

REPRESENTATION OF VOICES AND SOCIAL ACTORS IN
AL-JAZEERA AND CNN NEWS COVERAGE OF THE 2014
ISRAELI-GAZA CONFLICT

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FACULTY OF LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS
UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA
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2014 ISRAELI-GAZA CONFLICT**

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**FACULTY OF LANGUAGES AND LINGUISITICS
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ABSTRACT

The 2014 Israeli-Gaza conflict is regarded as one of the violent and unforgettable conflicts in modern history (Qawariq, 2016). The language used in the news websites was seemingly disparate in terms of representing the Palestinians in Gaza and the Israelis. This study seeks to examine how Al-Jazeera and CNN represented the Israelis and the Palestinians in the news during that conflict. This research explores the methods of intertextuality in representing the underlying relations of power and ideology in the contexts of news articles in the Aljazeera and CNN's websites. The sample of the study consists of 40 headlines and 18 news articles taken from both news websites, and adopts Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional approach, Kristiva (1986) and Van Leeuwen's (1996) socio-semantic representation within discourse analysis in order to examine the function of intertextuality. The study examines how the voices and social actors are represented through employing certain strategies and linguistic representations to meet certain ideological and power stanzas. It can be observed that there is a strong relationship between power, ideology and language in the Aljazeera and CNN's news website articles. The study finds that the most common forms of intertextuality used by the CNN and AJE's news writers are indirect/direct reported speeches and/or inclusive/exclusive voices. Such forms can allow the news writers to represent the voices and the social actors with using certain linguistic representations e.g. direct/indirect reported speeches and activated/passivated voice. The study shows how the devices of intertextuality can play a dynamic role in representing the news discourse with certain linguistic representations that suit specific ideas and ideological objectives.

Keywords: Language Representation, Discourse Analysis, Intertextuality, language and Media, language and Ideology, Critical Discourse Analysis

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**REPRESENTASI SUARA-SUARA DAN PELAKON SOSIAL DALAM LIPUTAN
BERITA AL-JAZEERA DAN CNN MENGENENAI KONFLIK ISRAEL-GAZA
PADA TAHUN 2014**

ABSTRAK

Konflik Israel-Gaza pada tahun 2014 merupakan salah satu keganasan dan konflik yang tidak boleh dilupakan dalam sejarah moden (Qawariq, 2016). Bahasa yang digunakan dalam laman web berita tersebut agak kontrasif dalam mewakili warga Palestin di Gaza dan warga Israel. Kajian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji sejauh mana pihak Al-Jazeera dan CNN menggunakan bahasa tersebut untuk mewakili warga Israel dan Palestin dalam berita tersebut ketika berlakunya konflik. Kebelakangan ini, dua laman web berita antarabangsa tersebut mengundang kontroversi ketika melaporkan tajuk tajuk yang meliputi konflik tersebut. Kajian ini memfokuskan kepada analisis wacana dalam menelusuri kaedah-kaedah intertekstualiti, mewakili hubungan asas antara kuasa dan ideologi yang telah termaktub dalam kandungan artikel berita di laman web kedua dua terselat. Sampel kajian terdiri daripada 40 tajuk utama dan 18 artikel berita yang dipetik daripada laman web. Berdasarkan analisis wacana tersebut, kajian telah memfokuskan kepada tiga dimensi menggunakan pendekatan Fairclough (1995) dengan kerjasama Kristiva (1986) dan Van Leeuwen dalam representasi analisis wacana bagi mengkaji fungsi intertekstualiti. Kajian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji bagaimana suara-suara dan para pelakon sosial mewakili strategi-strategi tertentu dan perwakilan linguistik ketika menemui ciri-ciri tertentu dan kuasa stanza. Oleh itu, perkara tersebut mempunyai hubungan yang kuat antara kuasa, ideology dan bahasa yang terdapat dalam artikel kedua-dua web berita Aljazeera dan CNN. Dalam analisis ini, kajian menekankan alat perwakilan linguistik yang digunakan untuk mewakili suara dan pelaku konflik. Sepanjang menganalisis sampel artikel, kajian ini mendapati bahawa bentuk intertekstualiti yang paling biasa digunakan oleh penulis dalam berita CNN dan Al-Jazeera

iaitu ucapan tidak langsung / langsung yang disampaikan dan/atau suara inklusif / eksklusif. Bentuk sedemikian boleh memberi ruang kepada penulis berita mewakili suara dan pelaku sosial dengan menggunakan gambaran linguistik tertentu, misalnya ucapan langsung / tidak langsung yang dilaporkan dengan menggunakan suara yang diaktifkan / dipasifkan.

Kajian itu dapat menunjukkan bagaimana alat-alat intertekstual dapat memainkan peranan yang dinamik dalam mewakili wacana berita dengan perwakilan linguistik tertentu yang sesuai dengan ideologi dan objektif tertentu. contohnya, laporan secara tidak langsung boleh memberi penulis / wartawan ruang kebebasan untuk memasukkan beberapa pilihan linguistik tertentu untuk mewakili bahasa berdasarkan pandangan dan persepsi tertentu. Justeru, kajian ini menunjukkan hubungan antara bahasa, kuasa dan ideologi dalam artikel berita CNN dan Al-Jazeera

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LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AJE	:	Aljazeera English
CDA	:	Critical Discourse Analysis
CNN	:	Cable News Network
IDF	:	Israeli Defense Forces
IPA	:	Israeli Political Actors
PMA	:	Palestinian Military Actors
PM	:	Prime Ministers

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Appendix A: Samples from the AJE News articles and Headlines

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The study attempts to examine the language represented in the 2014 Israeli-Gaza conflict in the news. The study adopts a discourse analysis approach, where the analysis concerns particularly with intertextuality and language representation. The data for the study is taken from content of the news articles published on Aljazeera English and CNN websites during the period of the conflict to understand the function of intertextuality based on the social dimensions associated with the language choices used in representing the social actors and their voices in discourse.

Some reviews were studied in different disciplines based on the approaches of discourse analysis through examining some issues covered by Aljazeera and CNN, for example, the war in Yemen, Syria, Iraq and more critically the 2014 Palestinian- Israeli conflict (Baidoun, 2014). Further, with regards to the 2014 conflict, to date no previous researches using discourse analysis approach within media discourse have been done. Hence, this current study hopes to focus on the function of language that significantly represents the implied power and ideology in the news discourse as language plays a critical function in composing the social practice of societies (Graber, 2017).

1.1 REPRESENTATION OF VOICES AND SOCIAL ACTORS WITHIN INTERTEXTUALITY

Studying the language based on the framework of discourse analysis to explore the purpose of intertextuality in terms of the linguistic representation within the news reports is necessary as it confirms that studying discourse analysis aims to expose the divergence

and bias in cultural, social and political contexts to disclose the ideologies and power of the news contexts (Van Dijk, 2001). In the same vein, Fairclough (2013) notes that discourse analysis exposes critical dimensions of socio-cultural explanations and aspects in studying texts rather than just examining and analyzing linguistic features as the case of textual analyses. Ultimately, discourse analysis can be used to expose the change of social reality in which discourse is associated with particular patterns and other social manners and elements, i.e. ideological, political and economic strategies as well as power relations.

Further, Chomsky (2002) purports that media can be considered as the main approach formulating the people's attitudes and viewpoints through the language used in such media. Fundamentally, constructing people's attitudes and persuasions can be exposed in accordance to the ideology of the country that the media institution is hosted in. Therefore, discourse can be considered as a social practice (Fairclough, 2001). This study attempts to affirm that the language employed in composing news articles of Aljazeera and CNN news websites plays a significant function in attending to people's attitudes and concerns globally on the social, cultural and political issues of the Israeli- Gaza conflict. Moreover, the underlying representation language reproduced by such news writers attract international awareness on the Israeli-Palestinian struggle, especially during the last war launched on Gaza. i.e. the 2014 Israeli-Gaza conflict. Ober points out that

“Ideologies serve as an important means of establishing and maintaining unequal power relations through discourse: for example, by establishing hegemonic identity narratives, or by controlling the access to specific discourses or public.” (Ober, 2009, P.88)

Based on Chomsky (2002), the study can find that the news websites covered the conflict based on their own ideological implications and agenda of the countries that host

such institutions. For example, Aljazeera is based in Qatar while CNN is based in America (Tantish, 2012). In terms of the ideological implications of the conflict, CNN and Aljazeera have been employing journalists, editors and writers who are professionally trained to report and edit critical issues about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and more particularly the one in 2014 Israeli-Gaza conflict. Additionally, CNN and Aljazeera try to opt understandable methods in selecting the language features, forms and devices in which they can reproduce the significant relations of power and ideologies with the news discourse (Barkho, 2008). In addition, Fairclough (1992) points out that the media discourse, whether an utterance or a text is significantly influenced by certain implications and stances. So, the language within the news discourse is represented based on the specific linguistic compositions and features. It leads to different representations of actions and social actors acquiring assured power and ideologies (Barkho, 2008).

This research employs three frameworks: Fairclough's (1995) which is associated with Kristiva's (1986) and Van Leeuwen's (1996) socio-semantic representations to discourse analysis in order to examine the function of intertextuality considering it as one of the most common devices that investigates the representation of the language in the Aljazeera and CNN's news articles. It is observed that discourse analysis of the news articles can reveal the role of intertextuality in terms of representing the language in based on explicit and implicit ideologies and power.

1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.2.1 ISRAELI-GAZA CONFLICT

The current Israeli siege and militant actions against Gaza were escalated following sweeping government election of Hamas in 2005. The struggle was also aggravated with the cleaving of the authority into the Fatih government at the West Bank

Harms (2017). Since then, the Fatih government has cooperated with Israel and Egyptian regime to blockade Gaza Strip. Therefore, they have blockaded the people in Gaza through land, air and sea. When the suffering of Gaza people peaked in 2009, the Israeli Forces launched the aggression on Gaza which left almost 1500 Palestinian human casualties and more than 5500 injured people (Pappe, 2010). The Israeli government justified the aggression as they want to stop the rocket attacks that are fired from Gaza, while the truth is that they want to eradicate Hamas government and its control on Gaza Strip (Finlay, 2017). However, many countries around the globe denounced and condemned the violation. Hence, they asked Israel to stop their invasion immediately. Therefore, all people around the world demonstrated and protested against the siege Gaza and considering it illegal and unjustifiable. In addition, efforts from around the world offered support and help people in Gaza, especially Turkey and Malaysia. Unfortunately, such initiatives failed as they were constrained by Israel and Egypt. For instance, the Turkish flotilla tried to get to Gaza through the Mediterranean Sea, it was attacked by the Israeli Defense Forces, injuring 10 Turkish civilians (Bayoumi, 2010).

On the 14th of November, 2012 Israeli Forces Defense abruptly launched an air strike assassinating the chief of Gaza military, Ahmed Aljabary, which made Hamas and other Palestinian organizations in Gaza to launch rocket attacks on the south of Israel as a reaction for what Israel committed. Israel used this as an opportunity to attack the Palestinians, claiming that they are taken as human shields by Hamas and other Palestinian organizations. According to the UN report, Israel had killed more than 175 civilians, wounded hundreds and demolished more than 1500 houses and sites within 8 days (Amer, 2015).

The people in Gaza strip have been sustaining their 11th year under the stifling siege which is imposed by Israeli Occupation in corporation with the Egyptian regime.

Gaza's segregation has destroyed the economic and industrial sectors in addition to its educational and health services. Almost two million people live without electricity, water and health services. Moreover, no one can come out or go in, even journalists who try to cover what explicitly happens in Gaza, to edit and report the situation in Gaza strip.

1.2.2 THE 2014 ISRAELI-GAZA CONFLICT

It is one of the conflicts in which the Palestinians in Gaza have sustained the highest number of casualties since the beginning of the Palestinian catastrophe in 1948. It is called 'the 2014 Gaza War' while the Israeli Defense Forces called it "Operation Protective Edge" which means in Hebrew "Operation Strong Cliff" (Garber, 2017). It is the military operation which Israeli Forces launched on Gaza Strip on the 8th of July, 2014 claiming that Hamas in Gaza is mainly responsible for planning the operation of abducting and killing three Israeli teenagers in the West Bank. This resulted in the Israeli government stating that Hamas leadership in Gaza is the mainly responsible for such as action, although the Palestinian factions especially Hamas did not confirm the responsibility. However, some Israeli experts stated that Hamas and Gaza should not be blamed since the action was carried out without their agreement (Shabneh, 2014).

Meanwhile, the Israeli Forces started launching air raids against some agricultural lands belonging to some Palestinian farmers. Additionally, Israeli forces began provocative actions against Gaza people especially inhabitants who live at the boundary with Israeli settlements. Such actions had been continuing for 8 days till the Israeli Forces launched an air strike on a garrison belonging to Hamas, resulting in the death of 7 members. Then, Hamas and other Palestinian factions fired massive rocket attacks on southern Israel, (Dearden, 2014). On 7th of July, which was the first day of the war, around 40 rockets were fired from Hamas and other Organizations which made the Security Cabinet of Israel decide to launch a military operation against Gaza strip and its people

calling it *Operation Protective Edge* (Finlay, 2017). The war lasted for more than 50 days, which according to the UN reports, resulted in more than 2500 Palestinian fatalities, 75% of whom were civilians as well as thousands of injuries. Moreover, more than 30000 homes were totally destroyed and according to the Palestinian Ministry of Health, 93 Palestinian families in Gaza were removed from the civil record (Dearden, 2014). Although the Israeli Forces asserted that the main target was the tunnels of Hamas and other factions, many schools, hospitals, rescue teams, ambulances, power plants and water supplies were attacked by the Israeli army (Shabaneh, 2014).

Pappe & Chomsky (2012) assumed that the Israeli Defense Forces commit such actions, targeting the civilians and civil institutions, because the Israeli leadership believe that through targeting the civilians, they can put pressure on resistance to accept the conditions of Israel and give up. Hence, the Israeli government claimed that many people in Gaza can be human casualties since they are taken as human shields by the resistant groups (Chomsky 2015). However, more than 60 Israeli soldiers and 6 civilians were killed as well as the economy in Israel has suffered from big losses (Dearden, 2014)

1.3 MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE 2014 ISRAELI-GAZA CONFLICT

The media and network sites that covered the 2014 Israeli-Gaza conflict are associated with various international social and political ideologies (Beck, 2014). For example, prompt changes and transformations which have manifested in the European, American, and Middle East media led the globe to a substantial variation in viewpoints and judgments. Such evolutions have led people's beliefs for using media as a device to exceed and transmit certain ideologies and attitudes to the world (Berke, 2010). It implies that the media which covered the 2014 Israeli-Gaza conflict could be studied in terms of the ideological attitudes and prejudice.

The role of the Arab Media in monitoring and reporting the 2014 conflict was simple. The news reported in the Arab websites are usually concise and to some extent limited (Qawariq, 2016). Moreover, Israel was frequently targeting the international journalists who covered the ongoing events on the ground in Gaza especially during the time of the Israeli overland invasion (Qawariq, 2016). It resulted in the obscurity of facts and events which could probably change the position and directions of the world's opinions and attitudes toward the conflict. However, Finlay (2018) states that in spite of the constraints and violations that journalists faced especially on the 24th and 26th of June and 1st of August when the Israeli forces committed violations against Gaza people, many journalists and reporters of various international medias were trying to report and cover what exactly was happening in Gaza Strip. According to the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), 41 journalists were killed by the Israeli Forces during the conflict coverage. Channels, websites and newspapers exert effort to cover and monitor the 2014 Israeli-Gaza conflict. This eventually led people around the world to inaugurate global initiatives especially in the United Nations, Europe and Arab League to stop such violation that Gaza people have sustained (Groves, 2017).

1.4 ALJAZEERA ENGLISH AND CNN

The most significant news channel that was trying to observe and cover the actions of the conflict is Al-Jazeera. The channel was established in 1995 by the President of Qatar, Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani, to monitor and report the actions around the world generally and in the Middle East particularly (Shabaneh, 2014). The channel plays a fundamental role in exposing the Israeli crimes against the Palestinians especially in Gaza Strip during the 3 wars that Israel launched on besieged Gaza. Al- Jazeera adopts essentially the slang of "the opinion and the other opinion" and to show and confirm that

it edits and reports the world news impartially and without prejudice (Shabaneh, 2014).

Another news channel, CNN is also one of the most significant news channels that was covering the conflict. It is the international channel appeared in the USA in 1980s to be the first channel that covers and introduces continuous and ongoing news. The significance of CNN is revealed through the function it plays in monitoring the different events around the world. It has significant influence on the Americans and Europeans. CNN adopts the U.S government standpoint on " War on Terror" which justifies the American intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan. Moreover, CNN plays a significant role in covering the Israeli-Gaza conflict, and it was seen to have a noticeable function in observing the three conflicts especially the last one in 2014 (Barkho, 2008). It seems that the two channels have controversially reported the war. The language that was used by both of them was different. The writers attempt to reproduce the language and represent the voices through using certain linguistic choices and representations.

1.5 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The function of the language employed in the AJE and CNN news articles plays a fundamental role in motivating the international attention and awareness on the 2014 Israeli-Gaza battle. It is noted that the representation of the actors and voices associated with the language used within the AJE and CNN news articles have not been widely discussed. More interestingly, studying the function of intertextuality in terms of the language associated with the social and political perceptions have not also been discussed in the earlier studies (Shreim, 2012). This research aims to understand the role of intertextuality as a language device used in the news articles that reports the conflict to represent the language with certain ideological implications and power. Through using a discourse analysis approach, the study can understand "*the existing social reality in which discourse is related in particular ways to other social element such as power relations,*

ideologies, economic and political strategies and policies” (Fairclough, 2014, P.29). Hence, studying the language represented by the news writers using a discourse analysis approach is vital, as it exposes how the media uses certain language and representation for the social actors and voices in terms of certain views and perceptions. In this context, the 2014 conflict is considered as a turning point in changing international perceptions and attitudes towards the Israel-Palestinian conflict as well as the involvement and bias of the international community with Israel.

1.6 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES & QUESTIONS

The aims of the study are to:

- i Examine the different representations and linguistic devices used by AJE and CNN in reporting the Palestinian and Israeli actors in the 2014 Israeli-Gaza conflict.
- ii Investigate the function of intertextuality reported as the excluded and included voice in the Aljazeera and CNN news articles in the 2014 Israeli-Gaza conflict.

The research questions formulated for this study are:

1. How did Al-Jazeera and CNN’s news represent the social actors in the news headlines and articles discourse?
2. How did Al-Jazeera and CNN employ the reported speeches to represent the voice of the Palestinians and Israelis in their news headlines and articles discourse?

1.7 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study attempts to investigate the role of intertextuality in the language representing the actors and voices in the news articles. Furthermore, a discourse analysis of intertextuality reported in AJE and CNN news articles can explore the function of discourse analysis as a device to expose the particular patterns and linguistic choices

reproducing the actions and social actors based on certain ideological and political strategies as well as power relations. The current study also seeks to contribute some knowledge in the news discourse concerning with the relation between language and ideology especially in the news articles of the two-news website which covered the 2014 Israel-Gaza conflict.

The study can also provide some knowledge about voice representation within media as well as how intertextuality can be used to reproduce certain language suits specific ideologies and viewpoints. It may also provide information for journalists and politicians who care about the Israel-Gaza conflict, especially during the times of Israeli aggression against Gaza, similar to what happened in 2008 and 2012.

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CHAPLITER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter explains some approaches adopting discourse analysis i.e., meanings of discourse, discourse and media, discourse and representation, discourse and social practice, and discourse and ideology. In addition, the study includes discourse analysis to understand the means of intertextuality within the news discourse. More particularly, intertextuality in the news discourse of the Middle East and Europe. Additionally, this chapter includes the background of the study.

2.1 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Discourse analysis is a field concerns with studying aspects of social practice through analysis of language use. It aims to examine how language is used to shape the social, political and ideological practice and power. Hence, discourse includes different meanings based on the context and the practice that it is used within.

2.1.1 MEANINGS OF DISCOURSE

Bakhtin (1981) thinks that the term ‘discourse’ includes various interpretations and definitions. Thus, Bakhtin (1981) points out that the term ‘discourse’ can be interpreted based on the frameworks that it is presented with e.g., functionalism, structuralism and constructionism. Hence, Kristeva (1986) emphasizes that “*without discourse, there is no social reality, and without understanding discourse, we cannot understand our reality, our experience or ourselves*” (Allen, 2011, P. 14). For Kristeva, discourse can be regarded as a kind of productivity presented with certain meaning relations and semiotic codes. So, Kristiva and Bakhtin (1986) see that discourse should

be understood and constituted out based on social formations and dimensions. Discourse can be considered as a social practice since it can shape some conceptions influencing the viewpoints and attitudes of the society. Moreover, Fairclough (2013) states that discourse can be regarded as a language viewed in certain manners considered as parts of social life (social process) which are associated with other dialectical social processes.

Richardson (2006) proposes that these distinct parts can be described as a language (discourse) implies certain power, beliefs, values, rituals or specific relations that can be presented in terms of different conceptions and dimensions within discourse. Furthermore, Van Leeuwen (2008) suggests subsequently that discourse is a textual, discursive and social practice (Kristeva, 1986; Fairclough, 2002) that does not present what is going on, but it also can justify and evaluate the event (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

In addition, some scholars (e.g., Kristeva 1981; Frow 1986 & Fairclough, 1995b) substantially consider discourse as a text which concerns with other texts and linguistic features that are discursively produced as a presentation rather than a process. For example, the discourse that can be presented on the TV is different than the one presented in the radio. Hence, discourse can be produced, consumed and interpreted based on different methods and manners. Therefore, Halliday (1996) considers discourse as a process involves meta-functions, relational, interpretational and expressive. Halliday means by the relational value that a discourse should involve the knowledge, beliefs and contents. The experiential value means that a discourse should regard and understand how the social world should be presented. The expressive value means that a discourse should trace the evaluation of the producer to the reality that it relates to (Halliday, 1996).

Bakhtin indicates that discourse as a social practice involves dialectical relationships between the social structures and certain discursive events. Hence, the discursive events are shaped by such social situations, institutions and structures

(Bakhtin, 1986). Fairclough (1992) distinguishes the discourse as a social interaction and asocial action, and the people interact with these processes in their real situations (See also Wodak, 2013; Fairclough, 1997). Accordingly, any given presentation or feature may simultaneously have such values. In media discourse, editors and reporters select and use certain aspects of events. They exclude and include realities and actions concerning their political productions. Therefore, some of the discourse analysis researchers study the discourse based on the socio-cultural and historical aspects. The historical and social background expose and reveal the power and ideological implications of the text. The cultural aspects show the social practice (Richard, 2007).

Consequently, discourse analysis concerns on the relationship between the production and interpretation of the text with the wider context. Kristeva & Bakhtin (1986) assume that discourse analysis became critical since it is upgraded from the stage of being textual analysis to be critical analysis. The social practice can be considered as a socio-political institutional, cultural and historical context. Such contexts or dimensions are studied and explained based on the production, transformation, consumption and distribution of the text. This study attempts to concern with how the social actors and the voices of the 2014 Israeli-Gaza conflict are presented by using intertextuality in terms of the ideological implications that the discourses of CNN and AJE are embedded with.

2.1.2 DISCOURSE AND MEDIA

Bakhtin (1986) observes that text is represented based on the everyday interactions. Such interactions are consumed in terms of the social and institutional practice. For example, the news texts seek to give certain interactions between the reporters (writers) and the consumers (readers). Thus, Bakhtin could assume that a text can be considered as an open unit of meanings influenced or/and intertextualised socially and historically by

other texts. The text is voiced and produced relatively to the language where it is constructed/deconstructed, and it can consequently be approached through using certain linguistic features and categories for specific meanings and implications. The discourse can consequently be regarded as an ideological intersection and interaction between the producer and perceiver, and it sometimes can lead to “ongoing ideological tensions and struggles” (Bakhtin, 1986, P.110). Furthermore, Kristeva explains Bakhtin’s idea through reinterpreting the theory of dialogic text. Kristeva attempts to introduce the concepts of utterance and enunciation to elucidate the writer’s role in the context. When the text is produced, the subjective position of the text is distorted and maintained as the writer attempts to involve conceptually certain perceptions and views (Kristeva,1986)

The concept of discourse within media, whether spoken or written, reflects obviously the ideological stances and interests of the powerful voices i.e., politicians, elites, journalists, etc. (Fairclough,1989; Dijk, 1998&Fowler, 1991). In this regard, Fairclough (2013) considers the discourse of media as a “one sided” action which discerns divisions between the producer and interpreter. Thus, the crucial function of the discourse in the media is to bring the news events based on how the source of the news domains the attention of the people (news consumers). In this regard, the producers of media discourse attempt to formulate the articles of the news to involve their ideal points for their ideal audiences. Hence, they cover and portray the conflict, and in the same time, attempt to advocate and include their involvements and views about the conflict (Fairclough, 2003).

Richard (2007) suggests that the discourse of the news shapes the values and experiences of the people. Therefore, there is a necessity to disclose the ideological implications of the writers of news articles especially during the times of the conflicts. The news writers usually attempt to offer an ideal source of data from which suit their ideological interests. It obviously uncovers their methods in constructing the language of news discourse. Moreover, the news text can be considered as a social practice that

represents the actions and views of certain individuals. Halliday (1985) argues that the news writers try to operate and report the events in terms of the institutional relations and social constraints. So, the reporters formulate the news articles in a way that suits the opinions and points of their audience. Bell (2007) points out that each news article has its own discourse that is shaped based on certain variables, such as the media worship, the ideology of the editors and the journalistic practice. Accordingly, the discourse is strongly associated with representation.

2.1.3 DISCOURSE AND REPRESENTATION

Wenden (2005) points out that the representation depends on how the language is constructed. Representation refers to the meaning process constructed through combination of certain texts. It means that the meaning within a text is constructed in the media by some certain linguistic features to reproduce specific meanings for certain representations. In addition, Halliday (1986) observes that the functional meaning within a discourse should highlight how the texts are written to reproduce different representations associated with the people's activities and positions. Fairclough assumes that discourse concerns mainly on the way that represents aspects of the world. More interestingly, the discourse representation regards the structure and process of the material social and mental worlds; beliefs, thoughts, feelings and so on. Fairclough (2003) substantially points out that the discourse of media is a representation of facts and realities, and it becomes a target for CDA. Hence, the news articles represent different viewpoints and perspectives of the same events. It is suggested that the media of the news should be analyzed and examined since it shows *"an interesting that news representations are subjective interpretations, conditioned by the political and social surroundings"* (Fairclough, 2003, P. 111).

Moreover, Fowler assumes that the media represents the world with specific discourse involves certain linguistic features. It means that the representation of discourse represents the events with using specific language and discourse practice. It can be claimed that language in use (discourse) that is functioned by the news writers to report the events of a conflict cannot be assumed to be neutral or objective. The ideas and actions are represented by certain language, values and attitudes. It means that the news writers represent and reproduce the language of discourse based on specific points and stances (Fowler, 2013) In this regard, the media discourse can be considered as an obvious or hidden power that includes specific language to suit certain social practice. The news writers represent the social actors within the discourse in terms of certain attitudes and behaviors, for instance, firing rockets, making violence, making effort for achieving a ceasefire, etc. It means that such particular representations represented by the news writers are associated with certain ideological purposes and social practices. Chilwa (2011) states; “media language includes how groups or individuals; identities and relations are represented” (Chilwa, 2011, P. 118).

2.1.4 DISCOURSE AS A SOCIAL PRACTICE

Kristiva (1986b) thinks that the discourse includes dynamic relationships with social structures and concerns particularly with what people can do and read within the discourse. In this regard, the discourse can be described as a social practice focusing on “a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s), and social structure(s) which frame it” (Fairclough &Wodak, 2003). It means that the discourse is shaped and constituted socially as it is conditioned by peoples’ situations, objects, social identities as well as relationships between groups of people (Fairclough, 2010). It indeed means that the ideological implications are regarded as a

part of the social forms. Hence, the discourse underlies the social actions and interactions of the people in terms of their social practices. (See also Halliday, 1996). Moreover, Richard (2007) assumes that the discourse constructs and represents the reality based on the hegemonic ideology of the targeted society. It also constructs and reproduces some other different realities that can challenge the presentations prevalently control some socio- political issues within the society (See also KhostraviNik, 2015)

2.1.5 DISCOURSE AND IDEOLOGY

Kristeva (1999) suggests that discourse as a practice, (discursive, social and textual) plays a significant role in reproducing social inequalities particularly political-ideological dimensions in media. Thus, ideologies underline the forms of the linguistic expressions within a text in terms of the contextual social practice. Dijk (2000) states that discourse of media is considered as the major source of ideologies and attitudes of a community. Androu (2010) points out that many studies discussing the media fields i.e. discursive, ideological and sociological language indicate that the use of discourse in the mainstream of media is controlled by the ideological language of the writers i.e., feelings, beliefs, values, etc., and such language is absorbed in their social world. It can be said that the ideological language is not objective or neutral, but it serves the interests of particular individuals as well as it has specific targets and referents, (Androu, 2010)

Fairclough (1992) considers that ideology exploits the language by different levels and various ways. Hence, the ideological language depends on different viewpoints and areas. Ideology invests the text to carry ideological meanings which are partly satisfying for different possible groups and communities. Ideology is maintained by certain

linguistic devices in the discourse to achieve and reproduce particular language that serves certain stances and purposes (Fairclough, 1992b).

Therefore, it is noted that there is a strong relationship between language and ideology. Thus, discourse is ideological since it contributes and serves particular power relations. Fairclough (2003) points out that ideology is considered as a power relation. He sees ideology as a representation of the world aspects that can be shown to establish, maintain, change and contribute social relations that are associated with domination, exploitation and power. In this regard, ideology can be difficult to be read off the text as it reproduces meanings and interpretations of events in the discourse in terms of ideological strategies and processes. (Fairclough, 2010). Furthermore, Halliday observes that ideology is regarded as a basic framework of social cognitions shared by social groups and members as well as constituted by socio-cultural values and relevant selections. Ideology is organized by certain ideological stances which represent particular definitions of groups. Ideologies and opinions include specific mental representations, beliefs and social structures. Hence, ideologies construct the social constructions and representations of people's values and identities. Additionally, it reproduces representations of events in terms of their social practice (Halliday, 1994)

2.2 INTERTEXTUALITY

It is noted that intertextuality is a concept associated with postmodernism (Kristeva, 1981) which was firstly developed based on Bakhtin's (1969) works and ideas, *heteroglossia* and *dialogism*. Kristeva indicates that intertextuality proposes methods of both writing and reading texts associated with conventional categories, cultural values, manners, perspectives, interactions of other prior texts and perceptions. Moreover, Taibault (1969) suggests that,

“all texts written and spoken, are constructed and have the meanings which text users assign to them in and through their relations with other texts in some social information” (Taibault, 1969, P.175)

Bakhtin (1986) points out that every utterance (or text) is dialogical as its meanings are relatively influenced by other texts as well as heteroglossia as it is constituted and consumed based on certain social practice, (see also Halliday & Hasan, 1976). Moreover, Kristiva (1981) believes that a given text is “a permutation of texts, an intertextuality; in the space of a given text, several utterances taken from other texts, intersect and neutralize one other”. Kristeva ultimately uses the concept to describe the heterogenous and complex functions of discursive materials that particularly intersect textual productions. Kristiva substantially suggests that a text is a kind of productivity associated with various meaning relations, genres and semiotic codes that are relatively combined and consumed (Kristiva, 1981, P. 69). Hence, Kristiva & Bakhtin (1981) see all texts are constituted in terms of other texts within the same social practice and formation. According to Kristeva, intertextuality indicates substantially how texts can be restructured and transformed based on the existing conventions, prior texts and social practices, (discourse and genres) to reformulate and generate a new one (Kristiva, 1981).

As Kristiva does, Fairclough (1995) in his book, *Media Discourse*, points out a three-dimensional framework for examining and analyzing intertextuality within the discourse of media ‘discourse representation’; text, discursive practice and socio-cultural practice. For Kristiva (1986) and Fairclough (1995), discourse representation is considered as a form of intertextuality that is reformulated and reproduced based on certain incorporated texts associated implicitly with specific linguistic devices (e.g., reported clauses and quotation marks). Regarding media discourse, discourse representation involves and introduces complex configuration of several discourses and genres that particularly construct and domain the social practices as well as include “a

way of using language which corresponds to the nature of the social practice that is being engaged in” (Fairclough,1995, P.182)

Some studies by studying intertextuality attempt to signify the matters and topics associated with the language use, discourse representation and genres that domain the social practice of the targeted society. Furthermore, Fairclough believes that the intertextual analysis is considered as interpretative events that highly depend on the personal experiences and judgements of texts writers (Fairclough,1995, P.71). Moreover, Kristiva (1986) suggests that intertextuality is described as a locus of struggles and contestations associated intertextually with power and contextual relations. Thus, Kristiva approaches the intertextual relations as a social practice correlated with conventions of certain discursive practice. Moreover, Kristiva (1990) highlights the basic conceptual levels of intertextuality; intertextual distance, techniques of representation and/or contextual recontextualization (cultural and social context). See the following figure (Wang, 2006, P. 68)

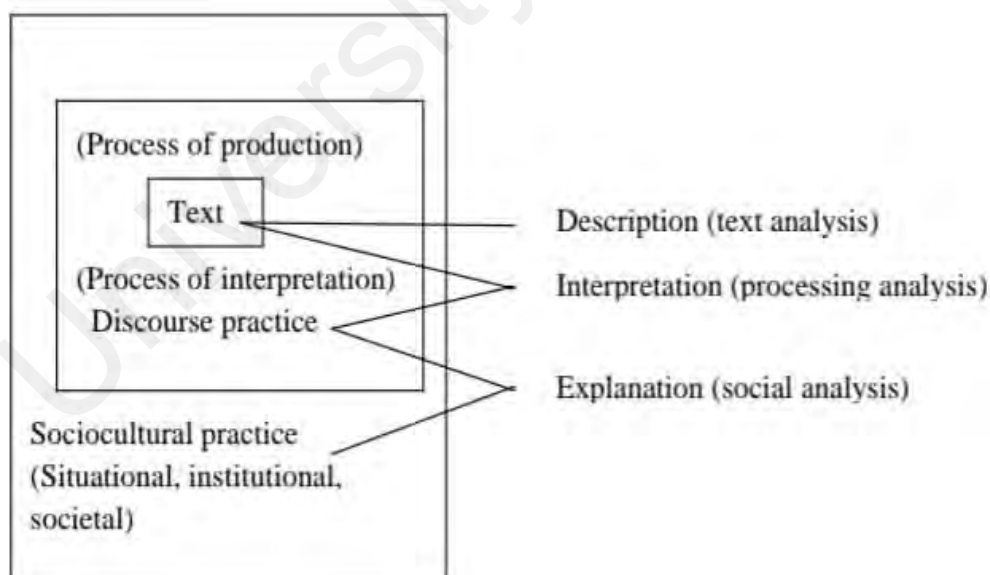


Figure 2.1. Fairclough's (1995) a three-dimensional approach associated with Kristiva (1986)

The importance of intertextuality is indicated in Kristiva's assumption, every text gets its meaning not only from the contextual situation but it also transcendently gains its meaning from the cultural, power and social practice where the text is represented. (Hasan, 1985). Therefore, intertextuality is considered as a bridge offers an interface between the text and the context of culture, power, ideology and social practice. Hence, intertextuality is regarded as a crucial approach seeks to understand how the genres signifies and rules the production of text in terms of certain language, culture and discourse patterns and social practice (Kristiva, 1986)

Subsequently, intertextuality is regarded as one of the most influential and notable features of the language used in the articles of news as it plays an outstanding function in reproducing the implicit power and ideologies. Hence, many studies recommend studying the function of intertextuality regarding critical discourse analysis perspectives. Bell (1991) claims that people speak more than making actions in the text of the news. Fairclough (2003) points out that intertextuality presents the text in terms of some certain elements and essentials; voices and reported speech. Consequently, intertextuality is ordinarily functioned by news reporters to stimulate emotions of readers or perceivers. The writers of news commonly assure that the function of intertextuality within the articles of the news exposes the opinions, feelings and thoughts of people regarding the matters summed up in the articles of news. These reported opinions and feelings are possibly implied by the writers in order to suit and serve their ideological implications. Gitlin states that,

“Every day, directly or indirectly, by statement and omission, in pictures and words, in entertainment, news and advertisement, the mass media produce fields of definition and association, symbol and rhetoric, through which ideology becomes manifest and concrete.” (Gitlin,2003, P.4)

Fang (2001) believes that the news writers construct the truth in a way matches essentially the ideologies of news reports, writers and the audience as well. Substantially,

the same news can be reported and written in different ways based on the ideologies of the news writers. Consequently, it is quite hard to distinguish or identify accurately the integrated voices in the articles of the news. Therefore, the reader or perceiver cannot easily detect or incorporate the voices. Fairclough (2003) subsequently insists on investigating intertextuality in the discourse of news. He assumes that texts and voices are quietly merged as well as writers sometimes do not attribute the voices to the proper actors. Fairclough (2003) studies the reported speech of the British prime minister, Tony Blair after the attack of the 11th, September in New York. Fairclough (2003) observes that there are many reported voices which are not attributed to any particular source. Therefore, he assumes that such attribution come in various ways i.e., direct attribution (specific people) or indirect attribution (anonymous people).

When reporters write the news articles (Fairclough, 2003), there are various views and versions possibly occur, thus the representations of voices occur differently in such articles in a way that serves the writers interests and perspectives. Fairclough (2003) assumes that investigating accurately the process of intertextuality becomes more complex because the voices of reporters are represented differently in the news text. Thus, he claims that intertextuality can include a large number of differences and trends. Davis (1985) claims that the ideological prejudice is laden within intertextuality. Subsequently, intertextuality can play an integral role in the news discourse. It plays an outstanding role in the representations of the news in away suits the opinions, beliefs and feelings of people. Additionally, Quo believes that there are two methods of intertextuality i.e., direct and indirect quotations, for the direct quotation, the writer involves and reports other's speech, however, it is claimed that this presumption is quietly inaccurate inasmuch as the direct quotation is subordinate to some manipulations and modifications. However, indirect quotation is regarded excessively far from exposing the reality or truth because it is extremely believed that indirect reported speech can be subjected and manipulated in

the news (Quo, 2007).

Fairclough (1992) points out that reporting the voices, views and feelings cannot be considered as a copying process, but it is quietly regarded as a process of illustrating, manipulating and distorting the news in a way that the writers can involve their voices and opinions in which certain ideologies and power can be reflected and exposed. It is observed that the texts cannot be perfectly written in the equivalent way of their predecessors. In the news, the reported voices are quietly subordinate and subject to the news writers' exploitations and distortions in which they can write in away commensurate their certain ideologies. Consequently, analyzing intertextuality is considered as one of the most essential issues which can expose the contradictions of cultural, social and political stances through understanding deeply the analysis of the news articles and their contexts (Fairclough, 1995 & Kristiva, 1986). The news writers attempt to use intertextuality to hide or expose certain ideological implication (Fairclough, 1995)

2.2.1 INTERTEXTUALITY WITHIN THE NEWS DISCOURSE

Richardson (2007) assumes that the reporting of news discourse is argumentative genre. It means that news discourse essentially concentrates with the social structures associated with the language to understand the way in which the discourse should be reproduced and represented within the news discourse. For example, Richardson (2007) conducts a study examining the discourse transitivity within four British news websites. The study examines 72 headlines to understand how the news writers' function the social actors and voices to refer to certain frequencies within discourse analysis. The research indicates that the UN voice was completely absent from the sampled headlines. The analysis also shows a number of unknown social actors presented by two semantic-syntactic features; using personal pronouns (e.g., 'we', 'I' and 'me') as well as using

passive verbs with deleted agents. The investigation of the language process demonstrates that the British news writers use certain language for propaganda war. The writers use such linguistic features and choices to justify the US invasion on Iraq in 2003. Furthermore, Richardson (2007) assume that the writers of news discourse seek to report the news in a way influencing on the public perceptions through involving whether directly or indirectly their views and ideological stanzas.

Craig and Lee (1992) apply a comparative study on the three American newspapers i.e., *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal* and *Washington Post*. The research concerns comparatively with the news covering the workers strike in South Korea as well as Poland. The study observes that the economic and political ideologies were mostly dominant on the news articles reported the situation. The reporters compose and write the news contextually regarding the ideologies they adopt. For instance, the American news covered the strike of workers in South Korea with different language representations and discourse than the way covering the workers strike in Poland. The news covering the workers airstrike in South Korea are moderate and flexible which reflects the bias and prejudice with the government of South Korea against the workers. Additionally, in some situations, the American news describe and portray the workers as aggressors. However, in Poland, the American news stand with the workers to protest against the Polish government accusing the government as it neglected the rights of workers. Moreover, the Polish government is frequently accused by the American newspapers as it neglects the workers' rights which created problems and chaotic situation in Poland (Craig & Lee, 1992). Thus, the government of Poland blamed the American media for their support to the workers against the Polish government so Poland considers Americans as the main responsible for the deterioration of the situation in Poland. Hence, the study exposes that the media is excessively controlled by the language and ideological implications of its reporters and writers especially that the research also involves the voice of the American

government and media that are crowned with social, political and economic ideologies.

Consequently, the topics studying the news particularly the printed media are considered as important topics which should be examined based on the perspectives of intertextuality within critical discourse analysis. Regarding the study of (Craig & Lee, 1992), some studies conducted under the perspectives of intertextuality in the media. For example, Fang (1994) examines the Chinese news coverage presented by the Chinese media through studying the newspapers called "The People's Daily". Through exploring and studying the rhetorical strategies which are functioned in the news covering the issues of the world, the study observes that the Chinese media specific linguistic choices to meet the ideologies of the Chinese government.

The study shows that the media in China tends to do that to reflect and expose the Chinese government policy towards the other foreign countries. Fang (1994) uses intertextuality to explore the rhetorical strategies functioned in the representations of demonstrations in the foreign countries. The study shows that similar events can be differently interpreted and identified by the same newspaper based mainly on the ideologies of reporters and their points of views as well. In addition, Yaghoobi (2009) studies comparatively the American and Iranian newspapers to examine the relationship between ideology and language through investigating and exploring the function of different strategies i.e., nominalization as well as passivation. The data analyzed and studied in the corpus of the study is news articles covered the Israeli and Hezbollah conflict in 2006. The research exposes that the writers and reporters' function and employ such strategies to reproduce and manipulate the news in away representing meanings suit and serve their ideologies. Moreover, Wang (1993) has conducted a comparative study in how newspapers of New York Times in the US and Remin Ribao in China cover the coup in Russia. Wang reveals that Chinese and American newspapers covering the coup are quantitatively and structurally different. The coup covered by the New York Times

newspapers was structurally complete. However, the Chinese newspapers neglects and hides about the events (Wang, 1993).

Such changes in the news coverage of both newspapers are attributed to the different ideologies of both America and China. It is claimed that these different ideological views in the news coverage of the coup in Russia by such Chinese and American newspapers reflect and expose that the ideological interests of China and US towards Russia are unlike. Taiwo (2007) examines a study investigates the relationship between language, power and ideology through studying six headlines covered by the Nigerian newspapers. The study investigates the rhetorical and linguistic devices functioned in such headlines to expose and identify the ideologies leading to reconstructive and reformulated the headlines with such devices. Taiwo (2007) states that the choices of such rhetorical devices in the Nigerian newspapers essentially hide and imply ideological meanings. In addition, he concludes that the function of such rhetorical and linguistic devices in these headlines should be appropriate with the strategies of editors in which they include and employ their certain social and political ideologies and reproductions.

However, Fang (2011) studies the features of discourse functioned in the language of Chinese news coverage of the civilian disorder in Argentina and South Africa. The study is conducted on two Chinese newspapers ideologically opposed, called; Central Daily and People's Daily. Such newspapers enhance and promote the presumption constant relationship between ideological interests of the institutions of the media and the news coverage. The research reveals that such differences in the news coverage come in such lexical choices to suit and serve the ideological interests of editors/writers in such Chinese newspapers. In other words, the newspapers of China have constantly overlooked some topics that do not serve the ideological interests of such Chinese editors assuming that such topics are unrelated that should be omitted from the articles and reports of news

coverage. Consequently, the study concludes the news coverage in China is politically and ideologically shaped and framed in away suits the Chinese ruling power.

The previous studies reveal that there is a strong relationship between the media coverage as well as the political, economic, cultural and ideological stanzas. The media can be considered as a tool for the power gatekeepers and politicians who want to convey specific or particular agenda. Therefore, it is rarely to find or observe a neutral media institution. Ya (1995) conducts a study examines the news coverage of the inauguration of governor's provincial in Taiwan by various newspapers in Taiwan. The study reveals that the events are covered by the news in different reproductions and interpretations according to the political ideologies and agenda. Soong & Shiah (1998) examine a study conducts on the headlines newspapers in Taiwan. The study observes that the newspapers in Taiwan have significantly covered the news differently. Such difference can be attributed to the different ideological and political stances of the editors and writers.

Similarly, Kuo (2007) studies the analytical method of critical discourse analysis on two Taiwanese newspapers ideologically opposed. The study investigates and examines the direct or indirect reported speech and the question patterns in the news coverage by the Liberty Times and United Daily News Papers. The research studies how such media employs quotations in terms of the statement of Taiwan president in the news coverage. In addition, the study shows how such two newspapers quoted the speeches and what are the main motivation beyond the way language reproduced and represented in the news. The study reveals that the direct quote is mostly functioned in the representations of whether the direct or the indirect speech which effectively serve and suit the ideological purposes of the editors of such newspapers. Hence, the news representations of such newspapers are laden with ideological prejudices.

2.2.2 INTERTEXTUALITY IN THE NEWS DISCOURSE OF THE MIDDLE EAST

Barkho (2008) conducts a study on the news discourse and social power dealing particularly with the coverage of the war on Iraq as well as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The output of the intertextual analysis of the news of Aljazeera English is comparatively used and paralleled with the CNN and BBC. Barkho (2008) observes that the news discourse style can emerge through adopting ethnographically the analytic methods of discourse analysis. Moreover, Barkho (2007) studies the relationship between the languages and the underlying ideologies and power. Barkho concerns specifically on the discourse of CNN, BBC and AJE's news coverage of Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Barkho adopts mainly Fowler and Fairclough's seminal texts in the intertextual analyses of the news articles. The findings show that BBC, CNN and AJE adopt four pillars presented in the background, paraphrasing, commenting and quoting. In addition, the layers are structurally and discursively different in the news production. After analyzing carefully these pillars, Barkho concluded that BBC, AJE and CNN function various linguistic patterns reflecting the political and social practices and assumptions additionally to the economic conditions that are seemingly revealed due to the differences of the ideological purposes.

In addition, Wenden (2005) studies how the language plays a significant role in the social life specifically the political struggle. The study exposes that the language functioned by the AJE discourse covering the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is represented in a way reinforces the reconciliation between the Palestinians and Israelis. The writers try to use a mitigating language to maintain the conflict. So that, it is essentially observed that the language plays a substantial role in achieving peace between the Palestinians and Israelis.

Mahmoud & Javed (2011) carry out another study on the headlines of the news of Pakistani newspapers. The research adopts critical discourse analysis to examine and analyze the headlines of the newspapers covering the budget of the Pakistani government for 2011-2012. It is clearly observed that the news covering the Pakistani budget is quite inconsistent which is attributed to the differences of ideologies. To serve their political preferences, the news writers manipulate the subjected news based on certain views and perceptions.

Similarly, Ghannam (2011) studies the relation between ideology and language through adopting the framework of critical discourse analysis. The study investigates six newspapers in Lebanon showing how the language can be functioned by the news writers of Lebanese newspapers in the news coverage to serve the spreading ideology among the Lebanese. For instance, the Lebanese newspapers cover the events in a way serving the political ideologies of the newspaper's writers. Correspondingly, Sato (2001) observes that the Japanese news frequently tries to cover and report the "elite" voices which are represented in the imperial family voice in Japan whether if they are presented as addressees or addressors. The study shows that the media in Japan tends to report the voice of elites to suit and generate the relations of power within the Japanese societies. The research also reveals that the Japanese reporters and writers tend to employ some strong signs on the addressees and speakers.

Amer (2015) conducts a study examining the linguistic choices represented the Israeli and Palestinian social actors during the 2008-2009 war within four international newspapers; *The Times London*, *The New York Times*, *The Guardian* and *The Washington Post*. The study adopts three analytical frameworks within CDA i.e., (socio semantic inventory by Van Leeuwen, 1996, the transitivity model by Halliday, 1985 and quotation patterns by Richardson, 2007) to understand the use of intertextuality as a language representation, and how the news writers involve specific linguistic patterns to involve

their conceptions and views. The study indicates that the news reports covered the 2009 Gaza war are enormously influenced by ideological stanzas and practices as well as political journalistic orientations.

Qawariq (2014) studies the language representation of Israeli and Palestinian newspapers and websites coverage on Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The study adopts CDA to examine the Halliday's (1985) language transitivity, Van Leeuwen's (2008) social actors' model and Wodak's (2009) referential strategies as intertextuality patterns to understand how the language within news discourse is reproduced and consumed. The study reveals that the Israeli news articles are involved with Zionist spectrums and ideologies. The Palestinian news discourse reproduces the language in away justifies and legitimizes the Palestinian actions against Israel. More importantly, the study exposes that both Israeli and Palestinian news websites attempt to intertextualise the language representations of actors and actions based on their hegemonic ideologies.

2.2.3 INTERTEXTUALITY IN THE NEWS DISCOURSE OF THE EUROPEAN NEWS

Dijk (1991) studies the European media through investigating the relationship between the media coverage and the issue of the apartheid in the European countries. The study concludes that the media in Europe usually strive to proceed the matters of the ethnic minorities and their voices in Europe on the side lines of the newspapers and news network sites. Dijk observes that the voice of the minorities in Europe is less reported and quite marginalized than the whites inspite of their voice in the news and actions, and their achievements in Europe. In addition, the study shows that the European media does not give an appropriate space to their voice in the news. It actually happened through functioning different forms and various uses e.g., indirect/direct reported speeches. Moreover, Teo (2000) brings the attention back to prove that Dijk's assumptions showing

that journalists aspire more to marginalize the minorities' voice in the communities through investigating the news covering the gangs of Vietnam in the Australian newspapers. Teo reveals that the minorities voices. For example, Vietnamese are always marginalized in the news coverage in the Australian newspapers especially the news covering the local issues in Australia (Teo, 2000).

However, Coulthard (1993) observes that the British newspapers trend deliberately to function the direct reported speeches as tools of intertextuality to report the speeches/voices of men more than the voice of women. The study obtains these results through examining the reported speeches in 250 news items in the most influential and famous newspapers in Britain. The results show that the total number of the voices given to the men are conspicuously higher than the voices given to the women. For example, the numbers of voices which were given to the men are 453 voice while the women are only 77 voice. The result shows a huge difference which indicates that women are given a voice, but they are not adequately given a space.

Bell (1991) assumes that individuals concern with speaking more than they rely on action. It subsequently indicates that the reported speeches are one of the most important rhetorical devices and components in the news texts attracting many studies which attempt to examine some social issues adopting critical discourse analysis. It is assumed that reported speech essentially plays an important role in constituting the text of the news as well as it is considered as an essential device functioned by journalists to create a distance between the personal opinions of the people while using reported speeches. The most influential area which is overly studied in this context is the relation between the power relations within the communities and the reported speech.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The study adopts the qualitative approaches using Van Leeuwen's (1996) socio- semantic representation and Kristeva (1986) associated with Fairclough's (1995) three- dimensional framework of discourse analysis (DA) which concerns with the interpretation and production of the text (social practice), discursive practice and text. The chosen sample data are 40 headlines and 18 news articles which covered the significant situations of the 2014 Israeli-Gaza conflict. i.e. the Alshejaya massacre, the bomb of the UNRWA schools, Alwafa hospital, the bomb of the main towers in Gaza, and the United Nation's Report on the War. The data were also selected for their ideological stanzas and political orientations. The study concerns comparatively with the use of intertextuality as a branch of discourse analysis to explore and examine the linguistic representation of the reported voices and speeches of the social actors in terms of inclusion and exclusion.

3.1 RESEARCH QUESTION

Studying intertextuality and language representation within the news discourse in sections 2.1 and 2.2 show the different representations of the voices and social actors. The writers have possibly used different linguistic features to represent the voices and actors based on certain implications and dimensions. In this regard, the study seeks to answer the following questions;

- 1) How did AJE and CNN's news discourse represent the social actors in the news headlines and articles?
- 2) How did Al-Jazeera and CNN employ the reported speeches to represent the voice of the Palestinian and Israelis in their news headlines and articles discourse?

For answering the research questions, the study applies certain procedures to collect and analyze the data.

3.2. DATA COLLECTION: Procedures and Decisions

Most CDA scholars point out that intertextuality is not considered as a single approach, but it is a method of studying the language use (discourse) with different perspectives and various tools (See Van Dijk, 2013, Mayer and Wodak, 2009). The study collects and classifies news texts reported by AJE and CNN news websites on the 2014 Israeli-Gaza conflict between July 8, 2014-August 26, 2014 (51 days).

The study is guided by the research questions in terms of selecting and classifying the articles and headlines. For instance, the same issue was covered by different linguistic choices and representations including different voices. The study seeks to analyze 9 articles and 20 headlines from each website which were selected as samples of the news articles that covered the 51-day conflict. The sampled articles concern different discursive features and linguistic choices used differently by both AJE and CNN to represent the voices and social actors of both, Palestinians and Israelis with particular language controlled by certain ideological implications. The study justifies the criteria of data selection as the focus is on intertextuality. More importantly, the focus is on linguistic representation and reported voices and speeches of the Palestinian and Israeli social actors.

3.2.1 THE SELECTED HEADLINES

A new headline is the first sentence or clause that the readers read in any news item. Headlines can be a decision for the reader to continue reading the news text or to move to other articles. In this regard, headlines are not merely summarizing the news articles, they are also as what Fairclough (1992) mentions “promotional clauses or phrases, likely to be imbued with ideological implications derived from the choices made by text producer.” (Fairclough, 1992. P 180). Headlines are reconstructed to both sell and tell; in other words, they convince the reader to read the article and convince the reader with certain perceptions.

This study cannot include all headlines of all the news discourse covering the war or the conflict. The total number of the selected news articles was 139: AJE 72 and CNN 67, (See table 3.1). However, this number was too big to be studied and analyzed for this study. Therefore, only (40) headlines were randomly selected based on the choices and linguistic devices used including the representation and different voices that were evident.

Table 3.1: The Numbers of the Headlines of the News Articles

Issue	NP	Number Headlines
Shujayea Massacre	AJE	21
	CNN	17
UNRWA Schools	AJE	14
	CNN	20
The Main High Towers	AJE	18
	CNN	19
UN Report	AJE	19
	CNN	11
Total		139

3.2.2 THE SELECTED NEWS ARTICLES

The news articles inform the readers elaborately about the actions and events of the situations. White (1998) points out that the news articles do not only explain the actions, but it also justifies or highlights the actions. The news articles sometimes include views of various external sources. Moreover, Lavid and Moration (2010) explain “the news discourse should strive to remain objective and should use neutral language while presenting a diversity of events, issues or voices”. The numbers of the selected news articles were (96) articles in total; AJE (51) and CNN (45), (See table 3.2). The selection of the 18-news discourse was random as all the news articles covered the conflict from the two websites included certain ideological stances and political orientations.

Table 3.2: The Numbers of the Selected News Articles

Issue	NP	Number Articles
Shujayea Massacre	AJE	14
	CNN	11
UNRWA Schools	AJE	9
	CNN	10
The main high towers	AJE	12
	CNN	10
UN Report	AJE	16
	CNN	15
Total		97

3.3 CORPUS OF THE STUDY

The articles and headlines chosen are selected from the main articles covering the

most critical issues of the 2014 Israeli -Gaza conflict. Furthermore, the data selected are confined to 18 articles associated with 40 headlines since these articles and headlines have more comprehensive views of the four issues (i.e. Al- Shujayea massacre, the bomb of the UNRWA shelters, the UN’s report on the “War Crimes” and the bomb the main high buildings in Gaza) which are reported by the articles (See table 3.3). In addition, the study notes that it can conduct more discourse analysis through the details given in these articles involving the ideological prejudice and political stanzas of the writers.

Moreover, the study used a greater number of headlines and sub-headers than the number of the articles as the headlines and sub-headers are the key clauses that can convince the reader to go on reading the articles with certain perceptions. It means that sub-headers and headlines are the most important clause of the articles that can give the first impression about the ideological language represented in the article (Fairclough, 1992). Hence the study can expose how language is reconstructed to convey the actors and voices with particular ideological implications. It is not possible to show all the data in this thesis, so while extracts of the news headlines, sub-headers and articles have been given in chapter 4 as part of the analysis, a section of the whole corpus has been included in the Appendix (see Appendix A and B).

Table 3.3. Headlines and Sub-headers examples of the news articles of CNN and Aljazeera

Situation	Date of Publication	Article	Aljazeera	Article	CNN
Shejaye Massacre	20 July, 2014	(1)	<i>The smell of death was everywhere</i> <i>Seventy-two people have been killed in Shujayea, east of Gaza, in the heaviest barrage of Israel's ground assault.</i>	(2)	<i>Is Hamas using human shields in Gaza? The answer is complicated</i> Hamas uses civilians and their institutions as shields in the ongoing Gaza conflict.
UNRWA Schools	30 July, 2014	(3)	<i>UN shelter in Gaza 'struck by Israeli shells'</i> Attack on school used as shelter condemned by UN agency as "source of universal shame" that breaks international law.	(4)	<i>U.N. shelter in Gaza hit, 16 dead</i> School attack leaves Gazan kids wounded.

The main high towers	26 Aug, 2014	(5)	<p><i>Gaza high-rises hit by Israeli strikes</i></p> <p>At least 20 Palestinians wounded as Israeli rockets destroy much of one of Gaza's tallest buildings.</p>	(6)	<p><i>Israel strikes Gaza apartment blocks</i></p> <p>Hamas fighters use the resid com</p>
UN Report	6 Nov, 2014	(7)	<p><i>Amnesty reports Israeli 'war crimes'</i></p> <p>Amnesty finds Israel guilty of war crimes in Gaza according to its report into the 50-day military attack this summer.</p>	(8)	<p><i>U.N. both war crimes in 2014 conflict</i></p> <p>U.N. report finds children on both sides were "savagely affected"</p>

3.4 THE ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIAL ACTORS AND VOICES REPRESENTATIONS

The analysis concerns with the social actors and voices representations in the news articles chosen from AJE and CNN. Each text selected to be applied on the representation of the social actors or voices is divided into clauses. In addition, the social actors are classified into subgroups according to their professional references: civilians, militants and politicians. Moreover, the chosen representational categories are applied on the selected data where those categories can be suitable and appropriate to the data. The study finds out that when studying the representational processes and distributing them among the social actors, some representational categories are frequently realized: categorization, nomination, role allocation, genericization and specification. The social actors are frequently distributed based on the social representations inventories within the news articles taken from CNN and AJE, for example, the excluded and included voices, and how many social actors are excluded and included. The study examines qualitatively the included and excluded voices by applying certain procedures, comparing and identifying the themes and allocations of different representational categories. Therefore, the study concerns with the themes of the representations of the social actors and voices in the

discourse analysis of the selected data to understand the differences between the representations of the social actors and voices in the context of the news articles. For instance, the study focuses on the dominant themes of the representations of the subgroups, i.e., targeting rocket attacks, and Hamas (for military actors), sustaining consequences of the conflict (for civilian actors) and ceasefire (for political actors).

The analysis does not concern only with what is stated directly or indirectly, but it also focuses on the implied patterns of representations of the social actors. After discussing the representational process of the social actors and examining the lexical choices in the discourse of the sampled CNN and AJE's news articles. It is noted that the subgroups of the social actors are structured and represented in a way that suits the ideological purposes of the news writers of Aljazeera and CNN.

The study importantly notes that there are some representational categories combined together e.g., assimilation and individualization are associated with specification since the specification is the main approach for assimilation and individualization. Categorization is associated with identification and functionalization. To conclude, regarding Van Leeuwen's (1996) processes mentioned, the study discusses the representational language referred to the social actors in terms of their implications and voices.

3.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The analytical frameworks of Van Leeuwen's (1996) socio-semantic representation associated with Kristeva (1986) and Fairclough's (1995) three approaching dimensions within discourse analysis are the adopted approaches of this research. The theoretical frameworks are used as devices to study and investigate the relation between

language use and the asserted ideological implications and power within the discourse of news (Fairclough, 1990). Van Leeuwen (1992) points out that there is a vigorous relation between power, ideology and language discourse in the news texts. Therefore, the news writers always try to use various linguistic devices and features in their language to involve indirectly some certain ideologies in their discourses, for example, intertextuality can be used within a text, whether written or articulated, to represent the actors and voices regarding specific ideological positions (Van Leeuwen, 1992).

Furthermore, Kristeva (1986) highlights the basic conceptual levels of intertextuality; intertextual distance, techniques of representation and/or contextual recontextualization (cultural and social context). Additionally, each dimension includes different kinds of analyses; *the text analysis* which concerns mainly the description of the text, the *analysis of the process* which focuses on text interpretation as well as the analysis of *socio-cultural representation*. Hence, the three-dimensional frameworks of Kristeva (1986) associated with Fairclough (1995) consists of three interconnected dimensions within discourse analysis. The main objective of these dimensions is to produce and receive the discourse based on the socio-semantic representation of language which governs the process analyzing the discourse in terms of the three interconnected dimensions of discourse analysis that are shown in figure 2.1 (See section 2.2).

3.5.1 TEXT

Bakhtin (1981) points out that a text is produced and represented relatively with the language where constructed/deconstructed, and it can consequently be approached in terms of certain linguistic features and categories for specific meanings and implies. Thus, discourse can lead to ongoing ideological tensions and struggles (Bakhtin, 1981). Moreover, Kristeva (1986) re-expresses and re-interprets Bakhtin's theory within the ideologic texts. Kristeva tries to introduce the concept of *utterance* and *enunciation* to

elucidate the author's role in the discourse. When the text is produced, the subjective position of the text is distorted and maintained as the writer attempts to involve conceptually certain perceptions and views (Kristeva, 1986). Fairclough's (1995) analytical framework of associated with Kristiva (1986) concerns fundamentally on the text associated with the analysis of the linguistic patterns of the sentence structure i.e., the grammatical, semantic and lexical properties of the text. In this regard, Halliday (1986) suggests that the sentence within a text should be studied and analyzed in terms of the social practices which engage different representations. He also suggests that such representations which are ideologically associated with the social practices are constructed by the writers or editors through the use of certain linguistic patterns and features to serve specific ideological purposes and power. He believes that a discourse can be considered as an ideological and political practice as well as it constitutes, naturalizes and changes particular power relations (Halliday,1986).

3.5.2 PROCESS OF INTERPRETATION (ANALYSIS)

Kristeva (1986) states that a text cannot be considered entirely as a text, yet as a combination of a heterogeneous texts. Thus, any text can be relatively creative, cultural and social. In addition, texts are institutionally and culturally fashioned. Kristiva is highly affected by Bakhtin's notion beyond the discursive practice of a text. For example, Kristeva (1986) points out that a discourse is described as communicative interconnections between a text and others as well as the text and context. Otherwise, Bakhtin's (1981) notion is relatively associated with how people exercise and practice language in certain social practices and institutions, and Kristeva (1986) proposes that texts cannot be detached from other cultural and social textualities. Hence, a text is considered as a context between productivity and practice. Consequently, the intertextual position of a text represents and symbolizes its configuration productivity/constructivity

associated with the linguistic, social and cultural practice. Thus, the text represents and symbolizes the social and cultural practice of a society over the meanings and words of the text. According to Fairclough (1995), this dimension involves mainly two aspects represented in the process of a discourse; the production and consumption of the text as well as the institutional process, (the editorial procedures). Fairclough suggests that the process of discourse practice concerns substantially on the discourse in terms of the culture and society on the one hand, and the language within the text on the other hand. So, CDA was set out to manifest that the discursive features of discourse are substantially associated with social life. The vision of discourse as a form of social practice demonstrates that discourse is both representation and action (Fairclough, 1992a). Hence, Fairclough uses CDA as a method to study language and its relations with ideology and power. He adds that the text production and/or consumption depend on the different backgrounds and interpretations that are surely influenced by certain ideologies. Thus, the analysis of this level should include the relationships between the different aspects of the discursive events i.e., “interdiscursivity” which concerns historically with the text and seeks to understand first the transformations of the past conventions till the present form of the text production.

3.5.3 SOCIO-CULTURAL PRACTICE

Kristeva (1986) indicates that the analyses of this dimension are associated with communicative events represented in three socio-cultural events within the content of the text: Political i.e., ideology and power, Cultural i.e., values of issues, and Economic i.e., the media of economy. Fairclough suggests that the analysis of discourse is unnecessary to be carried out at all levels of practice but it should be relatively studied in terms of understanding the particular events. Thus, influenced by Kristeva, Fairclough (1995) divides his framework into three aspects; text, text consumption (socio-cultural practice)

and text production (discursive practice). The three dimensions integrally impact on each other's.

Van Leeuwen (1996) suggests that the three-dimensional frameworks offers a dynamic process for the social actors and voices representations. Hence, Leeuwen thinks that intertextuality implies the relationship between the ideologies, language representation and social conditions within the text. Fairclough (1995) associated with Kristiva (1986) observes that a discourse concerns mainly on the analyses of the relationship between the socio-cultural structure and the use of the tangible language. Therefore, while analyzing the news discourse, it is important to understand and consider the historical background of the text that governs the discourse, especially the news texts, so Fairclough suggests that it is necessary for the discourse analysts to regard the text consumption/production of the news. The framework of Fairclough (1995) ultimately exposes that the text is restricted within the social conditions. Therefore, the analysis of discourse should be essentially studied regarding the social dimensions since the social background substantially influences on shaping the text and producing it. Fairclough also states that discourse analysis should ultimately concerns on the socio-cultural conditions and how such dimensions likely affect the text. Therefore, some discourse analysts (e.g., Colleen, 1993, Robinson, 2001 & Martin, 1995) believe that the approach of Kristiva associated relatively with Fairclough (1995) presents a wide space of extra important social dimensions that should be considered in discourse analysis. Nevertheless, Fairclough (2003) believes that analyzing the text should be for the reasons of interpretations and explanations.

The study adopted a multidisciplinary approach studying the analytic methods to understand the relationship between language representation and social actors in the news discourse (Kristiva, 1986; Dijk, 1991; Fairclough, 1995; flower, 1991). Therefore,

discourse analysis concerns critically with investigating the role of the language in the news discourse. For example, intertextuality plays an integral important role in the news discourse since it helps the news writers to use critically certain linguistic categories to represent social actors and involve specific ideologies. Thus, studying intertextuality helps to expose and disclose the language features that the writers use to imply their prejudice and ideological bias in the news discourse.

3.6 SOCIO-SEMANTIC REPRESENTATIONS

Van Leeuwen (1996) seeks to combine micro-linguistic analysis with macro-social analysis i.e., the use of certain linguistic features to explain and describe specific events within a society. Leeuwen is particularly influenced by Fairclough (1995) framework and Kristeva's (1986) approach considering discourse as socially constitutive, and it is produced based on certain social conditions. Hence, studying the discourse means investigating the textual, contextual, discursive and intertextual features of discourse (Van Leeuwen, 1999). Discourse analysis studies primarily the way social power domains the text as well as how the text is restricted and represented based on certain political and ideological context. Thus, Leeuwen perceived discourse analysis as an ideological analysis. He stated that the text is constructed based on certain linguistic representations. Furthermore, the social actors within a discourse are reproduced in terms of ideological and political dimensions (Van Leeuwen, 1999).

As shown in the Figure 3.2, Van Leeuwen's (1996) representational categories concerns mainly on how social actors are reproduced and manifested within the text. They examine the discursive practices and linguistic features implied within a text. The current study employs six processes from the social actors' representations. It seems that these categories are the most applicable, relevant and suitable processes that can investigate how the news writers of AJE and CNN represent the social actors and the actions during

the period of 2014 Israeli-Gaza conflict.

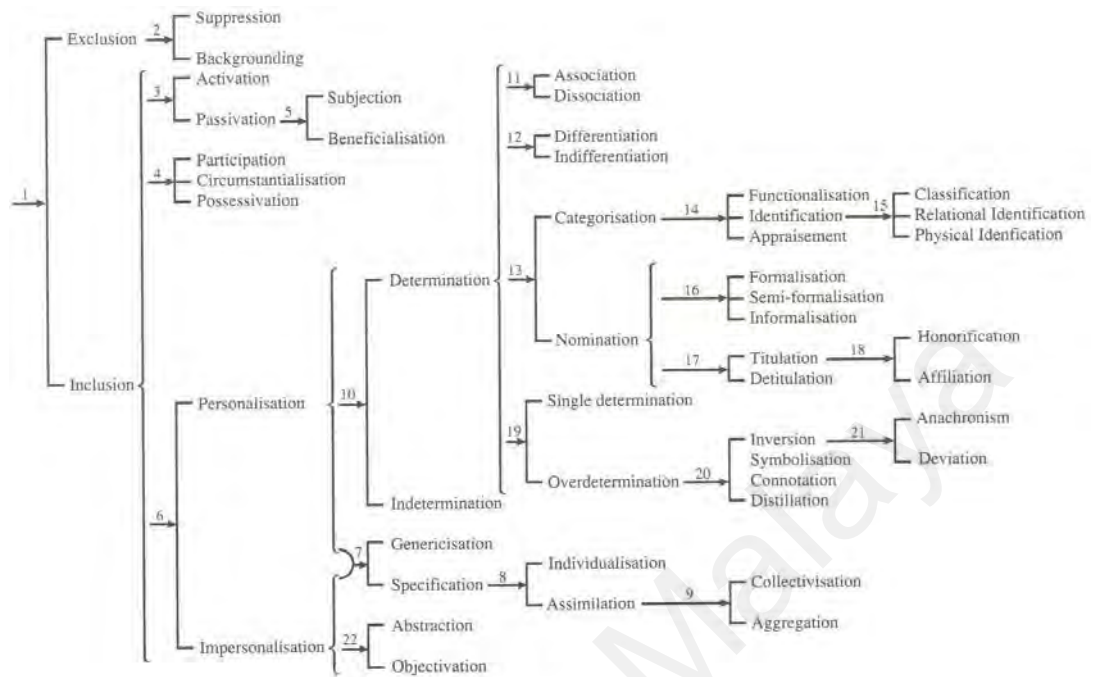


Figure 3.2: Van Leeuwen's Representational Categories of Socio-Semantic Representation. (Leeuwen, 1996, P.68)

This inventory can be appropriate to study comparatively the various representations of practices and actions reported by the two sources i.e., CNN and AJE. The socio- semantic representational inventory distinguishes firstly between the exclusions or/and inclusions in which exclusions have two categories; partial (less radical) and total (radical). Partial exclusions mean complete/radical suppression. It means that there are no references or traces to the social actors and their activities or actions in the text (Van Leeuwen, 1996). Furthermore, there are four methods to understand the suppression within a text. First, the choice of passive language. Second, the realization through using infinitival clause (e.g., non-finite clause). Third, in the functioning process nouns called nominalization. The fourth pattern by which the representational process is realized as an adjective.

The Partial (less radical) exclusions focus fundamentally on backgrounding the social actors. The social actor is not directly mentioned in the action but in elsewhere

within the text. It means that the social actor is not explicitly traced or referred in the text. Furthermore, the backgrounding does not mean the partial or incomplete exclusions of the social actor in the text, but it de-emphasizes the social actors. More importantly, by suppression, the social actor is not referred or mentioned in any part of the text while in the backgrounding, the social actor is explicitly revealed in other parts of the text. The backgrounding and partial suppression can obviously reduce the responsibility and reference to the social actors for their action within the text. It is important to point out that in the context of news articles, the editors and writers purposely employ what and who to be backgrounded or suppressed as well as what and who to be included or excluded in order to suit their ideological bias and stances. The inventory classifies the social actors and voices based on inclusions and exclusions to expose the active and passive voices as well as the backgrounding of the social actors as the following:

- 1) **Role Allocation** which identifies the *passive* and *active* roles or voices attributed to the social actors. The active role represents the social actor with a dynamic and active force in the actions. Passive role represents the social actor as the objective (receiving) of the activity or undergoing the action within the text. In this case, the social actor is represented as beneficiary of the action whether positively or negatively. In this case, the news writers rearrange the role and reallocate the social relations between the actors or participants (Leeuwen, 1996, P.41). It means that by this category, the writers of the news redistribute and reallocate the actors or voices according to their ideological purposes and interests. It means that the active structure or voice in the text does not necessarily show if the social actor is truly activated. The reporter writes the text regardless the relationship between the action and the role of the social actor plays within it (Amer, 2015). Therefore, it is inferred that the category of this representation can significantly expose whether the role of the social actor is backgrounded or foregrounded. It means that the social actor can be presented as implicitly passivated or explicitly activated. In addition, the passive

role can show if the social actor is treated as an objective or receives the benefits of the activity whether in a negative or positive way. The reader can also have a view on some specific voices in the text whether positively or negatively based on his role. He also can understand and have some justification and legitimation for particular action.

2) **Specification and Generalization** refer to how the writer of a text functions specific references and/or generic references to the social actors. The specific references may indicate the identifiable actors who are real individuals living in the action within the text (Leeuwen, 1996). Otherwise, the social actor can be referred to as a generic class of people. Hence, Van Leeuwen (1996) states that there are four methods to identify the genericization; 1) adding mass noun without article, 2) indefinite articles, 3) Plural without article, and 4) a definite article to a singular social actor.

3) **Assimilation and Individualization** represent how the writer specifies the social actor in a text. It means that the social actor in “*specification*” is specified as a singular participant or as a group of individuals. Furthermore, in this case the text does not concern only on representing the social actor as a singular entity, but it also concentrates on representing the situation and institution that the social actor represents.

Assimilation represents the social actor as a group of individuals. Leeuwen (1996) assumes that assimilation in the text can be identified as collectivization or aggregation. Aggregation classifies statistically the groups of participants.

Collectivization in which there are no statistics for the social actors. It does not specify the number of participants. The assimilation of the social actor in the text can build a concrete opinion through presenting some numbers as facts, and hence the assimilation can show objective reporting as well as regulates the practice in the discourse.

4) **Categorization and Nomination** which identify how the social actors are uniquely functionalized or nominated in their terms. The nomination in the socio-semantic representation seeks to address the individuals, and it can be realized by the

proper nouns in the text. Leeuwen (1996) shows three ways of nomination;

I. Informational Nomination “giving names” associated with honorific forms e.g., Ms., Mr., Dr, etc.

II. Formal Nomination “only sure name without honorific”

III. Semi- Formal nomination “giving name and sure name”

5) Identification and Functionalization are parts of the main representational categories of social actors. Van Leeuwen (1996) assumes that functionalization attributes to occupations, roles and activities of social actors. He suggests that functionalization can be understood by two ways; compounding nouns referring to tools and places as well as nouns constructed from verbs by suffixes. In summary, functionalization studies the actions of the social actors and their voices.

Identification indicates the prominent features of the social actors. It identifies the references of the social actor concerning on how the social actor is appeared rather than his action. Van Leeuwen (1996) suggests three kinds of identification; Physical Identification, Relational Identification and Classification. *In classification*, the social actor is classified based on the categories that the people in a given society distinguish and differentiate social classes of individuals. *Relational Identification* refers to how the social actor is represented based on his work, kinship or personal relationships, for example, genitives, postmodifying prepositional phrases and possessives indicate prominently that the text includes relational identifications. *Physical Identification* concerns on how the character within the story can be effectively represented.

Amer (2015) claims that socio semantic processes can be suitable for examining and studying the representation of the social actors in the news articles. It can present accurate principles and representation choices. Clark (2009) suggests that the socio semantic representation is certainly suitable and appropriate for the studies that concern on discourse analysis framework. The representation investigates the contextual language in

the text. It exposes the certain ideologies, views and attitudes that are involved through the language in the discourse (Adampa,2000).

Nik (2008) suggests that the categories of socio-semantic representations associated with their linguistic realizations are the main points that examine discourse analysis and representations of the language and social actors in the discourse of the news articles. Van Leeuwen (1996) points out that studying discourse analysis should start with socio semantic representations rather than linguistic choices and language rhetorical devices for two reasons; first, there is no any correspondence between linguistic categories and sociological representations. Second, linguistic devices are not associated with social categories in discourse analysis. Hence, the use of socio-semantic inventory mainly seeks to examine the representation of social actors especially in war reporting (Van Leeuwen, 1996).

3.7 DATA ANALYSIS

In the chosen data, the study analyses the news discourse focusing mainly on intertextuality by studying the different voices and various representations which are incorporated in the articles of CNN and Aljazeera's news. Through analyzing the selected articles, the study seeks to understand how the writers of the news of CNN and Aljazeera employ the language devices and the reported speeches to represent the main voices and social actors in the conflict. More importantly, the current study concerns on the relationship between ideology, language and power through exploring the indirect and direct reported voices and speeches in both news websites.

The analysis identifies the indirect and direct reported speeches and voices by contrasting and comparing the reported voices and speeches in each article. Hence, after identifying the numbers of the voices and direct/indirect quotes in the articles, the study can expose the relationship between the "reported voices" with the direct/indirect speech

“recontextualization”. The study seeks to find out how the news writers of AJE and CNN intertextualise the events and reproduce the voice and language of the conflict to represent certain language within the discourse of the news texts that can serve their power and ideology. Moreover, the intertextual analysis examines the language representation and voice in the news articles to shed lights on understanding the importance of intertextuality within the news texts. More interestingly, the language that represents social actors as well as the direct/indirect reported quotes to show how intertextuality is effective and important in distorting the meanings and facts of events.

University of Malaya

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the study seeks to analyze and present the findings and results of the study. The study concerns on the analysis of intertextuality occurred in the discourse of AJE and CNN's news articles during the 2014 Israeli- Gaza conflict. More interestingly, how the news writers use the direct and indirect speeches in the discourse of the news articles through intertextuality to involve their ideological stanzas. Similarly, how the writers employ the discursive practice and various linguistic choices to represent ultimately the voice of the social actors of the conflict in away suits their viewpoints and ideologies

4.1 REPORTED SPEECHES AND VOICES WITHIN INTERTEXTUALITY IN THE DISCOURSE OF CNN AND AJE'S NEWS.

The study attempts to analyze the reported speeches and voices as the most common forms of intertextuality in the news discourse of CNN and AJE. The study discusses comparatively 9 articles and 20 headlines from CNN with another 9 articles with 20 headlines from AJE covering the same topics. Then, the analysis examines how the writers of the news websites use the reported speeches to represent the social actors in a way that suits their power and ideological purposes. More importantly, the study tries to analyze and investigate how the news writers employ certain linguistic representations within the forms of direct and indirect reported speeches to pursue and seek their ideological bias.

Through studying the forms of the reported speeches, the study can understand the relations between language and ideology in the news discourse. By analyzing the linguistic representational categories as well as direct and indirect reported speeches in the news discourse, the study sheds light on the importance of intertextuality which is frequently used by the news writers to either distort or enhance facts in their interpretations to the reported issues and facts.

4.1.1 INDIRECT AND DIRECT REPORTING IN THE AJE AND CNN'S NEWS HEADLINES AND ARTICLES DISCOURSE

The study is done to investigate the differences between direct/indirect speeches and the methods that the news writers use in the headlines and articles to quote words and phrases of the social actors. The data obtained from both AJE and CNN websites show how their news writers use direct/indirect speeches in the headlines and articles to quote words and phrases of the social actors. The corpus of data from 40 headlines and 18 articles contain many instances of these and to begin, a description of how the voice of the Israeli official has been directly or indirectly reported is seen in example 1 below.

Example 1: A Comparative between the Direct Reporting on AJE and Indirect Reporting on CNN News Headlines and Articles Published on the AJE and CNN News Websites.

Direct Speech	Indirect Speech
AJE 1	CNN 1
<p>U.N blames Israel for seven deadly attacks on the UN shelters in Gaza (July 25, 2014)</p> <p>“they were not civilians, they are not innocent people, they are terrorists and aggressors,” <i>Avichay Adraee, the spokesman of Israeli Forces Defence, told the reporter in Jerusalem.</i> (appendix A)</p>	<p>U.N shelter in Gaza hit, 16 dead (July 25, 2014)</p> <p>The Israeli officials said that the IDF told the school to evacuate because of the fighting in the area and IDF responded with fire toward the origins of the shooting. <i>Avichay Adraee, the spokesman of Israeli Forces Defence, told the reporter in Jerusalem.</i> (Appendix B)</p>

As evident in example 1, AJE 1: “*they were not civilians, they are not innocent people, they are terrorists and aggressors*”, the reported speech is attributed to Avichay Adraee, who is the spokesman of the Israeli military. It is noted that the AJE news writer places quotation marks on the statement said by the IDF spokesman, and it consequently signifies that the news writer reports and quotes the original words of the Israeli military spokesman. The writer uses direct quotes to express the notion of the deliberate attacks and show that the action was confirmed by the IDF. The writer represents the Israeli actor with direct reporting carrying an “action process” which happens when “the process is performed by an animate actor.” According to Simpson (1993), in such direct representation, the role of the Israeli actors is represented as agents who deliberately performed the action. However, the Palestinians were represented based on the Israeli viewpoints, “*not civilians, not innocent people, they are terrorists and aggressors*,”. Hence, the writer attempts to show the fundamental vision that the Israelis have about the innocent Palestinian women, children and elderly. Thus, the IDF spokesman is directly reported as it implies a “behavioral process” which denotes behaviors as forms of viewpoints (Halliday, 1985, P.128)

On the other hand, the writer in CNN 2 reported indirectly the Israeli official voice which describes the innocent people killed in the U.N school as “*terrorists and aggressors*”. It is noted that the news writer tries to justify the Israeli bombing to the school which killed some Palestinians. The writer represents the action with an “*existential representation*” which indicates that “*some action happens as a result of another action*” (Halliday, 1985, P.130). Furthermore, the writer tries to justify the attack as it was a response to militant actions launched at places close to schools. The writer supports and enhances the Israeli version as he uses the verbal process “*said*” and material process “*evacuate*” which relate the speaker to procedural behaviour, yet they do not imply or convey negative intentions (Richardson, 2007, P.209). This could mean that the Israeli

actions are regarded as justifiable reactions as the IDF appears to be intentionally preventing the firing rockets, action of Hamas and other Palestinian militant groups. For example,

- **The Israel Defence Forces** statement **said** militants had shot at the Israeli military and the IDF responded with "fire toward the origins of the shooting". (CNN2)

The writer tries to represent the conflict as a confrontation between Israel and the militant groups, and due to rockets fired from Gaza, that represent a critical threat for Palestinians in Gaza. In this regard, the CNN's news writer represents the Palestinians as the *causing/causal agents* (firing rockets), whereas, the Israelis were reproduced as social actors attempting to bring peace and prevent the anti-Israeli actions conducted by the Palestinians, especially the Hamas group. Therefore, the writer attempts to represent the words of the Israeli official in accordance in a way that suits his own prejudice and ideologies. The news writer supports and strengthens his argument successfully justifying the Israeli attacks as well as covering and mitigating the statement of IDF spokesman. On the other hand, in example 2 shows how the voice of the Israeli official is directly reported in CNN 1, and how it is indirectly reported in AJE 2.

Example 2: A Comparative between Direct reporting on CNN and Indirect Reporting on AJE News Headlines and Articles Published on Aljazeera and CNN News Website.

Direct Speech	Indirect Speech
CNN 2	AJE 2
At least 16 people were killed as U.N. shelter in northern Gaza was hit (25 July, 2014) "Israeli Defence Forces had warned the U.N officials and Israeli Army has the right to defend themselves" the IDF spokesman told CNN. (Appendix B)	Israeli Fire Kills nineteen in Gaza UN School (25 July, 2014). Avichay Adraee, an Israeli military spokesman assured the bombing and he claimed that the civilian casualties are inevitable. (Appendix A)

As it is shown in the CNN 2, the statement "*Israeli Defense Forces had warned the U.N officials and Israeli Army has the right to defend themselves*" is directly reported.

The speech is directly reported here to confirm that the IDF asked the officials to evacuate the UN school and warned the people to leave the shelter. The writer reports the action directly as it carries an “*existential process*” through which the Israeli actors can be recognized as actors defending themselves and attempting to bring peace to their country. So, their role is determined as a “*relational process*” which indicates that the actor’s response within the situation is based on the circumstances, place and time (Halliday,1985, P.115). Furthermore, the writer deletes the social actors completely in the texts to appear as an attempt to suppress the Israeli actor by excluding their role in the action by using the passive form. It probably makes the readers confused or uncertain about the agents who are responsible for the action.

On the other hand, the AJE’s news writer reproduces the action with “verbal process” representations “*assured*” and “*bombing*,” hence such representational patterns expose that Israelis are foregrounded as *causal agents* targeting civilians and violate the international laws. However, the Palestinians were backgrounded and foregrounded as innocent social actors, “*civilians*” searching for a shelter where they can peacefully live with their families and escape from any Israeli prosecution or aggression whereas Israelis are depicted as violent social actors targeting civilians in their shelter regardless the international laws. Moreover, the writer represents the Israeli actor with “*nominalization representation*” by using the verbal process “*claimed*” as the speaker (the Israeli social actor) tries to justify his mistake, yet it involves the actor has a deliberate intention to commit the action (Richardson, 2007, P.207). Furthermore, the writer inclusively represented the Israeli actor through backgrounding representation: *Israeli Fire Kills nineteen in Gaza UN School*. Thus, the writer clearly specifies the Israeli actor as the main agent responsible for the action by using the active form.

The CNN news writer tries to reveal that the Israeli Army rejects the claim that

Israel targets and attacks civilians or civilian shelters. However, the Israeli military insisted that the IDF warned the U.N Officials, and Israel tries to avoid civilian casualties. In turn, it seems that the AJE writer tries to incriminate the action of Israel and exposes their criminality. The writer tries to show that the Israeli military spokesman confirms that the bombing took place and Israel knows that such action breaks and violates the international laws. First, the airstrikes and bombs were launched on a UN school taken as a shelter managed by the UN officials. Second, the Israeli attacks were launched on civilian people, children, elderly and women. Third, the school was taken as a shelter for the people who lost their homes and became displaced and without shelter. Hence, the indirect reported speech of the Israeli officials suggests that the AJE news writer tries to argue that the Israeli bombing on the school was unjustifiable and it is considered as a source of universal shame as such actions violate the international laws and charters.

It seems that the indirect reported speeches in the news articles of CNN and AJE do not enable the readers to understand or recognize if the statement is really said by the social actor or his voice is indirectly manipulated and then included in the news article. Hence, it can be assumed that the news writers use the indirect reporting to adopt certain representational patterns in order to pursue specific ideologies and prejudice. So, using indirect reported speeches can be subjected to manipulate and reformat the discourse with certain representation. Hence, it can be suggested that the original reported words might be changed, distorted or deleted by the news writer. In discourse analysis, direct and indirect reported speeches are considered as an important device that gives the writer a space and enough freedom to change and distort the facts (Halliday, 1985).

Discourse analysis points out that there are significant quotations known as “Scare Quotes” which attribute to the insertions of some certain expressions or words within the quotation marks. This kind of direct quotation is generally incorporated in the reported speeches. “Scare quotes” are particularly included and associated with the indirect

reported speeches to pursue the stand points and perspectives of the news writers. On the other hand, this kind of quotation is considered as direct reported speech because it is demarcated by quotation marks. The following examples are extracted from CNN news articles on the bombing of the UNRWA school.

Example 3: Occurrences of ‘Scare Quotes’ in the News Articles Published in the CNN News Website.

The Israeli Military accuses Hamas of using “**civilians and their institutions**” as shields in the ongoing Gaza conflict....., the rockets were found in a vacant school between two other UN schools being used as “**shelter for 3000 displaced Palestinians**” . *Israeli assault on ANARWA school leaves at least 44 dead (June 23, 2014)*

As seen in example 3, the writer uses the scare quotes corporately within the indirect reporting: “*civilians and their institutions*”, “*shelters for 3000 displaced Palestinians*”. It seems that the function of “scare quotes” in this context is crucial, for example, scare quotes allow readers to think and focus on the “*civilians and their institutions*” to emphasise how Hamas uses the Palestinians as human shields. In other words, the news writer attempts to leave negative impressions about the actions of Hamas and how they sacrifice the Palestinians and take the UN shelters as shields. Hence, the news writer mitigates and justifies the Israeli actions especially in terms of targeting the civilians. According to Fairclough (1995), scare quotes are emotively used by a news writer to separate his voice from the other voices. The news writer attempts to employ such representational patterns in their writing to support their position and argument to serve certain objectives. Hence, the use of “Scare Quotes” strengthens and confirms the importance of intertextuality in the articles of the news (Fairclough, 1998).

Consequently, the use of “Scare Quotes” and indirect reported speech in the news articles supports the importance of intertextuality since it is used by the news writers to misrepresent the content of what is truly said in order to pursue certain explanations and

interpretations of the reported events to serve their ideologies and purposes.

In the following section, the study shows a number of reported speeches occurred in the sampled news articles covering the 2014 Israeli-Gaza conflict on the AJE and NN news websites.

4.1.1.1 SCARE QUOTES, DIRECT AND INDIRECT SPEECH ON AL- SHUJAYEA MASSACRE.

The section examines and analyses the occurrences of direct, indirect speech and scare quotes on the sampled headlines and reports that covered the Al-Shujayea massacre published on the AJE and CNN news websites. The findings show a number of scare quotes, direct and indirect reported speeches which are used by the writers of both websites as shown in the following table.

Table 4.4. Scare quotes, direct and indirect speech on al-Shujayea Massacre

Reported Speech	CNN	AJE
Scare Quotes	5	7
Direct Speech	10	14
Indirect Speech	13	15
Total	28	36

The news articles covered Shujayea massacre in which dozens of children, women and men were killed as the Israeli Forces shelled the area on 20 July, 2014. Aljazeera incorporates 7 scare quotes as compared with 5 times occurred in the CNN's news articles. As for the direct speeches, Aljazeera incorporates 14 times as compared with 10 times occurred in the CNN news articles. On the other hand, the indirect reported speech occurs 15 times in Aljazeera news articles as compared to 13 times occurred in the CNN's. Overall, there are 36 occurrences in Aljazeera in comparative with 28 occurrences in the CNN, additionally, the AJE news articles contain 941 words in

comparative with 987 words in the CNN news article.

Examples of Direct/Indirect Reported Speech and Scare Quotes in CNN and AJE's News Headlines and Articles Covered the Al-Shujayea Massacre.

	Aljazeera	CNN
Direct Reported Speech	Mark Regev, spokesman for Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, told Al Jazeera: " <i>Civilian casualties are a tragic inevitability of the brutal and systematic exploitation of homes, hospitals and mosques in Gaza</i> " (article, 2)	" <i>very difficult because Hamas is using them, Palestinians, as human shields,</i> " The spokesman for Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu told CNN. (article, 2)
Indirect Reported Speech	On Sunday, at least 72 people were killed in central Gaza, including 19 children during the IDF assault that destroyed much of the Shujayea district and left charred bodies lying in the streets. (article, 1)	Israel has accused Hamas of using human shields in the conflict in Gaza. Also, in 1982, when Israel invaded Lebanon with the intention of destroying the PLO, it accused PLO combatants of using civilians as human shields in that conflict, too. (article, 1)
Scare Quotes	United Nations commission concluded that the Israeli army deliberately targeted civilians in their homes, with " <i>strong indications</i> " of a war crime. However, <u>according</u> to the Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Monitor, " after the 51-day war on Gaza ", no measures have been taken by the United Nations or other bodies to hold the government of Israel to account. (article, 5)	Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu called the report " <i>biased</i> " and said that any country would defend itself the way Israel did if it were attacked..... And he said it had mistaken the boys wounded in the latter attack for " <i>fleeing fighters,</i> " even though anyone would flee a building being attacked. (article, 5)

It is observed that the AJE's news writers attempt to concern with representing the Palestinian social actors by using certain themes and/or representations; backgrounding or suppression in facing consequences of the conflict. Hence, the writer focuses on the themes of exclusion, inclusion and scare quotes as he attempts to represent and portray the suffering of Palestinians through using certain linguistic features either by; suppression or backgrounding, as the following examples show:

- At least 72 people **were killed** in central Gaza, including 19 children. (AJE, article 1)

- More than 30 houses **were destroyed**. (*AJE, article 5*)

Hence, the AJE's news writer suppresses the wounding or killing of Palestinian civilians. Moreover, the discourse traces the social actor that is responsible for killing the Palestinian civilians, yet he does not mention into the reason beyond their killing, why they were killed. The writer uses the verbal representational process "were killed" and "destroyed" to show that they were deliberately killed and the area was purposely targeted. More clearly, the number of civilians associated with the word "killed" shows that those people were murdered in a military operation. Thus, the writer used the verb "killed and destroyed" in a passive structure in order to suppress the social actors undergoing the action, Palestinians. This representational pattern mystifies the Israeli agency as the reader would clearly be aware of the main responsible for the action "backgrounding". However, the CNN's news writers attempt to use direct, indirect and scare quotes to convey some certain themes. Israelis are passivated in facing the militant groups as they hide beyond the civilians and take them as human shields. Furthermore, they try to fire rockets from places close to the international institutions, schools, hospitals and civilian homes.

- **"Very difficult because Hamas is using them, Palestinians, as human shields"**. The Israeli Prime Minister, Netanyahu told CNN
- Most **"were warned"** by the 3-minutes warnings that were sent to them to evacuate the place. CNN

The writer uses the direct, indirect and scare quotes to employ some certain linguistic features to convey certain meanings. (Leeuwen, 1997, P.102). The CNN's news writer accordingly used some certain linguistic representations e.g. "human shields", "accused Hamas", "Israeli defend itself" to represent Israelis as social actors try to do all their best to avoid the human casualties, yet the Palestinian groups use them as human shields.

In brief, the news writers use, direct, indirect and scare quotes as they tend to reproduce the social actors by some certain representations. For example, the CNN's writers use the genericization process in representing the Israelis as they are included as social actors facing the "fired rockets" in general. However, the AJE's news writers represent the Palestinian civilians as genericized since they are the victims killed or injured by the Israeli artillery and fire in their aggression against Gaza. Furthermore, the numbers of Gaza civilians killed by the Israelis were prominently specified. Such representation, Specification is more sympathy with the Palestinians. Moreover, these genericization and specification may mystify the Israeli agency as they are specified for being responsible about such actions and aggressions. Fairclough argues that "a discourses choice of wording depends on and helps create social relationships between participants" (Fairclough, 1989, P. 112)

4.1.1.2 Scare Quotes, Direct and Indirect Reported Speech on the UNRWA School

On the AJE and CNN news websites, a number of scare quotes, direct and indirect reported speeches are used in the news articles covered the bomb on the U.N shelter are shown as the following:

Table 4.5. Scare Quotes, direct and indirect Reported Speech on the UNRWA School

Reported Speech	AJE	CNN
Scare Quotes	4	7
Direct	8	15
Indirect	19	28
Total	31	50

The articles and headlines published on the CNN and AJE's news websites covered the Israeli attack on the UNRWA school during the conflict on July 25, 2014. CNN's articles have 7 occurrences of scare quotes as compared with 4 occurrences in the AJE's articles. Direct reported speech occurrences 8 times in AJE as compared with 15 in the CNN. For

the indirect reported speech, 9 times occurred in the AJE's articles in comparative with 28 times in the CNN's articles. All in all, 50 times in CNN as compared to 31 in the Aljazeera. The news article of CNN contains 815 words as compared to 519 words in the Aljazeera news article.

Examples of Direct Reported Speech, Indirect Reported Speech and Scare Quotes in the CNN and AJE News Articles on the Israeli Attack on the UNRWA School.

	Aljazeera	CNN
Direct Reported Speech	<i>"We gave the Israelis the precise GPS coordinates of the Beit Hanoun shelter. We were trying to coordinate a window [for evacuation] and that was never granted," said Chris Gunness. (article, 4)</i>	<i>"Whatever grievances you may have, this is wrong. Why are you continuing to kill people? There are many other ways to resolve this issue without killing each other." Said U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon. (article, 4)</i>
Indirect Reported Speech	In an interview with Al Jazeera, Chris Gunness, the spokesman of UNRWA, the UN's humanitarian organization in Gaza, said that his organisation had been in contact with Israeli forces as fighting closed to the shelter. (article, 6)	The U.N. spokesman, Chris Gunness. Said that the coordinates of the school in Beit Hanoun, which was serving a shelter for families in Gaza, had been given to the Israeli military. (article, 6)
Scare Quotes	<i>On Sunday Israel "told" residents of the north Gaza town of Beit Lahiya to leave their homes. At dawn that same day, hundreds of families in the northern Gaza Strip evacuated their houses and made their way to temporary housing shelters: schools run by the "United Nations" in the heart of Gaza City. (article,6)</i>	An Israel Defence Forces statement said militants had shot at the Israeli military and the IDF responded with " <i>fire toward the origins of the shooting.</i> " The IDF said it had told people at the school to evacuate because of the fighting in the area and given a four-hour window to get people out. (article, 6)

It is noted that the AJE's news articles represent the Israelis through backgrounding representational process as targeting of UN sites, but the Palestinians are reproduced through suppressing representational processes as they are the victims of killing incidents. The following examples show how those actors are excluded and included through using the direct, indirect and scare quotes in the representational patterns

- The U.N compound was one of several "**civilian institutions**" hit as troops moved into Gaza city. (AJE, article, 4)
- "**Two of World Food Program drivers**" were killed. (CNN, article, 4)

The AJE's news articles background the Israelis as social actors responsible for bombing and striking the UN shelters compound in Gaza. The clauses show that the UN shelters were targeted inspite of the preceded coordination between the UN and the IDF. The CNN's news articles did not show clear references to the agents for hitting the UN shelter. Hence, one possible reading of the clauses could show that the UN sites might be hit as a result from Hamas militant groups fighting the IDF. It can be similarly noted that the CNN's news articles represented the 'suppression' of responsible actors for killing of two drivers was produced by passive agent deletion. It accordingly makes the reader unsure of the social actors responsible for the action, Israelis or Palestinians.

In this regard, the actors are both specified and generalised across the news articles of the two sites, AJE and CNN, based on the representational patterns through which the writers can involve their viewpoints and ideologies. For example, some actors are generalised as singular with indefinite articles, plurals without articles and mass nouns with articles. The AJE's report specified the UN actors as individuals, for instance,

- He (**Chris Guinness**) condemned Israel for the attack. (AJE, article 6)

However, the CNN's report generalised the IDF as singular with a definite article, e.g., "the Israeli military", "the IDF spokesman". Otherwise, the militant groups and Palestinians in Gaza were generalised as plural without articles,

- Israel said that it strives to keep **Gazans** out of harm's way by warning them with leaflets, text messages and phone calls. (CNN, article 6)
- Israel blames **militant groups** and **fighters** fired rockets against Israel and the IDF from places close the UN schools. (CNN, article 6)

4.1.1.3 SCARE QUOTES, DIRECT AND INDIRECT SPEECH IN THE NEWS

ARTICLES COVERED THE UN REPORT ON “WAR CRIMES” IN GAZA.

On the CNN and AJE’s news websites, the news articles covered the UN report on the “war crimes” in Gaza ongoing conflict included a number of indirect and direct reported speech as well as scare quotes which were used as it is shown in the table.

Table 4.6. Scare quotes, direct and indirect speech on the UN Amnesty Report, ‘War Crimes’

Reported Speech	AJE	CNN
Direct Speech	6	9
Indirect Speech	19	25
Scare Quotes	5	8
Total	30	42

The direct speech occurs 6 times in AJE as compared to 9 times in the CNN. The indirect speech incorporates 19 times in AJE while occurs 25 times in the CNN. Scare Quotes occur 5 times in AJE in comparative with 8 in the CNN. The reported speeches are totally used 30 times in the AJE while they are used 42 in the CNN. The news articles of AJE consists of 680 words in AJE while in the CNN it consists of 711 words.

Examples Scare Quotes, Direct and indirect Speeches on the UN report, ‘War Crimes’ in Gaza

	AJE	CNN
Direct Speech	Philip Luther, Director of the Middle East and North Africa Programme at Amnesty International, said: <i>"Israeli forces have brazenly flouted the laws of war by carrying out a series of attacks on civilian homes, displaying callous indifference to the carnage caused."</i> (article 9)	<i>"Israel strongly defends itself and does everything possible according to international law,"</i> Netanyahu told lawmakers (article9)

Indirect Speech	Hamas says any accord must include lifting a blockade imposed by Israel and Egypt on the Gaza Strip and a return to an understanding that ended a previous round of fighting in 2012 (article 9)	Palestinians joined the International Criminal Court after the war, a move opposed by Israel, and the ICC is now examining possible war crimes in the conflict. But joining the court also exposes Palestinians to possible prosecution if a case is opened. (article 9)
Scare Quotes	The joint study by Amnesty International and Forensic Architecture, released on Wednesday, cites " strong evidence " of war crimes against humanity on August 1, 2014, as Israeli forces bombarded residential areas in Rafah in retaliation for the capture of one of its soldiers. (article 9)	In an earlier report in March, Amnesty criticized Israel and accused it of war crimes during the conflict. Israel said the report showed " extreme bias ", had dismissed its security challenges and had ignored Hamas's actions. (article 9)

The analysis reveals that the CNN's news writers attempt to represent the Israeli roles as "*allocated activation*" as they were forced to respond to unwarranted rockets fired from Gaza, "*Israel strongly defends itself*", accordingly the burden of responsibility should be put on Hamas and the other militant groups in Gaza. Furthermore, the analysis of representation shows that the voice of the Israeli political actors is genericized by the mass noun as "*Israel*". The writer attempts to present Israel as actors who have no options other than responding to rockets attacks fired from Gaza.

On the other hand, the Palestinian political actors are generalised by mass noun plurals with indefinite articles which indicate that they are identified and categorized as homeless and without any sovereignty or power. More importantly, the writer in the scare quotes tries to support the Israeli claim as the report does not respect the Israeli citizens and their rights as well as the war was just launched on Hamas and other militant groups. Hence, the writer focuses on exclusion and inclusion of the Israeli actors based on the theme he (the writer) tends to adopt and represent in the allocation of the roles.

The AJE's news writers use the indirect reported speech to represent the Palestinians in their "*allocation*" as they implicitly demand for ending the siege and live their lives like others, with no wars or aggressions. Consequently, the writer activates and represent the voice of the actors who attempt to support the Palestinians and condemn the Israelis as he activates "*Philip Luther, Director of the Middle East and North Africa,*" who adopts

the theme of condemning Israel and call for ending Gaza people sufferings.

The data shows that the news writers of CNN and AJE use frequently the direct, indirect reported speeches and scare quotes in the articles covering the 2014 Israeli Gaza war. It is noted that the news writers involve more essentially the indirect reported speech in the news articles. Otherwise, there are differences between CNN and AJE in the number of occurrences of the scare quotes. It is significantly observed that the scare quotes were used in the CNN's news articles more than the news articles of AJE. The news articles of CNN and AJE involve nearly the same number of occurrences of direct reported speech.

Although there are apparent differences in the length of the news articles of CNN and AJE, yet it is unnecessary to claim that the short article has less voices than the long one. The context and the writers determine voices numbers in the articles of the news. Moreover, the reported actions determine if the events should be reported indirectly or directly. For example, in the news articles that covered the Israeli attack on the UNRWA school and UN report on the War Crimes, the news writers have used many indirect speeches. For instance,

AJE: 'Strong evidence' of Israeli war crimes in Gaza, AJE, 30 July, 2014. The directive hinged on the belief that Goldin was better off dead than in the hands of enemy fighters. More than 1,000 bombs, missiles and shells were fired in Rafah within a few hours on August 1 alone, according to an Israeli military inquiry report. (*article, 9*)

AJE: UN chief condemns 'atrocious' Gaza killings, 20 June, 2014. The US Department of State said that two of the Israeli soldiers were US citizens. It was not immediately clear whether they also held Israeli citizenship. Attiyah called the killings a massacre and said Israel must not be allowed to choose when to wage a war and when to stop. (*article, 8*)

AJE: Israeli fire kills nineteen in Gaza UN school, 30 July, 2014. The Israeli military said fighters near the UN school had fired mortar bombs and Israeli forces had shot back..... Hamas said it would not abide by the pause, unless its conditions were met - namely, the end of the blockade of Gaza. (*article, 8*)

CNN: Is Hamas using human shields in Gaza? The answer is complicated, 23 July, 2014. Israel said it strives to keep Gazans out of harm's way by warning them with leaflets, text messages and phone calls in advance of a military strike. Israel blames Hamas' aggression for putting Gazans in danger. (*article, 8*)

CNN: Talk of peace doesn't slow flow of blood, rockets in Gaza and Israel, CNN, 23 July, 2014. The Israeli military said they hit more than 187 targets overnight, most of them in Shaja'iyah, a neighbourhood east of Gaza City near the border with Israel. The IDF says Hamas uses the residential area as a "fortress for its weapons, rockets, tunnels and command centers." (*article 8*)

CNN: Amnesty report says Hamas committed war crimes against Palestinians, CNN, 23 July, 2014. The Israeli military said that Shuja'iyyeh, a densely populated area with some 92,000 residents east of Gaza City, had been targeted because it was a "fortress" housing rockets, tunnels and command centres. Israeli military and government officials have repeatedly said that civilians were warned to evacuate the area days before it was attacked. (*article, 9*)

The news writers of AJE and CNN apparently use the reported speech essentially in order to change and report the news based on their perspectives and viewpoints bias. The analysis of reported speeches in the CNN and AJE's articles conclude that the indirect reported speeches can be considered as an active and efficient device functioned by the news writers in CNN and AJE since the indirect reported speech can give an enough space for the writers to manipulate the context of the articles of speeches in a way that serves their ideological purposes and stances. Additionally, the direct reported speech can be considered as an effective tool for the news writers since it can enable them to report and represent the speech of the influential people to change the reported events or issues based on their viewpoints. Therefore, the direct reported speech is considered as a tool used to support the positions and arguments of the news writers. Hence, the writers of the news usually attempt to use direct reporting (direct quotations) because it can give them a special essence to coincide and represent actions based on the views of the important individuals, for instance, they report the views of politicians and experts whose viewpoints can strengthen the sequences of their points or arguments. Therefore, the practical results show that the choices of direct/indirect reports forms that are linked to the profiles of CNN and AJE expose obviously the ideological struggle between the CNN and AJE. In this regard, Fairclough indicates that the reason which makes the voice distributed in the news articles is attributed to the ideology of the news writer as well as the types of the texts. Fairclough argues that in the discourse of the news articles, the writer/reporter tries to distribute the voices based on his prejudice and bias. (Fairclough, 2004)

4.1.2 THE REPRESENTATION OF THE SOCIAL ACTORS' VOICES IN AJE AND CNN'S NEWS ARTICLES.

The second section of the analysis concerns with the voices represented in the sampled news headlines and articles. It characterizes the voices that are included in the sampled news articles. More interestingly, the study attempts to study the relationship between the way that the news writers involve and represent their voices in comparative with the quoted voices of the social actors of the conflict. In this regard, the context of the analysis investigates how the voices are subjected and manipulated by the news writers in a way that suits their bias and viewpoints. In addition, the reported events determine whose voice should be included in the news articles. However, the selection of the voices by the news writers plays a significant role in the discourse analysis. Fairclough (2003) believes that involving a large number of the voices in the articles of the news demonstrates that the reported actions are important. So, the news writers should be aware of selecting the voices. The sampled articles cover the most critical situations of the conflict, and each article from AJE is critically compared with another one from CNN covering the same issue. All the news headlines and articles of presented in the study involve various voices specifically the voices of the influential institutions and people who have the power e.g., Israeli Government, Israeli Military, Palestinian Authority, Hamas and the United Nations.

The study identifies the excluded and included voices associated with the subgroups of the social actors in the news articles. Further, the analysis seeks to understand how the news writers of AJE and CNN involve and distribute the voices through using certain linguistic representations to reproduce the voices in a way that serves their ideological purposes. The following examples show some important voices represented (e.g., political, UN, IDF military and others)

Reported Voices Represented in CNN	Reported Voices Represented in AJE
<p>➤ <u>Voice of Israel:</u> Ehud Barak, Israel's defence minister, told CNN on Saturday when the bombing began: "For us to be asked to have a ceasefire with Hamas is like asking you (the US) to have a ceasefire with al-Qaida." (article, 7)</p> <p>President Peres of Israel told CNN that his country intended "neither to occupy Gaza nor to crush Hamas, but to crush terror. And Hamas needs a real and serious lesson. They are now getting it." (article, 8)</p> <p>"When Israel is targeted, Israel is going to retaliate," Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni told reporters as she held talks with European diplomats in Jerusalem. (article, 7)</p> <p>➤ <u>The Voice of the UN:</u> <i>In Jerusalem, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu showed U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon a collection of rockets that had been fired into Israel.</i> (article 8)</p> <p>➤ <u>The Voice of the Palestinians:</u> Khaled Meshal, the leader of Hamas who lives in exile in Qatar, said the offensive had ended any chance of a broader peace deal with the Palestinians. (article 6)</p> <p>Hamas has claimed it would consider allowing observers at the border crossings with Egypt but opposes an international force. (article, 6)</p> <p>Ahmed Youssef, a Hamas spokesman in Gaza, said the group would not stop firing rockets into southern Israel until the Israeli military withdrew from the Palestinian territory and ended the economic blockade, which has left Gaza's 1.5 million people dependent on smugglers and relief organizations for their basic needs. (article,4)</p>	<p>➤ <u>Voice of Israel:</u> <i>"Israel is prepared to continue fighting Hamas in the Gaza Strip after the army completes its primary mission of destroying cross-border tunnels from the Palestinian territory," Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu</i> has said. (article, 7)</p> <p>➤ <u>The Voice of the UN</u> <i>UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon has condemned the killing of dozens of Palestinians in the Gaza Strip by Israeli shelling as an "atrocious action" and called for an immediate end to almost two weeks of fighting.</i> (Ban Ki-moon condemns killing of civilians by Israel as UN Security Council meets on Gaza. (article, 8)</p> <p>➤ <u>The Voice of the Palestinians:</u> Israeli airstrikes level Gaza buildings.</p> <p>Moussa Abu Marzouk, the exiled deputy to the Hamas political chief Khaled Meshal, told Al Jazeera television on Tuesday that while the organization had "serious reservations" about the Egyptian cease-fire plan, he believed that it might be accepted if changes were made. (article 6)</p> <p>Khaled Meshal, the de facto Hamas leader, said: "We aren't closing the door to dialogue... Hamas will co-operate with any initiative that will bring about an end to the aggression, will bring about an [Israeli] withdrawal and will pave the way to opening the border crossings and removing the siege. We will relate to any such initiative positively, openly and responsibly." (article, 6)</p> <p>In a televised speech on Monday night, a senior Hamas official, Ismail Haniya, expressed an openness to a diplomatic solution but reiterated previous demands that any deal include the opening of Gaza's border crossings, which Israel and Egypt have kept mostly closed since Hamas violently pushed out its rival Fatah in 2007. (article, 5)</p>

The sampled articles indicate that the voice of Israel was the most accessed in the CNN news articles. Thus, "the political and social powers are the most crucial factor of access to news discourse", (Dijk, 1996). Hence, such findings expose that CNN news writers correspond the voices whether the Israelis and Palestinians with bias towards Israel. Furthermore, the news writer of CNN report certain voices with certain representations to convey certain meanings. The writers involve certain types of reporting expressions i.e., declarative and neutral. They used 'declarative verbs' which refer to an institutionalized linguistic act as well as 'neutral verbs' which are functioned to expose

and give opinions and views rather than to illustrate any events or additional information. (Bednarik, 2008). The sampled articles show that the voices are most presented with neutral verbal process presented in *telling* and *saying* verbs.

- **Ehud Barak, Israel's defence minister, told CNN**
- **President Peres of Israel told CNN**
- **"Israel is prepared to continue, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has said.**
- **Khaled Mishal, the de facto Hamas leader, said**

It can be noticed that the writers of the two news websites, AJE and CNN have presented the voices through using "saying/telling verbs" for the Palestinian and Israeli politicians. Thus, presenting the voices with such patterns can "present the author as simply conveying what others have said, and leave it up to the reader to accept or reject that material" (White, 2009, P.39). In addition, it seems that the news writers of CNN attempt to use some certain neutral verbs (e.g. said, told, stated), for the Palestinians and Israelis adopting the Israeli sources and views. It represents the voices of the Israelis in away motivating them to fight and kill the Palestinians as well as justify the Israeli actions and attacks on the Palestinians. For example, in the case of Palestinian voices, the writer functions certain verbal representations (e.g., claim, reject,,,,,'). The writer tries to present the voices without characterizing them as necessarily dubious or even false, but it can still need confirmation or a question." (White, 2009). However, the AJE news writers present the Palestinian voices with using 'declarative process' (e.g. expressed, declared). For example,

- Senior Hamas official, Ismail Haniya, **expressed** openness to a diplomatic solution.

The writer attempts to represent the Palestinian voice as the victim of the Israeli violence. Furthermore, the writer represents the voices using active structure as he tries to show the theme that the Palestinians are keen for peace talks and ceasefire.

Therefore, through using such patterns, the writers indicate some attitudes towards their news articles" (Coulthard, 1994). Hence, it can be observed that the AJE news

writers attempt to give more space to the Palestinians in Gaza to illustrate the situation and express their views that show their suffering from the violence and consequences of the conflict and how they are keen for the peace. Hence, these patterns include explanations of responsibilities rather than declarations. In other words, the Israelis should be blamed and accused for the war and violence.

On the other side, the CNN writers use 'passive' forms in the voices of targeting Palestinians to leave some confusion and uncertainty.

- 'Three high buildings were **damaged** and the flood of people seeking refuge from the violence is straining UNARWA resources and threatening a humiliation disaster'. The Agency said

Caple suggests that the passive forms are functioned to "background/foreground certain information, targeting some of it as known and other parts as new". Thence, in this pattern, the writer used passive voice "destroyed," and then involved the quotation within the UNRWA quotation through using 'and' connector. It indicates that the writer nominates the Israeli voice by a semi-formal way in order to represent the Israeli voice as unable to face challenges and difficulties of having ceasefire with the Palestinians and Hamas. In addition, the writer implies the Israeli voice as a powerful position as it is involved within an official source, the UNRWA agency. "It actually implies, trends to be seen as true' (Caple, 2012, P.88).

It is clearly revealed that the Israeli voices in the news articles of CNN are included to be either suppressed or backgrounded while the Palestinian politicians are more excluded. The news writers represent the voices as backgrounded in order to delay the immediate mentioning of social actors in the actions. The news writers adopt this method of language representation to de-emphasis the voices in order to serve the specific objectives of the news writers (see Richardson, 2007. P,104). In addition, the news writers represent the voices as suppressed to hide or to highlight some certain occurrences since

such representation can serve their certain purposes.

Subsequently, it is clearly noted from the sampled news articles that the news writers of both websites attempt to use different representational processes to include and exclude the voices of the Palestinian and Israeli political actors especially in ceasefire and invasions. For instance, the Israeli voices are reproduced by CNN's news articles as seeking to achieve a ceasefire and make efforts for a peace agreement while the Palestinians are reproduced as reluctant to accept or agree the ceasefire, as the following examples show.

- **Israel** is expected to announce a unilateral ceasefire tonight that will end its three-week war in Gaza. (CNN)
- **Hamas** is prepared to commit to a year and then consider renewing it. (CNN)
- **Hamas** was excluded from the talks because it is labelled a terrorist group by the United States. (CNN)
- **Khaled Meshal, the leader of Hamas who lives in exile in Qatar**, said the offensive had ended any chance of a broader peace deal with the Palestinians (CNN)

It is observed that Hamas and Israel are represented with an 'exclusive process', and both of them are similarly represented in passive forms within the clause and their efforts and attitudes for a ceasefire are opposed. For example, CNN represents Hamas voice as hesitant to agree the ceasefire. Otherwise, Hamas was represented as a terrorist organization that is not keen on peace. Hamas was negatively suppressed and excluded from the negotiation of a ceasefire without references to whom excluded it. The news writers probably justified this exclusion as Hamas was labelled by the United States as a terrorist group as well as it associates targeting Hamas as a "War on Terror", the policy that U.S adopts to kill and invade the countries as well as to suite the slang of CNN's website "War on Terror". Such exclusive form can corporately construct negative sentiments toward Hamas. The term "terrorist" can "conjure usage in the minds of the public of foreign religions extremists generally with fundamentalist Islamic religious beliefs, intent on killing civilian" (Frank,2008, P.88). Hence, such representational

language can evoke and call for an irrational and negative judgement towards Hamas as well as it can influence on reporting and covering the war on Gaza in 2014. (See Richardson, 2007, P.104) The representation of the voices suggests that the Israeli officials are included when they announce unilateral ceasefires. Such announcement is followed by effort leading to peace agreement. Such effort foregrounds the Israeli officials and their commitments to achieve a ceasefire. Turning to examine the inclusion forms of Palestinian and Israeli political actors by focusing firstly on the language representation associated with their voices.

The following examples exemplify how the Israel political actors are actively included as seeking for a ceasefire.

- **Israel's envoy to Cairo** returned to Jerusalem last night with details of Hamas's position. (CNN)
- **Israel** welcomed an Egyptian proposal for a truce with Hamas, the Islamists rulers of Gaza, yet its security Cabinet voted to push ahead with its ground offensive while it worked out the details with international envoys. (CNN)
- **An Israeli defence Ministry official, Amos Gilad**, was negotiating with the Egyptians by phone Monday and was expected to travel to Cairo later in the week. (CNN)

4.1.2.1 REPRESENTATION OF THE VOICES IN THE UNITED NATIONS REPORT ON 'WAR CRIMES' IN GAZA

The news headlines and articles that cover the report of the UN on the war crimes seemingly incorporate the voices in the articles of the news. There are differences in the voices of the people and institutions in the news articles of AJE and CNN which cover the UN report on war crimes. Finlay (2017) states that the report significantly accuses Israel as guilty for committing war crimes against the humanity in Gaza. Consequently, the report leads to international and regional controversial responses. The Palestinians have welcomed the report and consider it as a victory added to the Palestinian case. On the other side, the Israeli government and the United States strongly condemned the report and consider it as incitement that can increase the violence in the region, (Finlay, 2017).

Hence, the CNN and AJE play a significant role in covering the voices involved in the news articles. It is noticed that the AJE's news articles give attention to voices that are ignored by the CNN's news articles, for example, the voice of Palestinians is included in the AJE while excluded in the CNN's news articles. However, there are some voices that are extremely shared by both CNN and AJE's news articles, i.e., Israeli army, United Nations, Palestinian Authority and Hamas. The following table shows the voices represented by the CNN and AJE's articles.

Table 4.7. The numbers of voices represented in the United Nations Report on 'War Crimes'

The Voice of the Social Actors	CNN	AJ E
Israeli government	2	1
Palestinians Authority		2
United nation human rights council	1	2
Palestinian human rights centre		1
Douglas Griffiths/US representative	1	
Israeli foreign ministry	1	
Shrine Tadros	3	
Muasa Abu Marzouq		1
Hamas	1	3
Fawzi Barhom, a Hamas spokesman.		1
Egypt.	1	1
Gaza	1	3
International Criminal Court	1	2
Philip Luther/ director of Amnesty International	1	3
Hamas' military wing, Izzedine al Qassam		1
Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu	2	1
Israel Defence Forces'	2	1
chief Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erakat.		1
Total number of the voices	17	24

The following example shows how the voices of the social actors represented and included in both CNN and AJE

CNN	AJE
<p>U.N.: Israel, Palestinians both may have committed war crimes in 2014 conflict</p> <p>The United Nations Council for Human Rights approved a controversial report Friday which accuses Israel and Hamas of "actions amounting to war crimes, possibly crimes against humanity" during the 51-day war in Gaza. (U. N rights council backs Gaza 'war crimes' report, CNN, Oct 6, 2014)</p>	<p>Amnesty finds Israel guilty of war crimes in Gaza according to its report into the 50-day military attack this summer.</p> <p>Philip Luther, Director of the Middle East and North Africa Programme at Amnesty International, said: "Israeli forces have brazenly flouted the laws of war by carrying out a series of attacks on civilian homes, displaying callous Indifference to the carnage caused.") Amnesty reports Israeli 'war crimes, AJE, 6 Nov,2014)</p>

It seems that the news writers of both sites indirectly reported the UN voice. Indeed, the voice of the United Nations was covered in a way that serves their viewpoints and ideologies. For example, the news writers of CNN open an argument about the credibility of the report in general. More interestingly, in the discourse of CNN's news articles, the writers describe the report as "*Controversial*". It implies that the news writers of CNN give a skeptical impression about the report contents. Such description generates some suspicion that makes the reader unsure of what exactly happened in the 2014 Israeli-Gaza war. On the other side, the news writers of AJE give the report its real name which is indorsed in the statement of UNHCR, "*Amnesty finds Israel guilty of war crimes in Gaza according to the report into the 50-day military attack this summer*". Substantially, it is suggested that Aljazeera gives the report its real name because the news writers attempt to establish the credibility that helps the news writer to be credible in the arguments and contents of the report. It is apparently noted that the news writers of the CNN deliberately report the voice of the UN as the report accused equally Hams and Israel of "*possibly war crimes against humanity*". Moreover, the writers of the news articles in CNN use noticeably the scare quotes mitigate and degrade the accusations against Israel.

The UN's report gives all the corrosive accusations to the IDF and Israel as it is reported in the news articles of AJE, "*the report accused Israeli Defence Forces and Israel of war crimes and crimes against humanity*", even when the voice of UN's report indirectly reported, it puts all criticism and guilt on Israel as indirectly reported on the AJE, "*reserved most of its criticism for Israel*". Consequently, it is clearly inferred that the news writers of CNN use some certain strategies in recontextualising the voice to exclude and eliminate the voice of the United Nations and International Community when they accuse and criticise the actions of Israel against the Palestinians in Gaza.

On the other hand, the news writers of AJE's articles involved all the voices that include the corrosive accusations to Israel to reprove that Israel and more specifically the Israeli Defence Forces are guilty and should be criticised as committing war crimes in Gaza, "*which accuses the military of Israel for using disproportionate force*". Furthermore, the AJE's news articles include significantly the voice of Hamas since the news writer attempts to contradict the description of the CNN's news articles for Hamas as (accused terrorist group). The writer attempts to represent Hamas voice in a way that gives political-international legitimacy to Hamas. The writer tries to represent Hamas voice as a person who respects and welcomes the peace talks and ceasefire. Moreover, the AJE news writer reports the voice of Hamas through using direct reporting as he wants to separate Hamas voice from his own voice. Thence, the writer could expose the gravity for peace talks and ceasefire. Further, the news writers of AJE insert strikingly on describing Israel as an "*Occupation Forces*", when they report the voice of the United Nations. It implicates that the AJE's news writers frequently attempt to provide an initial description to the report as it investigates inequitable conflict between Israel (the occupiers) and the Palestinians in Gaza (occupied). Additionally, the AJE's news writers

inserted the description of the Palestinians in Gaza as an occupied and oppressed people by Israel. Certainly, the descriptions of Israel as an “Occupation Forces” are not stated in the report, but it is implied and inserted by the writers who attempt to criminalise Israel and the Israeli Forces, and describe the Israeli war as unjustifiable, whereas, they attempt to justify and legitimize the Palestinian actions against Israel as it is an “*Occupied Force*”. Therefore, it is noticeably exposed that the voices that are indirectly reported are manipulated and reformulated by the news writers based on their own views and points. For example, the news articles of CNN directly report the voice of the Israeli Prime Minister, Netanyahu who always tries to maintain and justify the Israeli war on Gaza describing it as a self-defense.

- “*Israel will continue to exercise its right to self-defence, and take action to protect the lives of its citizens.*” U.N. rights council backs Gaza 'war crimes' report, CNN, Oct 6, 2014

Substantially, the news writers of both AJE and CNN represent the image of Israelis and the Palestinians in Gaza through functioning the indirect reporting voices with certain linguistic representations. CNN noticeably supports Israel and the IDF and tries to criminalize the Palestinians, while AJE favors the Palestinians and criminalizes Israel.

Thus, the CNN and AJE’s news articles report the voices within the UN report on war crimes and manipulate the context of the discourse of the news articles in a way that suits and serves the ideological purposes of the news writers. Hence, it is essentially observed that intertextuality plays a fundamental role in the news writings as it helps the news writers to reform the context with respect to their viewpoints.

4.1.2.2. REPRESENTATION OF THE VOICES ON THE ISRAELI ATTACK ON THE UNRWA SHELTER

Apparently, there are differences in the number in the included voices of the issue

of the attack of UN shelter. AJE and CNN are different in the number of the included voices and social participants that are incorporated in the news articles. There are some voices included in the AJE news articles while excluded in the CNN's news articles as well as some voices are included in the CNN's news articles while excluded in the AJE's article. However, there are some voices that are commonly involved in the articles of both AJE and CNN, for example, Palestinian Authority, United Nations and Israel. The following table shows the incorporated voices in the news articles of CNN and AJE that cover the Israeli attack on the UN shelter.

Table 4.8. The number of the voices represented on the Israeli attack on the UNRWA Shelter

Reported Voices	AJE	CNN
Israeli security forces	2	2
UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon	2	1
Israel	2	3
Hamas government	1	1
Christopher Gunness, the UNRWA's spokesman	3	2
U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry		1
The Israeli military	2	2
An Israeli army spokesperson, Avichay Adraee	1	
Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu	1	3
United Nations	1	1
Adnan Abu Hassna, spokesman for the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA)	1	
Israel's Ambassador to the UN Danny Danon		1
UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres		1
UN Security Council		2
John Ging, director of the U.N.'s Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs,		1
Israeli Officials	1	3
Total number of the voices	15	20

Examples of Reported Voices Represented on the Israeli Attack on the UNRWA Shelter

CNN	AJE
<p>An Israel Defence Forces statement said militants had shot at the Israeli military and the IDF responded with "<i>fire toward the origins of the shooting.</i>"</p> <p>The IDF said it had told people at the school to evacuate because of the fighting in the area and given a four-hour window to get people out. Israeli officials told CNN they had warned U.N. officials for three days to evacuate. School attack leaves Gazan kids wounded, CNN, 30 July, 2014</p>	<p>Christopher Guinness, the UNRWA's spokesman, said the attack was a "<i>source of universal shame</i>" and blamed Israeli forces. Guinness said that UN representatives have informed Israeli forces about the exact location of the school 17 times.</p> <p>The Israeli military said fighters near the UN school had fired mortar bombs and Israeli forces had shot back. Attack on school used as shelter condemned by UN agency as "source of universal shame" that breaks international law, AJE, 30 July, 2014</p>

Seemingly, the CNN's news articles indirectly represent the Israeli voice in which they legitimize the Israeli attack on the school as "*self-defense*". The writer tries to adopt the Israeli view justifying the Israeli attacks as they targeted the militant groups of Gaza.

On the other hand, the AJE's news articles try to depict the Palestinian voice as oppressed and aggrieved. The news writers in the same context represent indirectly the Israeli voice as a 'rebellious and violative', which does not respect the international laws and resolutions. For example, AJE represents the voice of the Israeli Foreign Ministry as a state over the International decisions and laws. Furthermore, the AJE writer reported indirectly the UN voice with using scare quotes, "*source of universal shame*". The writer attempts to represent indirectly the UN voice to reproduce a horrific image of the attacking activities launched on the UN shelters in Gaza. Thus, the writer tries to criminalise the Israeli attack through showing that the school was indeed taken as a shelter after getting the permission from the IDF by the UN Organization in Gaza.

Otherwise, the CNN writer includes indirectly the IDF voice with scare quotes representation to support and strengthen the Israeli argument as well as reveals that the side that should be condemned and accused for the attack are the militant groups in Gaza but not Israel as the action was as a reaction of the militant actions near the school.

Moreover, the voice of Israel in the action was represented in the voice of the Israeli Prime Minister, the Israeli Defence Forces and the Israeli officials. Hence, the CNN's news writers attempt to stereotype the news articles in a certain way to pursue their own viewpoints and perceptions. They always try to reproduce the Israelis as innocents and the Israeli actions against others should be explained under the excuse of self-defence. The news writers of CNN indirectly report, "*Israeli Defence Forces were simply defending themselves.*" Nevertheless, the represented voices unanimously described the people within the school as peaceful and innocent civilians except CNN which adopted the Israeli version. More importantly, the AJE's news article reported the number of civilians were killed by the Israeli strikes and bombs on the shelter, "... *killed nine people*,". Otherwise, CNN's articles indirectly reported that the number of victims is still unknown.

The AJE's news writers indirectly represent the voice of the Israeli radio which announced that "*more than 19 people were killed in the attack*". Hence, the AJE's news writers could show that the Israelis themselves admit and confirmed the attack on the shelter. Thus, it can be claimed that the writers attempt to use the indirect reporting reproduced on the Israeli radio to dramatize and confirm that Israeli attack on the shelter that should be condemned. In addition, the writer reports indirectly the voice of Israeli military spokesman, Avichay Adraee, who confirmed that the attack claiming that it was targeting the militant groups close the school.

- **Avichay Adraee**, The Israeli military spokeswoman, confirmed that the attack took place to target the militant groups firing attacking rockets on Israel, saying: "This happened because we have the right to defend ourselves." (*Israel attack on the UN shelters*). AJE

The AJE's news writer use the direct reporting of Adraee's voice as he attempts to criminalise Israel and the IDF. The Israeli spokesman confirmed that the attack was

targeting the militant groups of Hamas outside the school but close to it, and that Israel well know that targeting civilians violates the international laws.

Accordingly, the AJE and CNN's news writers are seemingly argued about the Israeli attack on the shelter. The reader cannot yet be sure of whom must be accused and condemned of performing the first attack, whether the militant groups launched fire rocket against Israel from the region besides the school or the Israeli Forces. The AJE's news writers obliterate all disputes that accuse the actions performed beyond the school area. Furthermore, the writer through the use of direct and indirect voices, argues that Israel should be condemned of performing the first attack on the school and Gaza is very crowded area and school was full of innocent people.

On the other hand, the CNN's news writers attempt to adopt voices refusing all disputes accusing Israel. The writers try to use the direct and indirect reporting to represent purposely the voices of Israel implying the Israeli justification for the attack. Obviously, the writers attempt to use certain language choices and representations to represent the voices in forms that suit their viewpoints and stanzas.

4.1.2.3 REPRESENTATION OF THE VOICES IN THE AL-SHUYAYEA MASSACRE

There are differences between the voices that are merged in the AJE and CNN's news articles covered the Al-Shujayea massacre. There are some voices that are attentionally incorporated in the CNN's news articles which are excluded in the AJE's news articles. Otherwise, some voices are included in the AJE's news articles while excluded in the CNN's. However, there are some voices that are extremely merged in both the CNN and AJE's news articles i.e., Israel, Hamas, Netanyahu, UN and IDF.

Table 4.9. The numbers of the voices represented on the al-Shujayea massacre

Reported Voices	AJE	CNN
Palestinian human rights organisations	2	1
United Nations	3	1
Israel	1	2
Israeli government-		2
Israeli military	2	3
Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights	1	
Israeli army	1	3
Palestinian civilians	4	1
The Palestinian Centre for Human Rights	2	
Mahmoud Abbas	1	
IDF	1	2
White house spokesperson		1
International Criminal Court (ICC)	1	
international community	1	
Hamas	2	3
Netanyahu		1
Hanya	1	
Hanan Ashrawi,		1
Palestinian Liberation Organization in the West Bank		1
Ron Dermer, Israel's ambassador		1
Arabiya News Channel		1
U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry		1
Palestinian armed groups		1
Total number of the incorporated voices	23	26

Examples of Reported Voices Represented on the al-Shujayea massacre

CNN	AJE
U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry for his response to Palestinian statements accusing Israel of committing "a massacre and a war crime" in Sheja'iya. "That's rhetoric that we've heard many, many times," he answered. "What they need to do is stop rocketing Israel and accept a cease-fire." Hamas and other Palestinian armed groups do indeed need to stop rocketing Israeli population centers. (IDF accuses Hamas of using civilians and their institutions as shields in the ongoing Gaza conflict, CNN, July 23, 2014)	According to Palestinian human rights organisations, women were seen taking their children out to flee from the area, and some of them were killed. "People who were not able to leave the area have been trapped under the Israeli shelling and their destinies are unknown," said a statement issued by the Palestinian Centre for Human Rights. (<i>Seventy-two people have been killed in Shujayea, east of Gaza, in the heaviest barrage of Israel's ground assault, AJE, July 23, 2014</i>)

As noted from the table, the Israeli political actors are frequently included in the news articles of CNN over twice as often as Palestinian Political actors. It exposes that Israeli political actors are attributed to representational language categories more frequently than Palestinian political actors. It indicates that the Israeli politicians are obviously known to the writers as well as readers of the news articles. It probably exposes the certain ideological bias of the news writers.

It is clearly revealed that the Israeli voices in the news articles of CNN are included to be either ‘*suppressed*’ or ‘*backgrounded*’ while the Palestinian politicians are more ‘*excluded*’. The news writers represent the social actors as ‘*backgrounded*’ in order to delay the immediate mentioning of social actors in the actions. The news writers adopt this method of language representation to de-emphasise the voices of social actors in order to serve the specific objectives of the news writers. In addition, the news writers represent the social actors as suppressed to hide or to highlight some certain occurrences since such representation can serve their certain purposes. It is also noted from the sampled news articles that the news writers use different representational processes in including and excluding Palestinian and Israeli political actors especially in ceasefire **and ground invasion in al-Shujavea**. For instance, the Israeli political actors are reproduced by CNN’s news articles as seeking to achieve a ceasefire and make efforts for a peace agreement which the Palestinians are reproduced as reluctant to accept or agree the ceasefire, as the following examples show.

- **Israel** is expected to announce a unilateral ceasefire tonight that will end its three-week war in Gaza. (CNN, headline 14)
- **Hamas** is prepared to commit to a year and then consider renewing it. (CNN, headline 15)
- **Hamas** was excluded from the talks because it is labelled a terrorist group by the United States. (CNN, article 9)

It is observed that Hamas and Israel are represented with an exclusive process, and both of them are similarly represented in ‘passive’ forms within the clause, their efforts and attitudes for a ceasefire are opposed. For example, CNN represents social actors of Hamas as hesitant to agree the ceasefire. Otherwise, Hamas was represented as a terrorist organisation that is not keen on peace. Hamas was negatively suppressed and excluded from the negotiation of a ceasefire without references to whom excluded it. The news writers probably justified this exclusion as Hamas was labelled by the United States as a terrorist group as well as it associates targeting Hamas as a “War on Terror”, the policy that U.S adopts to kill and invade the countries as well as to suite the slang of CNN’s

website “War on Terror”. Such exclusive form can corporately construct negative sentiments toward Hamas. The term “terrorist” can “conjure usage in the minds of the public of foreign religions extremists generally with fundamentalist Islamic religious beliefs, intent on killing civilian” (Frank 2008. P.88) Hence, such representational language can evoke and call for an irrational and negative judgement towards Hamas as well as it can influence on reporting and covering the war on Gaza in 2014. (see Richardson, 2007, P.104). The representational language construction suggests that the Israeli officials are excluded when they announce unilateral ceasefires. Such announcement is followed by effort leading to peace agreement. Such effort foregrounds the Israeli officials and their commitments to achieve a ceasefire. The following examples exemplify how the Israel political actors are actively included as seeking for a ceasefire.

- **Israel's envoy to Cairo** returned to Jerusalem last night with details of Hamas's position. (CNN, headline 17)
- **Israel** welcomed an Egyptian proposal for a truce with Hamas, the Islamists rulers of Gaza, yet its security Cabinet voted to push ahead with its ground offensive while it worked out the details with international envoys. (CNN, article 7)
- **An Israeli Defence Ministry official, Amos Gilad**, was negotiating with the Egyptians by phone Monday and was expected to travel to Cairo later in the week. (CNN, article 8)

The CNN’s news writers attempt to employ the role of Israeli politicians as activates looking forward to achieve a ceasefire proposal in Egypt. It can be revealed in the underlined verb; was negotiating, returned and welcome.

On the other hand, AJE’s news articles clearly report that Israel concerns with a ceasefire presented based on their Israeli demands and condition upon Hamas which oblige Hamas to lay down its weapons. However, CNN’s news articles foreground Israel as dynamic forces seeking to achieve a ceasefire and peace agreement with Palestinian factions whose attitude toward the ceasefire agreement is opposite.

- **The Islamist group** also wants Gaza's crossings into Israel reopened after three years of economic blockade. (AJE, article 7)
- **Khaled Meshal, the exiled Hamas leader in Damascus**, rejected the ceasefire

demands yesterday, insisting that Israel should withdraw its troops and immediately open Gaza's borders and lift the blockade it imposed after Hamas seized power there in 2007. (AJE, article 6)

- **Hamas officials, who have been involved separately in negotiations with Egypt,** reacted coolly to the cease-fire plan. (AJE, article 7)
- **The Palestinian president, Mahmoud Abbas, whose Fatah Party opposes Hamas,** was in Cairo pressing a call for a cease-fire, and he discussed with President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt the idea of international troops along the Gaza-Egypt border. (AJE, article 7)

The news writers of AJE suggests the position of Hamas (Hamas discourse) for the ceasefire as shown in the verbs underlined, i.e. rejected, reacted, wants and was,,,,,pressing. Such verbs are involved in the context of the discourse asking for ending the Israeli blockade to Gaza and asking for opening the crossings with Gaza Strip. In addition, the writers reveal that the role of the Palestinian president who actively concerns with ceasefire and attempts to discuss possible resolutions with the Egyptian president for achieving the ceasefire. Hence, such patterns of representation contradict the 'role allocated' to the voice of Israeli Social Actors as they make much effort to achieve ceasefire. In addition, the Palestinian president makes effort to put pressure on Hamas to accept the Egyptian proposal for the ceasefire in terms of the Israeli decision and suggestions. Thus, Hamas was concealed and excluded from the ceasefire negotiations.

In terms of specification and generalization, it is important to study how the news writers represent Palestinian and Israeli political actors in terms of achieving a ceasefire. It largely depends on making peace based on their own expectations and objectives of the negotiators trying to achieve a ceasefire.

- **Israel** welcomed an Egyptian proposal. (CNN, article 7)

This generalization process presents Israel as a protenant international level. It is reproduced as an active voice seeking for peace, so it is generalized by plural without articles, as the following:

- **Some senior Israeli officials** were optimistic (CNN, article 6)

- The moves came as [Israeli] **negotiators** in (CNN, article 7)

In such genericization, Israel is functionalized by adding suffixes e.g., Israeli government officials and negotiators. These representations clarify the Israeli effort on political actors (individual level) and Israel (the national level). Thus, Israel apparently seek to make and offer ceasefire. Otherwise, Palestinians in general and Hamas in particular are reproduced as passive recipient. Palestinians are generalised in the AJE's news articles by plurals and mass nouns without articles. For instance, Hamas is generalised by mass nouns as they refer to being excluded from the talks of ceasefire or the decision of Hamas for rejecting the ceasefire proposal. For example,

- **Hamas** had hoped the ceasefire would lead to the lifting of the blockade. (AJE, article 8)
- **Hamas** opposes the deployment of an international force on that border and particularly abhors an Egyptian proposal. (AJE, article 8)
- **Hamas** was excluded from the talks. (AJE, article 7)

The patterns of excluded representations eliminate the references to the Palestinian Authority members and concern mainly on Hamas officials. Furthermore, the Palestinians are categorized by adding suffixes to some certain verbs like the word “negotiator” in the following example,

- **Five Hamas negotiators** from Gaza and Damascus have spent the past few days in Cairo (AJE, article 7)

The examination of ‘genericization’ of political actors reveals that the Palestinian Israeli political actors are generalised by plural forms without articles and mass nouns. The analysis of ‘specification’ process exposes that the voice of the Israeli political actors is specified as ‘assimilation’ i.e., groups and as individuals through reproducing them as

governmental actors who attempt to take a genuine effort and to achieve a ceasefire” for example,

- **The Israeli foreign minister, Tzipi Livni**, was due to fly to Washington to finalise an accord (CNN, article 5)
- **Tzipi Livni**, [...] signed an agreement with Condoleezza Rice (CNN, article 8)
- **Olmert** did not say when Israeli troops would withdraw from **Gaza** [...] raising the possibility that the cease-fire could be short-lived (CNN, article 7)

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CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This chapter concludes the research carried out with a summary of the findings and discussion on the implications of the study. It closes with the section on challenges faced and limitations of the study.

5.1 GENERAL OVERVIEW

The purpose of the study is to compare how AJE and CNN's news headlines and articles cover the 2014 Israeli-Gaza conflict. The study seeks to objectively understand how AJE and CNN's news writers use intertextuality to represent the voices of the social actors of the conflict. The objectives include the exploration of the different representation patterns and reporting speeches that are used by the writers to influence the discourse of the articles covering the conflict. The study uses discourse analysis to study intertextuality to understand how the news writers use such linguistic representations and reporting to involve certain language for specific ideological purposes.

The present study adopts Kristiva (1986) and Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional framework as well as Van Leeuwen's (1996) socio-semantic representation categories in discourse analysis to investigate and explore the function of intertextuality in the news articles covering issues related to the 2014 Israeli-Gaza conflict published on the CNN and AJE's news websites. It reveals that both the media news writers have discursively attempted to use intertextuality in such a way that shows how they employ certain linguistic devices and representations. Such linguistic choices and representations help them to represent the language based on certain perceptions and implications. Hence, the study could explore the relationship between language, power and ideology in the

news articles. Furthermore, the study observes that the AJE and CNN's news producers (writers) use intertextuality to interpret and represent the actions and the voices of the social actors in a manner that suits their perceptions and views.

In the analysis, the study concerns with the voices and linguistic representational tools that are used by the reporters to cover the 2014 Israeli-Gaza conflict. Throughout the analysis of the sampled articles, the study finds that the most common forms of intertextuality used by the writers are reported speeches and voices. Such forms allow the writers to represent the voices and speeches of the social actors with using certain linguistic representations (direct/indirect reported speeches and voices). In analysing the reported speeches in the sampled data, the results show how CNN attempts to represent the Israeli civilian actors as victims of the Palestinian militant attacks. The international community appears to oppress Israel by condemning the Israeli attacks and issuing reports accusing Israel for their violations to the international laws in their attacks on the Palestinians. However, CNN includes a large number of voices supporting and justifying the Israeli acts. In the same regard, CNN represents the Palestinian social actors as weak and hesitant. Furthermore, CNN attempts to include certain contradicting voices and speeches. For example, the CNN's articles on Amnesty report represent the Palestinian voices as weak and hesitant, representing them through using mass nouns. The study also observes that CNN tries to include a number of Israeli voices but does not appear to give the same space to the voice of the Palestinians. CNN also tries to use direct and indirect reported speeches and voices to include certain linguistic devices and representations to reproduce the Palestinians and Israelis in a certain way to suit their ideological implications. For example, CNN represents the UN report as an incredible report. CNN blames the Palestinians for the failure of the peace process and negotiations by including the voices supporting their viewpoints, as seen in IDF, Israeli officials and Israeli alliances.

On the contrary, AJE includes the Palestinian social actors and voices supporting the Palestinians. In addition, AJE tries to include the voices of Hamas and other Palestinians militants' factions to legitimize their actions to represent Hamas as a Palestinian political party. AJE attempts to use certain linguistic choices as well as specific reported speeches and voices that represent the Palestinians as oppressed and victims who live under the Israeli harsh occupation. AJE has insisted on the Palestinian rights and their self-defense right and also legitimized the militant actions of the Palestinian factions. Furthermore, it attempts to represent the Israeli social actors as criminals and the Palestinians as victims of the Israeli criminality. This seems to show that AJE favours the right of Palestinians, and it is apparent through its attempts to include the voices of the international community condemning the Israeli actions against the Palestinians. Unlikely, CNN seeks to condemn the Palestinians.

5.2 BIAS IN CNN DISCOURSE

The analysis shows that CNN's news articles frequently included the Israeli social actors with *verbal process* and behavioral process. However, it represents the Palestinian social actors by using passive forms. In other words, CNN uses such representational patterns to show that Palestinians are targeted as a result of Hamas actions against Israel. Hence, CNN activates the voice of Israel as a peace seeker and the IDF just target the militant factions that can cause a threat to the Israeli security. Hence, the Israeli social actors are actively included in the CNN's news articles by *generalization process*; using plurals with articles and mass nouns such as *the Israeli Prime minister, the IDF, the Israelis, the Israeli officials*, and so on. Furthermore, the Israeli social actors and voices in terms of targeting and bombing the main towers in Gaza and al-Shujayea, the CNN

news articles functionalize them with compound nouns, such as *Israeli warplanes*, and *the Israeli forces* to show that Israel attempts to target Hamas and other militant groups in Gaza.

The Palestinians are represented in the CNN's news articles with *mass nouns* without articles to depict that they were responsible for initiating attacks on Israel. It appears that CNN genericises Palestinians as militant factions and groups through using plurals without articles such as *Palestinians rockets*, *Hamas factions*, *Palestinians militant groups*, and so forth.

Regarding facing the consequences of the conflict, CNN includes the Israeli civilian actors in passive voice to show that Israelis try to do everything possible to live in peace and to avoid the rocket attacks launched from Gaza upon Israel, while the Palestinian voices were generalised by *inclusion* and *assimilations* to show that Palestinians should be blamed and accused for the sequences of the conflict. However, the civilians are targeted in the hospitals, the UN school and al-Shujayea are represented in the passive voice as the CNN's news writers may reproduce them as human casualties resulting from Hamas militant actions. However, CNN's news articles have not explained (why) Hamas fired rockets into Israel. According to Philo and Berry (2010) "*such deficient representation or explanation is given to stem impact on the audience judgements and beliefs*" (P 341). In terms of such representations, news readers are likely to receive a biased image as they only get one version of the reality.

On the whole, according to Fairclough (1989) and Van Leeuwen (1999), in such kinds of representations, Palestinians mainly Hamas are represented as *causal agents* of violence (firing rockets). Hence, they are responsible for initiating attacks on Israel. Therefore, CNN tries to put all blame on Hamas and Palestinians for the failure of a ceasefire and the peace process. Israel is represented positively while Palestinians are negatively represented as agents responsible for initiating violent actions.

5.3 BIAS IN AJE DISCOURSE

The analysis of AJE's news articles reveals a dominance of the Palestinian civilians among Palestinian actors. More importantly, Palestinian civilians are more frequently represented than the Israelis. The Israeli civilians are completely absent in the all sampled headlines of the study. The AJE's news articles concern more on the suffering of the Palestinian civilians than the Israeli ones. Otherwise, the AJE's news articles represented the death of Palestinian civilians with passivated process rather than the direct Israeli attacks. For example, *27 Palestinians were killed, 400 Palestinians have been killed, seven civilians were killed, more than 2500 people were reported wounded, hundreds killed in reprisal airstrikes targeting Hamas security facilities.*

Amer (2009) indicates that such kind of representations may decrease the degree of seriousness in terms of destruction or killing. The writer uses such linguistic representation to mention that such actions are unjustifiable. In this regard, the AJE's news writer seems to be more sympathetic with the Palestinians as the people whom attempt to get on with their live while Israelis are killing and bombing them. Otherwise, the AJE's news writers exclude the Israeli civilian actors as the writers attempt to hide the Israeli civilian voices and their suffering from consequences of the conflict or Palestinian rocket attacks.

5.4 SUMMARY

Studying the representation of the voices and social actors within intertextuality reveals that the news writers attempt to use different patterns and representations within intertextuality to represent the language in terms of certain perceptions and ideologies. The sampled headlines and articles show that the news writers try to different forms of

intertextuality to involve their perceptions and views in the discourse of the news. For example, the AJE news writers reproduce certain linguistic patterns of intertextuality within the discourses that are prejudiced with Gaza than Israel. Based on the concepts discussed in 4.1 and 4.2, one can note that the news discourse represents the events unobjectively. The writers manipulate the events through using certain linguistic expressions for certain attitudes and objectives. In respect to both websites, the analysis of intertextuality is represented based on certain attitudes and ideologies.

For example, the CNN represents the conflict as a war against Hamas and militant groups in Gaza instead of a war on the Palestinians. Hence, the writer manipulated the textual cues with referring to certain voices to support the views and ideologies of the CNN institution. However, with regards to AJE's discourse, AJE represents the Palestinians as innocent people trying to live in peace on their lands as well as Hamas is also represented as a political party elected legally by the Palestinians to represent them. On the other hand, CNN represents Palestinians especially Hamas members as militants or terrorists that represent a threat to Israel. In addition, the suffering of the civilian actors is equally represented for the Palestinians and Israelis. Furthermore, the Israeli and Palestinian actors similarly suffer as a result of Hamas rocket attacks. *CNN foregrounded Hamas agency as causal actors. It means that Hamas is mainly represented as 'responsible provocative force behind the conflict'* (Breg & Philo, 2015, P.355). Such representation motivates and attracts reactionary responses to protect the Israelis and Palestinians from Hamas terrorist actions. In addition, it justifies the Israeli who targeted the Palestinian civilians as they were killed during the Israeli operation against Hamas.

The study subsequently could show how the devices of intertextuality (i.e., direct/indirect speeches and reported voices) can play a dynamic role in recreating the facts and events represented in the news discourse, for example, the indirect reporting can give the writer/reporter a free space to include some certain linguistic choices to represent

the language based on certain viewpoints and perceptions. In addition, the news writers tend to use indirect/ direct speeches of the social actors adopting their viewpoints and ideologies. Hence, they report the voices including certain linguistic representations that suit their ideas and ideological objectives. Hence, the study observes that there is a relationship between the linguistic choices that the AJE and CNN's news writers use in their ideological implications, this revealing the relationship between language, power and ideology.

Therefore, the study observes that examining the representation of actors and voices within discourse analysis plays a critical role in exploring how the ideological purposes represent an important role in the language representation and this is supported by Fairclough who suggests,

“ideologies are representations which can be shown to contribute to social relations of power and domination, I am suggesting that textual analysis needs to be framed in this respect in social analysis which can consider bodies of texts in terms of their effects on power relations” (Fairclough, 2013, P.10)

5.5 CHALLENGES OF THE STUDY

The role of intertextuality in this study is to study how the news writers use certain linguistic patterns and intertextual forms to manipulate the discourse and represent the actions and actors in such a way to suit their ideological stances. However, the study has faced three challenges while applying intertextuality within discourse analysis, and they are:

a) Subjectivity: this element of subjectivity can be seen in the selection of the certain aspects of texts and the ignoring of others. This leads to different interpretations and analysis. Wodak (1999) purports that the researchers should not separate their own attitudes, beliefs and values from the study they are doing. Hence, the researcher should

be constantly aware of what he is doing. In this regard, there is a challenge in imposing or/and allowing the conceptions, hypothesis and preconceptions as individual analyst/researcher. However, the study attempts to avoid such subjectivity by choosing representative samples through applying systematic criteria through following the procedures in chapter 3. Hence, the study examines the samples regardless choosing particular stances. In this study, intertextuality is adopted to analyse aspects of representation as well as inclusion (activation) and exclusion (passivation) of voices and social actors.

b) The Sample Size: the study examines intertextuality within discourse analysis of a sample which consists of 40 headlines and 18 articles covering critical situations in the 2014 Israeli-Gaza conflict.

c) The lack of intertextuality studies in war reporting: it was found that there are only a few studies which have examined war reporting beyond intertextuality or discourse analysis perspectives. Hence it has made this study challenging as one has to find an appropriate method to use based on the theoretical description of intertextuality. It was quite difficult to observe actual studies which adopted intertextuality or discourse analysis to examine war reporting, and for this reason, the study tries to employ the more suitable methodological tools to be selected as a framework of the study to utilize conducting the study. Therefore, Van Leeuwen's (1996) framework as well as Kristiva's (1986) associated with Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional approach were selected to analyse how the writers represent the social actors and voices of the conflict. The approaches adopted in this study comprise various discursive features to determine and analyse the ways in which the social actors and voices are reproduced and represented in both news discourses covering the 2014 Israeli-Gaza conflict.

The study combines these two methods to avoid bias analysis. There are some reasons why the study combined these two methods: Fairclough and Kristiva as well as Van

Leeuwen study critically the relevance of intertextuality within discursive practice for discourse analysis to identify the different linguistic features embedded in the clauses. Van Leeuwen's (1996) socio-semantic representation concerns with considerable voices and social actors to examine how they are represented. Kristiva and Fairclough offer the possibility of how these voices and social actors are represented in different contexts within the texts based in the social, ideological, political stances. Therefore, these points show how intertextuality can be used as a tool to understand how the social actors and voices are reproduced and represented with certain language.

5.6 CONTRIBUTION AND LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The study is quite restricted as it attempts to cover the 2014 Israeli-Gaza conflict. It only study focuses on the news articles of two international news websites, i.e. AJE and CNN. The study selected only 40 headlines and 18 articles as a sample. The study does not concern with highlighting who is right or wrong in their ideological stances, yet the study is interested in how social actors and meanings are reproduced and represented. In this regard, within the scope of these limitations, the study presents analysis of how intertextuality is used to represent the social actors and events with certain manners and representations. The study helps those who want to understand how discourses are reproduced and represented in the 2014 Israeli- Gaza conflict. Accordingly, to Kristiva and Bakhtin, without understanding discourse there are so social realities, and we cannot understand our realities (Kristiva & Bakhtin, 19981).

The research studies not only intertextuality but it also examines the linguistic representations and discursive strategies. It makes this study different from other studies on intertextuality and discourse analysis. More importantly, the study could make a small contribution to the knowledge in linguistic studies concerned with discourse analysis and intertextuality.

Moreover, the study seeks to observe the relationship between language, ideology and power presented in the language covering the 2014 Israeli-Gaza conflict. The lack of simple models of discourse analysis are obvious, so the study provides a well-organized framework that can be easily applied to study and examine war reporting. Furthermore, the study contributes to understand the relation between discourse and function. It focuses on the selection of socio-semantic representation and the function of linguistic forms (i.e. inclusion/exclusion of voices and direct/indirect reporting) within intertextuality. It includes the way in which the AJE and CNN's news writers attempt to produce a significant role in covering the 2014 Israeli-Gaza conflict based certain ideology, power and language.

5.7 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

Some recommendations could be made for future studies and one of which is that the verbal processes and visual texts could be examined, using war reporting discourses. It can help researchers find out more knowledge on the semantic representation of texts, and how the AJE and CNN's news writers correspond such representations and semantic content within the texts with their views and ideologies. In addition, intertextuality could be studied in relation to other disciplines in linguistics.

Intertextuality is a useful approach to examine textual features, yet it cannot stand by itself to give a comprehensive approach to study the visual and verbal features. Moreover, more studies could be done using discourse analysis studies on the Israeli-Gaza conflict, and other situations in the Middle East, such as critical studies examining intertextuality within representing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the Malaysian media.

Covering the 2014 Israeli-Gaza conflict is a sensitive topic. Each sign, word or picture represents various meanings within a text, and it can lead differing interpretations. It is

essential not only to study the representational categories, linguistic features and discursive strategies, but also to do comprehensive evaluations that investigate certain representations within media coverage. War reporting is a daily process of making decisions such as deciding the representational choices and what voices that should be included and excluded, so studying war reporting based on discourse analysis is very valuable.

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