader of those uncovered linguistic patterns.

Lexically, the study was able to detect two patterns. The first pattern is one in which the social actor is systematically collectivized, and the other is one in which the social actor is individualized. These two lexical patterns are used by both news outlets, but to address opposite categories of social actors. Aljazeera's reports tend to use the collectivizing pattern when representing Israelis while reversing the order when representing Palestinians. Similarly, yet different in nature, *Hamodia* tends to use a collectivizing pattern when representing Palestinians, and to reverse the pattern and use individualizing when representing Israelis.

Here, it would be useful to discuss, briefly, the nature of the results achieved in *Hamodia*'s reports with regards to its employment of the collectivizing form of reference, since they are different from those achieved in Aljazeera's reports. *Hamodia* used considerably low numbers of the citizenship-based reference in representing both social actors, specifically Palestinians, and this might be seen as a point which the hypothesis of the research failed to predict. However, *Hamodia*'s use of the word "terrorist" in a systematic, organized, and fixed manner makes it impossible to categorize this word as an individualizing form of reference, since the effects of the word "terrorist" are as far as possible from those of the individualizing form of reference. The word "terrorist" not only refers to a purely ideologically constructed category in which more than half of the Palestinian social actors are indistinctively stacked, but it is also a slur word with extremely negative connotations (see section 13.2). Instead of seeing *Hamodia*'s use of the word "terrorist" as the place where it has used an individualizing form of reference, the study sees it as the place where *Hamodia* has actually reached an ever higher level of bias and partiality.

As such, *Hamodia*'s use of collectivization, alongside that of Aljazeera, creates a clear pattern that both news outlets engage in to describe their ideological "enemies". These findings are in line with the hypothesis of the study, which expected the news reports to lean towards collectivizing when representing the social actors that they do not support, and reversely leaning towards individualizing when representing their favoured social actors.

Grammatically, the study also revealed two patterns. On the one hand, the violent social actions of the conflict are linked with their corresponding social actors, while, on the other, the precise details of the violent social actions, including their agents, are not focused upon. In line with the hypothesis of the research, the study has found that the two patterns were employed by both news outlets, but for opposite purposes. The first pattern was followed by Aljazeera to report Israeli attacks, where a considerably high numbers of the active voice were employed, whereas the second pattern was used more in reporting the Palestinian attacks, with less active voice used.

The above order is reversed in *Hamodia*. The grammatical pattern in which attacks and attackers are highlighted and focused on was used more often when representing Palestinian social actions. Conversely, *Hamodia* leaned towards using the grammatical pattern in which attackers were not mentioned when it represented Israeli attacks. It is important to note, however, that *Hamodia* has not used these patterns in a very evident order as in the case with Aljazeera; rather it was somewhat more cautious in switching between these grammatical patterns.

Having observed the existence of these systemic patterns in the language of the news reports, a critical analyst is therefore obliged to look for the motivation and the reason why those patterns were used as they were. If we take the grammatical level as an example, bearing in mind that the actions and processes have no natural structure in the real world out of the linguistic one which is ascribed to them by language users (Mills 1995: 143-144), a critical observer is therefore obliged to ask: why do Palestinian attacks receive more passivization and nominalization and almost no activization in Aljazeera news reports? And why does the opposite happen in *Hamodia* news reports that cover the same type of attacks? Since the Palestinian attacks are not inherently activized or passivized, nor is there some logical reason why they should appear in one grammatical structure instead of another, these questions become a necessity.

It is here where critical discourse analysis steps in to help understand the motivations behind the linguistic patterns described above. Critical discourse analysis starts by looking at the context in which those reports were detected, that is the news outlets in which they appeared, in order to make sense of the shape and form of the language used. If we look at Aljazeera, it being the news outlet that provided fifty percent of the reports studied, we will necessarily have to

consider its long-standing support of the Palestinian side of the conflict. As shown in the previous sections, Aljazeera TV channel is a pan-Arab channel, and it follows from this that it will spare no effort to promote the Arab-Palestinian point of view regarding the conflict. Only when we take this social, political, and ideological context into consideration do the linguistic patterns found in Aljazeera's reports make complete sense.

Similarly, the linguistic patterns found in *Hamodia* cannot be fully understood without taking into consideration the ideology of the newspaper, as only then does it make sense why *Hamodia* news reports used more active voice in reporting Palestinian attacks and less active voice to report Israeli attacks. The need to promote a Zionist point of view regarding the conflict steered *Hamodia*'s language use towards a certain direction, a direction where its ideology is conveyed along with the report.

What this study has achieved, therefore, is to show in clear and quantified measures that the language of each group of news reports is shaped and influenced by the ideology of the news outlet on two the grammatical and lexical levels, and that any attempt to analyze these reports linguistically, or to understand why the language of these news reports took one form instead of another, ideology has to be taken into consideration as an essential and an integral factor. It follows from this that the linguistic and stylistic explanations are not sufficient explanations if one attempts to understand the language of the news reports, as language is always a part of a larger network of social and power relations (Fairclough 1995: 3).

Nonetheless, it is important to take a moment and acknowledge the significant role that language and style, as two independent formal systems with their own internal rules and external effects, play in determining the shape of the language used in the news reports. As pointed out at the beginning of the study, the current study does not claim that context alone can explain entirely the texts under study, as a matter of fact, this study totally accepts the premise that the shape of the texts under study is not in all cases, nor even in most cases, determined by their social and politico-ideological context, because sometimes the text can simply be explained by pure linguistic factors.

Acknowledging the multiplicity of factors that influence and determine the forms of language and discourse is nothing but a necessary recognition of the complicity and entanglement of linguistic phenomenon, a phenomenon which belongs to the social world as much as it belongs to the semiotic world. The exact or even the approximate amount of influence that each system exerts on the final linguistic product cannot be determined using the methods and analytical tools of the type employed in this study; all that can be confirmed, however, is that the ideological context, as long as the purpose of the study is concerned, has influenced the language of the news reports lexically and grammatically.

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### Appendix 1

The following articles constitute the full group of reports taken from Aljazeera's English Website.

# Palestinians shot dead after Jerusalem Old City attacks

16 Jun 2017

Israeli policemen secure the scene of the attack outside Damascus Gate in Jerusalem's Old City [Ammar Awad/Reuters]

Israeli forces have shot dead at least two Palestinians and wounded another after two separate attacks that killed an Israeli border policewoman outside the Old City of occupied <u>East</u> Jerusalem, officials said.

The Palestinian health ministry initially said it had been officially informed that three Palestinians were killed in Friday's simultaneous attacks in locations near Damascus Gate. It later issued a correction, saying that two had been killed and one wounded.

In the first incident, a 23-year-old Israeli female officer was stabbed by one attacker and taken to hospital in critical condition, police said. The officer, identified as Hadas Malka, later succumbed to her wounds.

In the other incident, two attackers armed with a knife and a gun were shot by an Israeli police officer.

At least two bystanders were also reportedly hurt.

Palestinian authorities said two of the men killed were 18-year-olds from Deir Abu Mishal, near Ramallah. A third suspect, a 30-year-old man from Hebron, was wounded and not killed, as had initially been reported, they said.

'The idea that this was some kind of a coordinated event, potentially, with multiple attackers is less frequent,' Al Jazeera's Harry Fawcett, reporting from occupied East Jerusalem, said.

'We haven't seen something like this for a few months at least,' he added.

Pandemonium broke out shortly after Friday's attacks as police pushed hundreds of people out of the Old City to clear the scene.

Tens of thousands of Palestinians from the occupied West Bank were given permits by Israeli authorities to enter occupied East Jerusalem on Friday for Ramadan prayers.

#### **Excessive force**

Since October 2015, Palestinian assailants have killed 42 Israelis, two visiting Americans and a British student, mainly in stabbing, shooting and vehicular attacks. In that time, some 250 Palestinians have been killed by Israeli fire.

Most of the Palestinians killed were allegedly carrying out knife, gun or car-ramming attacks, Israeli authorities say.

Others were shot dead during protests or clashes, while some were killed in Israeli air strikes on the besieged Gaza Strip.

<u>Israel</u> blames the violence on incitement by Palestinian political and religious leaders.

Palestinians say it stems from anger over decades of Israeli occupation in territory they claim for their state.

Since October 2015, a number of local and international <u>human rights</u> groups have raised concerns that Israeli security forces have used <u>excessive force</u> when confronting Palestinians who had carried out attacks or been suspected of doing so.

The Israeli police relaxed its <u>open-fire regulations</u> in December 2015, permitting officers to open fire with live ammunition on those throwing stones or firebombs as an initial option, without having to use non-lethal weapons first.

SOURCE: AL JAZEERA AND NEWS AGENCIES

#### Three Israeli soldiers shot dead near Jerusalem

26 Sept 2017

Three Israelis have been shot and killed, and a fourth wounded, in a settlement in the occupied West Bank, Israeli army radio reported.

The station interviewed a resident of Har Adar, an illegal settlement near <u>Jerusalem</u>, who said the gunman had arrived with a group of Palestinian labourers and opened fire on paramilitary Israeli police guards.

Al Jazeera's Harry Fawcett, reporting from Jerusalem, said the gunman was shot dead after the attack.

'He was identified as a 37-year-old father of four from the nearby village of Beit Surik. The man, who reportedly carried a work permit for the settlement, approached the checkpoint at the entrance to Har Adar, when he opened fire on the guards,' Fawcett said.

Har Adar is an upscale settlement west of Jerusalem, on the border between the West Bank and Israel.

Nabil Shaath, a senior PLO official and adviser to President Mahmoud Abbas, told Al Jazeera that the Palestinian leadership condemns the attack.

'We Palestinians support peaceful resistance against the Israeli occupation. The peaceful struggle of our people in Jerusalem against violent Israeli terrorism, by praying in the cobbled streets of Old Jerusalem, is a clear example of our peaceful [intentions].

'Our political strategy is peaceful and is about achieving a lasting peace, while the Israeli policies are making it almost impossible to reach that goal under the current conditions.

'Israeli colonial settlements and occupation are the cause of all incitement.'

Hazem Kassem, a spokesperson of Hamas in Gaza, said the attack proved that 'Palestinian resistance has not been broken.'

'The latest incident proves that our people are committed to resistance against Israel's occupation, no matter how cruel the measures Israel employs against our people, especially in Jerusalem,' Kassem told Al Jazeera.

'It also shows that our people's resistance has not been broken by Israel, despite continued Israeli oppression and occupation,' he added.

'Our freedom and independence will only be achieved by resistance, not by standing at the doors of international organisations begging for it.'

Since September 2015, Palestinians have killed 48 Israelis, two visiting Americans and a British tourist in stabbings, shooting and car-ramming attacks.

During that same time, Israeli forces have killed over 255 Palestinians; Israel says most of them were attackers, others died in clashes with Israeli forces.

Most of the attacks have been stabbings against Israeli soldiers, primarily in the occupied West Bank.

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said in public remarks to his cabinet that the gunman's home would be demolished and any work permits issued to his relatives would be revoked.

SOURCE: AL JAZEERA AND NEWS AGENCIES

### Palestinian man shot dead after alleged stabbing attack

17 Sept 2016

Israeli soldiers shot dead a Palestinian man after he allegedly stabbed a soldier in the occupied West Bank, the Israeli military said, in the latest killing in a 24-hour spike in violence.

A spokeswoman said on Saturday that the 'assailant armed with a knife stabbed an [Israeli] soldier' during a 'routine security check' before being shot dead in the West Bank city of Hebron.

'In response to the immediate threat, forces at the scene shot the assailant, resulting in his death,' the spokeswoman was quoted by the Reuters news agency as saying.

It brings the death toll from the past 24 hours to five. On Friday, three Palestinians and one Jordanian were shot and killed by Israeli forces in separate areas across the occupied West Bank and East Jerusalem.

Since October 2015, Israeli forces and settlers have killed at least 215 Palestinians, including unarmed demonstrators, bystanders and attackers.

During the same period, Palestinian attackers have killed at least 33 Israelis in stabbing, shooting and car-ramming attacks.

Human rights groups have accused Israeli forces of unlawful killings and using lethal force in situations where non-lethal measures would have been appropriate.

Palestinian leaders say the assailants have acted out of desperation over the collapse of peace talks in 2014 and Israeli settlement expansion in occupied territory.

SOURCE: AL JAZEERA NEWS AND AGENCIES

Palestinian shot dead after alleged stabbing attack

1 Feb 2016

A Palestinian has been shot dead after an alleged stabbing attack near an illegal settlement in the

occupied West Bank, the Israeli army has said.

The Palestinian health ministry confirmed that 18-year-old Ahmad Hasan Tobeh was killed on

Monday by the Salit settlement, south of Tulkarem.

Medical sources told Al Jazeera that Tobeh, who is from Kufr Jamal, south of Tulkarem, was

shot at close range five times.

'Soldiers were alerted by a suspect attempting to infiltrate the area of Salit, east of Kfar Saba,' an

Israeli army statement said.

'When security forces approached the suspect, he tried to stab them, and, facing an imminent

threat, the soldiers shot him.'

The latest incident comes a day after a Palestinian police officer was killed after allegedly

opening fire on Israeli soldiers at a checkpoint near the illegal settlement of Beit El in the West

Bank.

Three Israelis were wounded in the attack.

Protests against Israel's ongoing occupation of the West Bank, including East Jerusalem and the

Gaza Strip, have become increasingly violent in recent months.

Since October 1, Israeli forces or settlers have killed at least 167 Palestinians, including

bystanders, unarmed demonstrators and attackers.

At least 25 Israelis have been killed in attacks that were carried out by Palestinians.

SOURCE: AL JAZEERA AND AGENCIES

Israeli stabs Palestinians in 'nationalistic' attack

9 Oct 2015

An Israeli has stabbed and wounded four Palestinians in an attack in city of Dimona in southern Israel, according to police, who described the motive as 'nationalistic'.

The Israeli was arrested by police. Two of the victims sustained moderate wounds, while two others were lightly injured, local media reported.

Among the victims were three construction workers and a municipal employee who was described as a Bedouin Palestinian from a nearby village.

All four of the men have been transferred to a nearby hospital for treatment, local media reported.

The attack comes at a time of soaring tensions over the al-Aqsa Mosque compound in occupied East Jerusalem and after a week of Palestinian stabbing attacks targeting Israelis.

Hundreds of right-wing Jewish protesters rallied in Jerusalem on Thursday night, marching through the city and chanting 'Death to Arabs!', according to Israeli daily Haaretz.

In addition to extending a ban for men under the age of 45 who want to pray at the mosque on Friday, Israeli police have installed metal detectors at several entrances to Jerusalem's Old City.

Thousands of police officers were also deployed across the city on Friday.

'Police have made security assessments for Friday prayers and have added many metal detectors and extra checkpoints throughout the Old City, and will continue to closely monitor Arab neighbourhoods,' police spokesman Micky Rosenfeld told local media.

The restrictions come a day after at least eight Israelis were injured in four separate stabbing attacks.

Early on Thursday, a 25-year-old Israeli yeshiva student was severely injured as a result of being stabbed in upper body.

Hours later a stabbing attack in Tel Aviv injured four people, including an Israeli soldier. A Palestinian suspect was shot and killed at the scene. He was identified as 25-year-old Thaer Abu Ghazaleh.

Another pair of attacks - one in the northern Israeli city of Afula and the other in the West Bank settlement of Kiryat Arba - left two Israelis injured.

The uptick in violence comes after months of tensions over the al-Aqsa Mosque compound. An increase in Israeli visits to the compound have fed fears among Palestinians that Israel is moving to divide the compound into two separate areas of worship for Jews and Muslims.

Israeli settlers have also launched a wave of attacks targeting Palestinians in areas across the West Bank.

At least 31 Palestinians have been killed since the beginning of the year, according to United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs' figures.

Of that total, six Palestinians were killed by Israeli security forces since Saturday. Among them were three protesters, including a 13-year-old boy, and three suspects in stabbing attacks who were fatally shot at the scene.

Israeli forces have responded harshly to protests, using live ammunition in some cases.

'The death of a child after security forces used live ammunition against demonstrators should be a wake-up call for Israeli officials,' said Joe Stork, Human Rights Watch's deputy Middle East director, in a statement.

'Israel needs to ensure that its police and army comply with international standards for the use of force.'

At least 1,600 Palestinians have been injured during confrontations with Israeli security forces or Jewish settlers since October 3, according to the Palestinian Red Crescent.

#### Netanyahu criticized

'We are in the midst of a wave of terror,' Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said at a press conference on Thursday night. 'There is no magic solution and the actions [we are taking] will not yield instant results, but with methodical determination we will prove that terror does not pay and we will defeat it.'

Netanyahu called for a unity government that includes the opposition, led by the centrist Zionist Union electoral coalition. 'I have said from the beginning that I think at this time, in light of what is happening in the Middle East, there is a reason for a wide government, and wide united front,' he said.

But the prime minister has come under fire from politicians across the political spectrum.

Zionist Union parliamentarian Shelly Yacimovich rebuffed his offer in a Twitter post: 'Unity government? Why? To create a false impression that the opposition has a part in his failure to provide security?'

SOURCE: AL JAZEERA AND AGENCIES

### Israel army kills Palestinian siblings in 'attack'

#### 27 Apr 2016

Israeli forces shot dead two Palestinians during an alleged knife attack at the Qalandia checkpoint [Mohamad Torokman/Reuters]

Israeli forces have shot and killed two Palestinians as they allegedly attempted to stab soldiers at a checkpoint between occupied East Jerusalem and the rest of the West Bank.

The troops fatally shot 23-year-old Maram Saleh Hassan Abu Ismail and her younger brother Ibrahim, 16, at the Qalandia military checkpoint between the central West Bank city of Ramallah and East Jerusalem, according to the Palestinian Authority's Ministry of Health.

Speaking to Al Jazeera, Israeli police spokesman Micky Rosenfeld said the pair were 'armed with knives' and 'came towards the border guards' to attack them.

After the incident, Israeli forces fired tear gas and sound grenades during clashes with Palestinian youth.

Since October 1, increased tensions in the occupied Palestinian territories and Israel have boiled over into violence.

Throughout that period, Israeli forces and illegal settlers have killed at least 209 Palestinians, including alleged attackers and protesters, according to the Palestinian health ministry.

Meanwhile, at least 29 Israelis were killed in shooting and stabbing attacks that were carried out by Palestinians, says Israel's ministry of foreign affairs.

#### 'Extrajudicial killings'

Ramy Abdu, director of the Gaza-based Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Monitor, criticised the Palestinian government's inaction after six months of escalated violence.

'In many incidents, they [Israeli soldiers] actually committed extrajudicial killings, particularly at checkpoints and military points,' he told Al Jazeera.

'People still believe that the Intifada should be escalated to the next level,' Abdu said. 'But they are frustrated with the current situation, the international community and their own government over Israel's systematic, structural violence.'

More than half a million Jewish Israelis already live in more than 150 Jewish-only settlements across the occupied West Bank and East Jerusalem, while Israeli military forces have erected several dozen checkpoints impeding Palestinians' ability to move freely.

Several Palestinian political parties, including Hamas and the leftist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, have blasted the PA's security cooperation with Israeli forces throughout the ongoing uprising.

'The only way out of the current national impasse is if the PA showed political will to reconcile with its national partners and not with the Israeli occupation,' Hamas spokesman Sami Abu Zuhri said in a statement on Tuesday.

SOURCE: AL JAZEERA

#### Israeli soldiers kill another Palestinian in Hebron

1 Nov 2015

At least 72 Palestinians have been killed by Israeli fire and many more wounded since October 1 [Nasser Shiyoukhi/AP Photo]

Israeli soldiers has shot dead a Palestinian who had they alleged earlier attempted to attack them in the occupied West Bank.

Sunday's incident in the Beit Einun village near Hebron marks the latest killing in several weeks of violence, as tensions between Israel and Palestine surge.

A paramedic from the Red Crescent told Ma'an that Israeli forces would not allow their medics to examine the young man.

'Israeli soldiers forced us at gunpoint to leave the area,' the paramedic said. 'From the amount of bleeding, the young man must have been shot several times.'

An army spokesperson told the Ma'an News Agency that no one was injured in the alleged stabbing attack, adding that there had been a 'violent riot' in the village.

#### **Death toll rises**

Since October 1, Israeli forces or settlers have killed at least 72 Palestinians - including unarmed protesters, bystanders and alleged attackers - across Israel, the occupied West Bank, including occupied East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip.

Nine Israelis have died in stabbing or shooting incidents in the same period.

Earlier this week, Israeli forces killed three Palestinians in one day, including an eight-month-old baby who suffocated from tear gas inhalation.

While the attacks were initially focused in Jerusalem, the epicentre has recently shifted to Hebron, the West Bank's largest city, where there have been daily protests decrying the increasingly forceful occupation.

Hebron is home to a shrine known to Jews as the Cave of the Patriarchs and to Muslims as the Ibrahimi Mosque, has 200,000 Palestinian residents.

Around 500 Israeli settlers live in the centre, protected by an army-patrolled buffer zone.

**SOURCE: AGENCIES** 

### Israeli police shoot dead Palestinian in Jerusalem camp

by Zena Tahhan

5 Sept 2016

Israel has killed up to 223 Palestinians, including unarmed demonstrators and bystanders [File: Reuters]

Israeli soldiers have shot dead a Palestinian man, and wounded a relative, inside a refugee camp in occupied East Jerusalem.

Mustafa Nimr, 27, was killed at approximately 2am on Monday, when Israeli forces opened fire at the car he was driving, also wounding his sister's husband, Ali Nimr.

Israeli police spokesman Micky Rosenfeld said police officers operating in Shuafat refugee camp shot at a vehicle as it 'drove up towards' them 'at close range, endangering them'.

'As a result of the shots that were fired, one of the men in the vehicle passed away, while the other one is in the hospital and is being treated,' he told Al Jazeera.

But members of the victims' family and witnesses at the scene said the two were not attempting to run over the guards.

'He was at his older brother's house. He went out with his sister's husband to buy Eid clothes and food for the children,' said Abdullah Nimr, a cousin of the victim.

'The army had been raiding the camp at that time, and they simply shot at them while they were driving,' Abdullah told Al Jazeera.

Israeli army raids in the Shuafat refugee camp are common, especially late at night.

According to local journalist Lama Ghosheh, witnesses at the scene said the officers had ordered the drivers 'to stop but they were driving too fast to stop in time, so the army opened fire'.

'Mustafa was killed in cold-blood. I saw at least 30 bullet marks on the car, which is still in the camp,' Ghosheh told Al Jazeera.

'The presence of fresh food in the car testifies to the fact that they went to get food and were not planning on carrying out an attack.'

Mustafa's body was taken by the Israeli army at the scene, while his relative, Ali, is being held while he is being treated in hospital.

No one has been allowed to visit Ali so far.

In the latest wave of increased violence since October 2015, it is estimated that Israeli troops and settlers are responsible for the killing of at least 223 Palestinians, including unarmed demonstrators, bystanders and alleged attackers.

Thirty-five Israelis were also killed in the past 11 months, in stabbing and shooting incidents carried out by Palestinians.

SOURCE: ALJAZEERA NEWS

### Israeli forces kill Palestinian youth in Jerusalem

8 Oct 2015

Hundreds of Palestinians have been injured by live ammunition and rubber-coated bullets since the start of October [EPA]

A Palestinian youth has been shot dead by Israeli forces during a protest in Jerusalem, Palestinian medical sources said.

Ahmad Bitawi, the director of Ramallah hospital in the West Bank, said Wissam Jamal arrived at the hospital with a bullet wound to the chest after Thursday's clashes at Shuafat refugee camp in Jerusalem.

Israeli police spokeswoman Luba Samri says Israeli troops had gone to search the home of a Palestinian involved in an earlier attack. She said they were confronted by thousands of rioters who hurled stones and firebombs at them.

UN calls for calm

Jamal's death came as the UN human rights chief, Zeid Raad al-Hussein, called for calm in the West Bank after a week of violence in the occupied territory, as well as occupied East Jerusalem, and inside Israel.

Hussein warned that 'more bloodshed will only lead to more hatred on both sides,' and that he is deeply concerned about the increasing number of attacks by both settlers and Palestinians.

The UN official voiced concern about the number of Palestinians injured by live ammunition, which stands at 134, and the hundreds more injured by rubber bullets and tear gas.

'The high number of casualties, in particular those resulting from the use of live ammunition by Israeli security forces, raise concerns of excessive use of force,' Hussein said, according to the Associated Press news agency.

Speaking on Thursday evening, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said Israel was facing a 'wave of terror' that was mostly unorganised, pledging action against those inciting violence.

Over the past week, four Israelis have been killed along with seven Palestinians, four of them after alleged attacks on Israelis.

#### 1,600 Palestinians wounded

According to the Palestinian Red Crescent, at least 1,600 Palestinians have been injured since October 3.

Eighty-seven have been injured with live ammunition, and 290 with rubber-coated steel bullets.

On Monday, Abdel Rahman Abdullah, a 13-year-old from the Aida refugee camp in Bethlehem, was shot and killed by Israeli forces, prompting further protests and unrest.

On Wednesday, two Palestinian protesters were shot and critically wounded by Israeli soldiers during a protest near the settlement of Beit El.

Footage appeared to show undercover Israeli soldiers dressed as protesters attacking men.

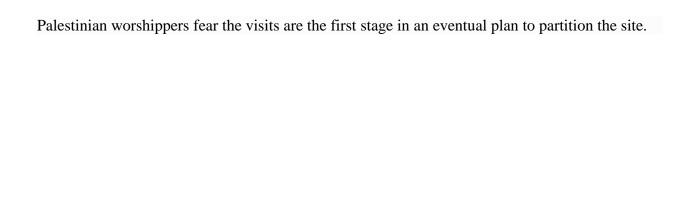
#### Al-Aqsa tensions

The incidents are the latest in a series of attacks, sparked by tensions over what Palestinians believe is Israeli encroachment of their holiest site in Jerusalem, the al-Aqsa Mosque.

On Wednesday evening, Netanyahu issued an order banning his ministers from visiting the sacred site

Jews are prohibited from visiting the site, they call the Temple Mount, by Israel's rabbinate, but hardliners have challenged the restriction.

Their visits to the al-Aqsa compound happen under heavy police protection, and are seen as provocative by Palestinians.



# Appendix 2

The following articles constitute the full group of reports take from *Hamodia* English website.

# 3 Israeli Guards, Hy"d, Killed by Palestinian Terrorist in Har Adar

By Yoni Weiss

Tuesday, September 26, 2017 at 1:44 am ן משרי תשע"ח 'ו' תשרי

**YERUSHALAYIM** - A Palestinian terrorist opened fire early on Tuesday at the entrance to Har Adar, northwest of Yerushalayim, killing three Israeli security force guards, *Hy* "d, and critically wounding a fourth.

A police spokesperson reported that the terrorist who approached the back gate entrance of the Har Adar village, hiding among fellow Palestinian day laborers who were being checked by security forces.

He aroused the suspicion of private guards and paramilitary Israeli police posted at the entrance checkpoint. Asked to halt, the Palestinian "opened his shirt, drew a pistol and fired at the security staff and troopers at close range," said the police spokeswoman.

Police provided a handout photograph of his small-caliber firearm and two bullet clips.

Magen David Adom said that in addition to the three men in their 20s and 30s who were killed, a fourth Israeli man, 32, was evacuated to a hospital in critical condition.

The terrorist was shot and killed by security forces. Police said the slain terrorist, a 37-year-old father of four from the nearby Palestinian village of Beit Suriq, had an Israeli work permit.

### **Terrorist Killed in Attempted Stabbing Attack in Shomron**

By Yoni Weiss

Thursday, November 3, 2016 at 11:22 am ב' השון תשע"ז |

**YERUSHALAYIM** - An Arab terrorist armed with a knife who attempted to stab a soldier at a bus stop near Ofra, in the Shomron, was shot dead by security forces, the IDF said.

The soldier was attacked as he guarded a bus stop near Ofra Thursday afternoon, the IDF said. "Responding to threat, forces at the scene shot the terrorist, resulting in his death," it added. An army spokesperson said that, *bchasdei Shamayim*, no Israelis were wounded in the event.

The Palestinian Ministry of Health identified the attempted terrorist as Maen Nasser al-Din Abu Qaraa, 23, from the village of al-Mazraa al-Qibliyaa in the Ramallah district.

Security forces closed the entrances and the roads to the nearby villages of Silwad town and Ein Yabrud following the killing, preventing Palestinians from going in and out of the two municipalities.

### **Attempted Stabbing Attack Thwarted, Terrorist Killed**

By Dov Benovadia

Tuesday, June 20, 2017 at 10:50 am כ"ו סיון תשע"ז

**YERUSHALAYIM** - A Palestinian man who attempted to stab IDF soldiers 15 Tuesday afternoon at the pillbox guard post on the road between Kalandiya and Adam, in the Binyamin region north of Yerushalayim, was shot and neutralized.

The IDF said in a statement that "a terrorist armed with a knife attempted to stab IDF forces operating on a road between Adam Square and Kalandiya."

The statement noted that soldiers had been under immediate threat from the Palestinian when they opened fire on him.

"In response to the immediate threat, forces fired toward the terrorist and a hit was confirmed," it said, confirming the terrorist's death.

The IDF spokesman said that there were no Israeli injuries, b'chasdei Shamayim.

The latest attempted attack comes just days after a policewoman was fatally stabbed outside the Old City of Yerushalayim on Friday, in a coordinated shooting and stabbing attack.

### Palestinian Terrorist Killed by Israeli Police in Yerushalayim

Monday, March 13, 2017 at 11:51 am ט"נ אדר תשע"ז |

**YERUSHALAYIM**(Reuters/*Hamodia*) - Israeli border police shot dead a Palestinian who stabbed them at a police station in the Old City of Yerushalayim early Monday.

The terrorist, armed with a knife, followed two officers in the early morning to a police station near Lions Gate along the Old City walls and stabbed both of them, inflicting slight wounds, police spokesman Micky Rosenfeld said. The attack took place shortly after 4 a.m.

"What we know is the terrorist arrived in the area and parked his vehicle while police officers were stationed at that checkpoint as part of general security," said Rosenfeld.

"He then took the opportunity to follow them when they entered the entrance to the police post and stabbed both of the officers, moderately wounding them. The officers responded in a life-threatening situation and opened fire and shot and killed the terrorist."

The surrounding area was closed off in order to search for other terrorists and prevent possible additional attacks.

"After the area was cleared, police units went into Jabl Mukaber, searched the house that belonged to the suspect, and arrested four of his relatives to determine if they had any knowledge of the attack."

Hours later, the police prevented a mourner's tent from being erected outside the terrorist's home.

# Palestinian Attacks Yerushalayim Border Police with Knife

Wednesday, August 26, 2015 at 11:27 pm | י"א אלול תשע"ה

**YERUSHALAYIM** (*Hamodia* Staff) -A knife-wielding **Palestinian terrorist** lunged at a group of Border Police officers near Damascus Gate in Yerushalayim's Old City on Wednesday, lightly wounding one of them before they managed to subdue him.

The police said **the man** approached the officers at a checkpoint and told them he was not feeling well. They warned **the man** to stop, but he kept coming, then pulled out a knife and, shouting "Al-lahu Akbar," stabbed an officer in the leg, wounding him lightly. The wounded policeman, 19, was taken to Hadassah Ein Kerem Hospital in stable and conscious condition.

**The terrorist** was arrested by security forces and was being questioned.

# Attempted Stabbing Attack in Shomron, Female Terrorist Killed

By Yoni Weiss

Wednesday, October 19, 2016 at 7:39 am י"ז תשרי תשע"ז |

**YERUSHALAYIM** - IDF troops killed a 19-year-old Palestinian woman who approached them at the Tapuach intersection in the Shomron while holding a knife.

Police spokeswoman Luba Samri says the forces ordered the woman to stop and shot in the air before killing her on Wednesday afternoon when she kept walking toward them. *B'chasdei Shamayim*, no Israelis were wounded.

Police said that the female terrorist was from the nearby village of Asira ash-Shamaliya.

The Tapucah junction has been the scene of several stabbing, shooting, and car-ramming attacks over the last year.

### **Terrorist Killed in Attempted Shomron Stabbing**

By Dov Ben-Ovadia

Wednesday, March 9, 2016 at 6:34 am | כ"ט אדר א' תשע"ו

**YERUSHALAYIM** - An Arab attempted to stab an IDF soldier Wednesday morning at a checkpoint in western Shomron. The incident occurred at a checkpoint near the town of Elkana, near Petach Tikvah. *B'chasdei Shamayim*, no Israelis were injured in the incident. The terrorist was shot and killed.

Meanwhile, the condition of Yonatan Azrihov, the 40-year-old victim of a stabbing attack in Petach Tikvah Tuesday, was much improved Wednesday, doctors said. Azrihov was injured when an Arab went on a stabbing rampage in the Petach Tikvah open market Tuesday evening.

In light of the stream of attacks Tuesday night and Wednesday morning – over half a dozen attacks or attempted attacks within 24 hours – Yoram Levi, the commander of police in Yerushalayim said that the terror wave "is apparently strengthening. Police," he noted "are prepared for all scenarios that may develop."

Also Wednesday, security officials announced that they had arrested overnight Tuesday the terrorist who ran down an Israeli in October 2015. The terrorist, a resident of the village of Dahariya, near Yattir in the south Chevron Hills, killed Avraham Chasno, Hy"d, 54, of Kiryat Arba. Chasno was murdered on October 20th, as he was returning home from Otniel, where he was in charge of the yeshiva high school kitchen. Palestinians blocked the highway with burning

tires and pelted his car with stones, causing him to stop on the side of the road and exit his vehicle. He was then hit by the truck and fatally wounded. MDA paramedics attempted to resuscitate Chasno in preparation for evacuation by helicopter, but he died at the scene.

### **Terrorist Killed in Attempted Damascus Gate Stabbing Attack**

By Dov Ben-Ovadia

Tuesday, March 8, 2016 at 4:28 am | כ"ח אדר א' תשע"ו

**YERUSHALAYIM** - Security forces prevented a terror attack outside the Damascus Gate in the Old City of Yerushalayim Tuesday morning. The soldiers shot and seriously wounded a 50-year-old female terrorist who was brandishing a knife; she later died of her wounds. *B'chasdei Shamayim*, no Israelis were injured in the incident. The terrorist had attempted to attack several police officers and was shot by security forces.

The Damascus Gate area has been a frequent venue for Arab terrorist stabbers to strike Israelis. The last attack was on Feb. 18, when two Israelis were stabbed and injured in an attack. Border Police on patrol opened fire and neutralized the terrorist stabber. One Arab bystander was injured in the incident as well.

IDF soldiers overnight Monday sealed the house of the family of Samir Skapi in Chevron. In a joint operation with Border Police and the Shin Bet, the house of the terrorist who killed Border Guard Binyamin Yaakobovitz, Hy"d, in a car ramming attack in November was sealed.

Also overnight Monday, security officials said they had arrested 18 wanted security suspects in Yehudah and Shomron. The suspects were wanted for participating in rioting and throwing stones and firebombs that endangered Israeli civilians and IDF soldiers. Several of the suspects were also charged with belonging to Hamas. All were being questioned on their activities by security forces.

# Terrorist Killed in Stabbing Attempt at Qalqilya Checkpoint

Monday, November 9, 2015 at 8:44 pm | כ"ז חשון תשע"ו

Israeli soldiers clear a road after a terrorist attack was thwarted near the Palestinian town of Qalqilya, Monday, (AP Photo/Ariel Schalit)

**YERUSHALAYIM** (*Hamodia* Staff) - *B'chasdei Hashem*, another stabbing attack was prevented at the Eliyahu crossing into Israel from Palestinian areas on Monday morning. A female suspect arrived on foot at the vehicular crossing on Highway 55 in the Shomron, where she was instructed to halt by security guards. When she ignored them, they fired a warning shot

in the air, at which point she pulled out a knife. The guards opened fire and killed her, the Defense Ministry stated.

A note written to her family found on the woman made clear that her attempted attack was premeditated.

"I don't know what will happen to me in the end. I am doing this with a clear head. To defend the homeland and the youth," she wrote in the letter.

She was identified as 23-year-old Rasha Owaisi from Qalqilya

Highway 55 between Jaljulya and Alfei Menashe was briefly closed to traffic following the incident.

Earlier Monday morning, the Israeli army said it struck a Hamas position in the Gaza Strip in response to a rocket fired Sunday evening into southern Israel. There were no injuries reported in Israel and no immediate comments from officials in Gaza.

The IDF spokesman reiterated Israeli policy, which holds Hamas responsible for all terrorist activities in the Gaza Strip, which Hamas rules.

In a separate item, the Yerushalayim DA's Office on Monday filed an indictment against Balal Abu Gaanam for three murders and seven attempted murders in the October 12 Armon Hanatziv terror attack.

Gaanam, 21, of Jebel Mukaber, was "a supporter" of Hamas for several years prior to the attack.

According to the indictment, soon after he boarded the No. 78 bus, Gaanam started to fire on passengers while the Hamas agent who recruited him, Baha Elian, started to stab passengers.

When Gaanam ran out of bullets, he started to try to attack another passenger.

Together, the two allegedly murdered Richard Lakin, Andrei Guborg and Haviv Chaim, *Hy* "d, and injured several other passengers.

Security forces arrived at the scene, killed Elian and arrested Gaanam.