## People's Democratic Republic of Algeria Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research Ibn Khaldoun University of Tiaret Faculty of Letters and Languages Department of English



## Framing Analysis of Al Jazeera and Al Arabia's Representation of the Palestinian Organisation Hamas: A Comparative Study

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Master's

Degree in Linguistics of Foreign Languages

Submitted by Supervised by

Ms. Bochra KOUIDER Dr. Ahmed MEHDAOUI

Mrs. Yamina SEMAHI

#### **Panel Members**

Dr. Mustapha TOUBIDA Chairman Ibn Khaldoun University of Tiaret
Dr. Ahmed MEHDAOUI Supervisor Ibn Khaldoun University of Tiaret

Dr. Mohamed Amine

DEKKICHE Examiner Ibn Khaldoun University of Tiaret

Academic Year: 2024/2025

#### **Dedication**

In the Name of Allah, the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate, I dedicate this work:

To my greatest inspiration of all times, "my mom and dad, who were there for me in my highs and lows,

To my loving siblings, Amina, Yassine, Lamia, and Mohamed,

To My Beloved friends: Riheb and Khadidja.

**Bochra** 

#### **Dedication**

In the Name of Allah, the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate, I dedicate this work to my beloved family and my children, who fill my life with boundless joy, laughter, and purpose.

You are my inspiration and my reason to keep learning, and dreaming.

Thank you for being my heart and my home.

Yamina

#### Acknowledgments

We would like to express our heartfelt gratitude to all those who contributed to the successful completion of this work.

First, we extend our deepest thanks to Mr. Ahmed MEHDAOUI for his outstanding guidance, unwavering support, and patience throughout this project. His insightful feedback and dedication in reviewing and refining our papers were invaluable.

We are also sincerely grateful to the esteemed members of the Panel, Dr. Mustapha TOUBIDA and Dr. Mohamed Amine DEKKICHE, for their time, constructive comments, and thoughtful evaluation of our work.

Finally, we wish to acknowledge everyone who offered his or her help, whether directly or indirectly, in making this endeavour possible.

#### **Abstract**

This study offers a comparative analysis of how Al Jazeera and Al Arabia frame Hamas in their news headlines through the lens of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) using Fairclough's model. The research reveals distinct linguistic and narrative techniques that reflect each outlet's ideological stance. Findings indicate that Al Jazeera frames Hamas as a legitimate resistance movement, whereas Al Arabia portrays it as a group of violent militants. These contrasting media framings correspond with the foreign policy orientations of Qatar and Saudi Arabia, respectively. The study concludes that both networks' coverage is influenced by state-affiliated agendas, underscoring the politicized nature of Arab media discourse surrounding the Palestinian struggle.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, Media Framing, Hamas, Al Jazeera, Al Arabia

#### **List of Figures and Tables**

<b>Figure 1:</b> Framing pool of the (TCFM) proposed by (Lei Guo, Avery Holton, and Sun Ho	
Jeong 2012)	. 22

#### **List of Abbreviations and Acronyms**

**CDA:** Critical Discourse Analysis

**DHA:** Discourse Historical Approach

**TCFM:** Transnational Comparative Framing Model

**PLO:** Palestine Liberation Organisation

**AFP:** French Press Agency

#### **Table of Contents**

Dedication	I
Acknowledgments	III
Abstract	IV
List of figures and tables	V
List of Abbreviations and Acronyms	VI
Table of Contents	VII
General Introduction	2
Chapter One - An Overview on Media and Framing	3
1.1. Introduction	5
1.2. Framing Analysis	5
1.3. Media Framing	6
1.4. The Relationship between Media and Ideology	7
1.5. Major Framing Theories	8
1.5.1. Goffman's Frame Analysis	8
1.5.2. McCombs and Shaw's Agenda-Setting Theory	8
1.5.2.1. Models of Agenda-Setting	9
1.5.3. Entman's Framing Theory	
1.5.3.1. Problem Definition	
1.5.3.2. Causal Interpretation	
1.5.3.4. Treatment Recommendations	
1.5.4. Critical Discourse Theory (CDA)	
1.5.4.1 Fairclough model	11
1.5.4.2. Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Approach	12
1.5.4.3. Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach	13

1.6. Media's Role in Shaping Perceptions of Middle East Conflicts	14
1.7. Conclusion	15
Chapter Two - Research Methodology	
2.1. Introduction	20
2.2. Approaches to Framing Analysis	20
2.2.1. Content Analysis Approach	20
2.2.2. Comparative Framing Analysis	21
2.3. Context of the Study	23
2.3.1. Hamas Organization	24
2.3.2. Al Jazeera and Al Arabia: Background Information	25
2.3.3. Previous Studies on Al Jazeera and Al Arabia Coverage of the Palestinian Struggle .	26
2.4. Research Method	26
2.5. The Research Approach	27
2.6. Data Collection and Analysis	28
2.7. Conclusion	28
<b>Chapter Three - Results and Discussion</b>	
3.1. Introduction	32
3.2. Corpus of the Study	32
3.3. Methods of Data Analysis	32
3.4. Presentation of the Results	33
3.4.1. Textual Analysis (Description)	33
3.4.2.Discursive Practice (Interpretation)	37
3.4.3. Social Practice (Explanation)	38
3.5. Interpretation of the Main Findings	39
3.6. Conclusion	40
General Conclusion	42
Ribliography	11

Summary 50

### **General Introduction**

#### **General Introduction**

Al Jazeera and Al Arabia reflect the political agendas of their host countries, with Qatari and Saudi foreign policies influencing their coverage of major Middle Eastern issues. Although extensive research has examined their reporting on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, there is still limited understanding of how they specifically frame the Palestinian organization Hamas. This study seeks to address this gap by comparing the framing strategies used by Al Jazeera and Al Arabia in portraying Hamas.

The objective of this research is to examine the framing and discourse strategies employed by these media outlets in their coverage of Hamas. By analysing their narratives, the study seeks to uncover how these outlets align with or diverge from their broader ideological positions. Understanding these strategies provides valuable insights into the intersection of media, politics, and public discourse in the Middle East. Ultimately, the findings will contribute to broader discussions on media bias and its implications for both regional and global audiences.

To achieve these objectives, this study addresses the following research questions:

- 1. What key narratives and linguistic strategies do Al Jazeera and Al Arabia employ when reporting on Hamas?
- 2. What differences emerge in their representation and frame of the Hamas?

Based on these research questions, we assume the following hypotheses:

H1: Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya employ distinct linguistic strategies and narratives when reporting on Hamas, reflecting their respective political and ideological alignments.

H2: The framing of Hamas in Al Jazeera's coverage is generally more sympathetic or neutral, whereas Al Arabiya's framing is more critical or negative, aligning with the foreign policy positions of Qatar and Saudi Arabia, respectively.

This research adopts a qualitative approach to data selection and analysis. The dataset consists of eight samples collected from the official websites of Al Jazeera and Al Arabia, as well as from TV streaming sources from 2012 to 2024. The study applies Fairclough's model of Critical Discourse Analysis as its theoretical framework.

The dissertation is structured as follows: The first chapter explores the theoretical frameworks and key concepts relevant to the study. The second chapter outlines the data collection process, research tools, and methodologies used, along with background information on Al Jazeera and Al Arabia. The third Chapter presents the findings, analyses the data, and interprets the results.

This research highlights the significant role of media framing in shaping public perceptions of contentious issues, particularly the portrayal of Hamas.

### Chapter One

## An Overview on Media and Framing

#### 1.1. Introduction

This chapter serves as the foundational framework for the study, exploring the critical concepts and theories that associate with the research. The chapter begins by defining framing analysis, examining how media outlets seen as instrument in influencing public opinion. Additionally, the chapter explores the relationship between media and ideology, and it discusses the key theories of framing that guide the analysis of media content. Finally, a review of previous research on media framing provides a context for understanding the significance of framing in the coverage of political and social issues.

#### 1.2. Framing Analysis

Framing analysis, also known as frame analysis, is a multidisciplinary research method used to understand how individuals and groups perceive social situations and events. It often examines how the media construct narratives that shape public perceptions by emphasizing certain issues and downplaying others R.M. Entman (1993, p.51). This approach focuses on the selection and emphasis of certain aspects of reality that influence how issues are perceived and understood Erving Goffman (1974, pp.75-89).

Building on the concept of framing, Simon (2001) describes it as "the process by which a source defines the essential problem underlying a particular social or political issue and presents a set of considerations that are supposedly relevant to that issue." Kuypers (2009) emphasizes the rhetorical dimension of framing, claiming that frames can define problems, identify causes, make moral judgments, and propose solutions.

Linström and Marais (2012, p.21-38) emphasize the value of framing analysis in various fields, including political communication, public health care, and social movement research. This methodology offers critical insights into how narratives are constructed and the impact they have on public discourse. Similarly, Johnson-Cartee (1995) characterizes framing analysis as a broad theoretical framework that has applications in fields such as communication studies, news reporting, politics, and social movements.

Nelson, Oxley and Clawson (1997, p. 221) further define framing as "the process by which a communication source, such as a news organization, defines and constructs a political

issue or public controversy" This perspective highlights the role of the media and other communication sources in shaping public understanding of social issues.

Finally, framing analysis is closely related to the concept of agenda setting, but goes beyond it by examining the interpretation and framing of issues, not just the identification of issues. It significantly influences how people process and interpret information and provides a deeper understanding of how narratives influence public opinion and discourse.

#### 1.3. Media Framing

The media serve as a primary source of news, facilitating the public's perception of events and providing a platform for debate on important issues. The media also serve as a mirror of societal values, mores and cultural practices, shaping individuals' perceptions of the world around them.

Framing takes place when the media attempts to influence public opinion on controversial issues. Wartime in particular is one of the most profitable times for the media industry. According to Shen (2004, p.410), this strategy can have a profound impact on how audiences perceive and understand these issues. Similarly, Nisbet, Brossard and Kroepsch (2003, p.36-70) argue that the media as a commercial enterprise aims to sell stories, with those that reflect human drama being the most marketable. They explain that the process of frame building organizes the news around a central idea, plot or agenda.

Deuze (2008, p.4-23) extends this idea by emphasizing that reporters' framing decisions significantly influence the public agenda and terms of debate. Journalists play this role by selectively emphasizing certain aspects of an issue or event while diverting attention from others. Through this process, the journalist's frame shapes not only what the audience sees, but also how they interpret it.

A variety of factors influences how a news report is framed. These include the language journalists' use, the narrative structure they adopt, the facts they include or omit, and the people or institutions they quote. Each of these elements contributes to a particular presentation of the news and subtly controls the audience's interpretation and reaction.

In short, the media's framing process underscores the media's powerful role in shaping social discourse and is therefore an essential aspect of analysing the media's influence.

#### 1.4. The Relationship between Media and Ideology

In today's society, social media platforms have become a primary source of information for many, shaping not only public knowledge but also individual and collective ideologies. Hall (1980, pp. 128-138) emphasizes that media are sites of ideological struggle where competing meanings and interpretations clash. Consequently, understanding the relationship between media and ideology is essential to understanding how social beliefs, values and power dynamics are constructed and reinforced through media.

McQuail (2010) defines ideology as an "organized belief system or set of values that is propagated or reinforced through communication" (p. 466). He notes that most media content implicitly forms an ideology by selectively emphasizing certain values and norms. This points to the role of the media in constructing reality and influencing the audience's on how perception of the world. McLuhan (1964) also claims that communication as a social process is ideologically constructed. He emphasizes that the medium itself has a great influence information is perceived and understood. Media texts thus serve both as a reflection of certain values and as an instrument for the dissemination of ideologies that reinforce social norms and beliefs.

Given this dynamic, much of media studies focuses on ideological perspectives. Van Dijk's (1998) research, for example, shows how the framing of news affects public opinion on issues such as immigration. His work highlights how portrayals in the Western media often reinforce stereotypes, influencing public opinion and policy decisions. A notable example is the post-9/11 portrayal of Islamic communities in the American media, which perpetuated negative stereotypes and portrayed them as "the other" Mellor and McDonald (2021) found that such American media promoted a culture of fear and distrust of the Muslim population, which had a profound effect on public perception and social cohesion.

To summarize, the media plays a central role in shaping and disseminating ideologies and influencing societal values and perceptions. Understanding this relationship is essential in order to critically engage with the media and discuss its ideological impact on society.

#### 1.5. Major Framing Theories

Framing analysis is rooted in a variety of theories that help explain how information is presented, interpreted, and understood, often in media, communication, and social sciences. Below we highlight the major theories.

#### 1.5.1. Goffman's Frame Analysis

Erving Goffman's Frame Analysis (1974) explains how people organize and interpret their experiences in social situations. He describes frames as mental structures or principles that help individuals understand what is happening and what actions are appropriate, focusing on three group-level behaviours, as follows:

**Frames:** this stage refers to the mental guidelines people use to make sense of events. They shape how we perceive reality and influence our responses. For example, when we hear sirens and see smoke, we might immediately frame it as an emergency.

**Primary Frames:** this stage refers to the basic ways people use for interpreting experiences, forming the foundation of understanding. They provide the lenses through which people view reality. For example, a classroom setting is usually framed as a place for learning. Students expect to listen to lectures and take notes rather than dance or sing.

**Secondary Frames:** This stage build on primary frames by adding context or modifying interpretations. They emerge in response to specific situations or cultural narratives, refining initial perceptions and helping individuals navigate complex social realities. For example, a comedian performing in a classroom might shift the frame from "serious learning" to "entertainment." Similarly, a protest happening in a school might reframe it as a political space.

In short, Goffman's theory helps us understand why people react differently to the same event. It also highlights the role of context in shaping social interactions.

#### 1.5.2. McCombs and Shaw's Agenda-Setting Theory

McCombs and Shaw's Agenda-Setting Theory (1972) explains how the media influences public attention. That is, this theory posits that media influences public perceptions by determining which issues are highlighted, thereby shaping what the public considers important. Importantly, while the media does not control how people think, it influences what

they think about. It does not control people "how" to think, but it directs them toward "what" to think about by emphasizing certain topics. This effect shows up on two levels: the first level determines which issues are prioritized in media coverage (object salience), and the second level influences how the public perceives these issues, shaping opinions and attitudes. McCombs and Shaw's analysis also highlighted the significant components of agenda setting (1972, p.1-16):

**Gatekeeping**: Editors and journalists control what news is reported and how it is presented.

**Cognitive Accessibility:** Media coverage makes certain issues more salient in the public's mind, affecting their perceptions of importance.

**Public Perception**: The public's understanding of issues is shaped by media exposure.

**Framing and Priming:** The way issues are framed by media influences how audiences interpret them.

#### 1.5.2.1. Models of Agenda-Setting

McCombs and Shaw proposed three models of agenda setting:

**Awareness Model**: this model concerns with the role of media in raising awareness about specific issues and influencing public priorities.

**Priorities Model:** this model concerns with the media's strategies to influence the order of importance assigned to issues.

**Salience Model:** This model relates to the degree of importance that audiences attach to issues based on media coverage. It posits that the more frequently an issue is covered, the more salient it becomes in the minds of the public, leading them to prioritize it over other issues.

McCombs and Shaw theory shows the media's power in shaping public discourse and societal priorities by emphasizing certain issues while minimizing others.

9

#### 1.5.3. Entman's Framing Theory

Robert M. Entman's Framing Theory, introduced in 1993, and examines how media frames select and emphasize specific aspects of reality, influencing public perception and discourse. Frames shape how audiences understand issues by highlighting certain elements while minimizing others, leading to variations in public attitudes and reactions. Entman (1993, p.7) presented four main types of framing:

- **1.5.3.1. Problem Definition:** Frames define what an issue is about, guiding its interpretation.
- **1.5.3.2. Causal Interpretation:** Frames suggest causes for issues, influencing how audience attributes responsibility or blame.
- **1.5.3.3. Moral Evaluation:** Frames promote moral judgments about issues, shaping ethical considerations and societal norms.
- **1.5.3.4. Treatment Recommendations:** Frames can suggest solutions or actions to address the issues presented.

Entman's theory attempts to reveal the media's role in constructing public discourse and influencing societal attitudes, highlighting the media's selective emphasis on certain aspects of reality, shaping how audiences perceive and react to issues.

#### 1.5.4. Critical Discourse Theory (CDA)

CDA is a research methodology that examines the relationship between language and social context, focusing on how discourse shapes and reflects power dynamics, ideologies and social structures. This approach has been widely applied to the analysis of news reports to uncover their hidden meanings and analyse how language conveys the political position and ideology of the state and influences readers' opinions. The sociocultural approach of Fairclough (1995), the sociocognitive approach of van Dijk (2001) and the discourse-historical approach of Wodak (2001) are traditional methods.

#### 1.5.4.1. Fairclough model

Fairclough (1995) mainly focuses on the hidden ideologies in news reports. According to him, discourse representation in the news media can be viewed as an ideological process that may be attuned to social determinants and social effects.

He proposes a three-dimensional model (1995, p. 98) to examine texts in their broader social and cultural contexts: text analysis (description), discourse practice (interpretation), and sociocultural practice (explanation). Each dimension focuses on a different aspect of discourse, yet all are interconnected, reflecting the complexity of discourse as a social phenomenon.

#### a) Description: Text Analysis

The first dimension involves detailed linguistic analysis of texts, including both spoken and written language as well as multimodal texts. The goal is to identify patterns, structures, and strategies employed in the text that may reveal underlying ideologies, power relations, and social identities. To do so, this stage focuses on describing various linguistic features such as grammar, vocabulary, cohesion, and textual structure. Text analysis typically includes the following aspects:

- **1. Word choice:** types of words used (formal, informal, technical, connotations)
- 2. **Grammar and Syntax:** types of sentences (passive vs. active voice)
- **3. Modality:** How do modal verbs (must, may, can) reflect certainty, obligation, or possibility?
- **4. Rhetorical Devices:** types of figurative language.
- **5. Style and Tone:** how the text is written (formal or casual; does the text evoke specific emotions, such as urgency, fear, or optimism?)
- **6. Omission:** What is left unsaid or de-emphasized?
- **7. Framing:** How are events, people, or ideas portrayed (&positive vs. negative)?

For example, the use of the term "freedom fighter" versus "terrorist" in media coverage can significantly alter public perception and alignment with a particular ideological standpoint, emphasizing the importance of lexical choices in textual analysis.

#### b) Interpretation: Discourse Practice

In the interpretation phase, the processes involved in the production, dissemination and consumption of texts are examined. This includes consideration of the context of discourse practice, such as the roles of the participants (author, speaker and audience), the purpose of the text and the medium through which the text is communicated. This dimension builds a bridge between the linguistic features of the text and its broader social functions and examines how meaning is constructed, negotiated and interpreted in particular contexts. In media studies, for example, the analysis of reporting on migration can reveal distortions in representational practices.

#### c) Explanation: Sociocultural Practice

The final dimension emphasizes the relationship between discourse and broader social and cultural practices. This involves analysing how discourse practices are influenced by, and in turn contribute to, social structures, power dynamics, and ideologies. This stage necessitates situating the discourse within its historical, political, and institutional contexts, while drawing on broader theories of society and culture to interpret the significance of the findings from the description and interpretation phases. For instance, in a sociolinguistic analysis of public discourse surrounding immigration, one could examine how the language used in political debates reflects deeper societal norms regarding the immigration issue.

#### 1.5.4.2. Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Approach

Van Dijk is a pivotal figure in CDA, known for his socio-cognitive approach that links discourse, cognition, and social structures. He argues that to understand discourse, it is important to consider the mental presentation and individuals use to interpret and process information. This approach is grounded in the understanding that discourse is not only a social practice but also a cognitive one, where mental processes and structures play a crucial role in the production, comprehension, and dissemination of text. A central concept in Van Dijk's approach is the notion of mental models and the ideological square.

#### a) Mental Models

According to Van Dijk (2001, p. 18-19), people interpret and produce discourse based on mental models—cognitive structures that represent the world, situations, or events. Mental

models allow speakers and listeners to connect discourse with their personal experiences, social knowledge, and cultural norms, playing a crucial role in how discourse is both understood and remembered. For example, when analysing a news report, one should consider how the journalist's mental model of an event (influenced by their experiences and biases) shapes the language used in the report, and how readers' mental models affect their interpretation of the report.

#### b) Ideological Square

Van Dijk (2001) argues that certain media outlets emphasize negative narratives around immigration, perpetuating stereotypes and influencing public policy. Thus, according to him, discourse is a primary means through which ideologies are communicated, maintained, and challenged. Van Dijk (2001,p.267) introduces the ideological square, which illustrates how discourse often portrays in-groups positively 'us' while depicting out-groups negatively 'them/others'. His work critically examines how dominant ideologies are reproduced through language. For example, in certain political discourse, a speech might highlight the positive achievements of the speaker's own party (in-group) while criticizing the failures of the opposing party (out-group), following the logic of the ideological squares. The ideological squares are four macro-strategies that used to perform ideological analysis:

- Emphasize the positive about us
- Emphasize the negative things about them
- De-emphasize the negative things about Us
- De-emphasize the positive things about them

#### 1.5.4.3. Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach

According to Wodak (2001), discourse is shaped by social structures and practices. The production of texts reflects the conditions under which they are created, influenced by ideology and institutional power.

Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) represents a significant strand within Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), emphasizing the crucial role of historical context in the analysis of discourse. That is, it emphasizes the importance of historical context in analysing discourse for example (examining discourses surrounding significant historical events, such as the Holocaust, to understand how they are represented and remembered within society). DHA

has been applied to a wide range of topics, including, political discourse, racism and discrimination, and historical Events.

By examining how texts are constructed, one can uncover the implicit power relations and ideological assumptions that govern communication. Wodak's approach underscores the idea that discourse is a social practice, embedded within and reflective of the structures that produce it.

Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) is a prominent framework within Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) that places particular emphasis on the role of historical context in shaping discourse. Unlike other approaches that may focus primarily on linguistic features or immediate situational contexts, DHA insists that understanding discourse requires an examination of its historical roots and development. For instance, analyzing discourses surrounding major historical events—such as the Holocaust—reveals how societies construct collective memory, represent trauma, and negotiate identity over time. By situating discourse within its historical framework, DHA allows researchers to trace how meanings evolve and how power relations are sustained or challenged through language (2001, pp. 63-94).

The versatility of DHA is evident in its application to a wide array of topics, including political discourse, racism, discrimination, and historical narratives. In political discourse, for example, DHA helps uncover how language is used to legitimize policies, marginalize opponents, or construct national identity. When applied to issues of racism and discrimination, it reveals how stereotypes and prejudiced ideologies are perpetuated through seemingly neutral language. Additionally, in the study of historical events, DHA provides insights into how societies remember, reinterpret, or suppress certain narratives to serve contemporary agendas. By integrating historical, social, and linguistic analysis, DHA offers a comprehensive tool for critically examining the ways in which discourse shapes and is shaped by power, ideology, and collective memory

#### 1.6. Media's Role in Shaping Perceptions of Middle East Conflicts

The way Western media frame stories about conflict in Middle East have strong effects on people understanding of the nature of the conflict. Research shows that Western media coverage of Middle East are often made too simple or shown with bias, using selected sources and ignoring important background.

For example, in the case of Palestine, studies by Philo and Berry (2004, 2011) found that British TV channels like the BBC and ITN often used Israeli officials as main sources, without explaining much about the history of the occupation or the blockade of Gaza. Palestinian actions were shown as sudden violence, while their suffering and efforts to resist were ignored. In the U.S., researchers like Friedman (2005) and Friel and Falk (2007) found that U.S news often portrayed Palestinians as terrorists. This made it easier for the public to support Israeli policies and ignored the bigger picture of military control and Palestinian resistance.

A similar trend emerged in coverage of the Iraq War. Researchers Kellner (2004) and Aday, Livingston, and Hebert (2005) showed that U.S. media mostly repeated what the government said about Iraq having weapons of mass destruction. The news made the war seem necessary and right. Only later, when the claims were proven false, they changed their reports on the war. However, by then, public perception had already been shaped by early, one-sided reporting, as Kellner (2004) states.

Coverage of the war in Syria followed a similar pattern. According to Cottle & Cooper (2015) and Ojala & Nesbitt-Larking (2017), initially, Western media focused on the suffering of civilians, but gradually they Strat to reframe the war as a simple fight between an oppressive regime and freedom fighters. This oversimplification ignored the complexities of the war, including external interventions and the rise of extremist factions, ultimately distorting international understanding of what was really happening.

These examples illustrate how media framing through language, source selection, and emphasis does not merely report events but actively shapes the narratives. By privileging certain perspectives while excluding others, news coverage systematically influences how global audiences perceive Middle Eastern conflicts. Recognizing these patterns is crucial for people to think more critically about what they see and hear in the news about war and conflict.

#### 1.7. Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter established the foundational framework for the study by exploring critical concepts and theories relevant to the research. It defined framing analysis, highlighting the role of media outlets as instruments for shaping public opinion. The chapter also examined the intricate relationship between media and ideology and discussed key theories

of framing related to the analysis of media content. Finally, this chapter contextualized this study through providing an overview of previous research on media framing.

# Chapter Two Research Methodology

#### 2.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodological methods, approaches and contextual background essential for conducting the study. It first introduces an overview of the two media outlets, Al Jazeera and Al Arabia, offering a historical and organizational background to understand their editorial policies, regional influence, and ideological orientations. This contextual information is crucial for analysing how each channel represents Hamas within its broader political and cultural framework. It then outlines the key analytical methods and approaches employed in the research: the content approach, the comparative approach, and the critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach.

#### 2.2. Approaches to Framing Analysis

Content analysis and comparative approaches are prominent methodologies in analysing how media outlets frame their narratives because of their interconnectedness in sharing ways of examining and interpreting patterns, themes, and structures within media content. Because of their relevance to our study, this section discusses them, with the aim of exploring their principles, applications, and contributions to media framing analysis.

#### 2.2.1. Content Analysis Approach

Content analysis is one of the well-known analytical tools used in a wide range of research work and serves primarily as a research method. It was developed primarily in anthropology, qualitative sociology and psychology to explore the meanings underlying physical messages Weber (1990, p.1990). According to Weber (1990), content analysis is widely used in mass communication to count the manifest textual elements, an aspect of this method that is often criticized for missing the syntactic and semantic information embedded in the text.

This method is briefly defined by Hsieh & Shannon (2005, p.1278) as "a research method for subjectively interpreting the content of textual data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns". Its strength lies in its usefulness for large data sets that allow for broad generalizations.

Patton (2002, p.453) emphasizes this by explaining that it is "any qualitative data reduction and sense-making that takes a body of qualitative material and attempts to identify core

consistencies and meanings". This clarifies that content analysis goes beyond simply counting words or extracting objective content from texts to examine meanings, themes and patterns that may be manifest or latent in a given text.

Under the consideration, the theorist of framing analysis, Entman (1993, p. 51-58), stated that researchers could conduct content analysis by examining media messages in terms of how they are embedded in the audience's schemas. Within this approach, Entman (1993) asserts that frame analysis should serve the following purposes: to define problems, to diagnose courses, to make value judgments, and to suggest remedies (p. 52).

In short, as Cissel. (2012, p.75) Asserts, content analysis is essential to finding patterns by which researchers can evaluate news media and their use of framing.

#### 2.2.2. Comparative Framing Analysis

Comparative framing analysis is a research methodology that examines how different media outlets frame similar issues or events across various contexts, particularly indifferent national or cultural settings. This approach is grounded in framing theory, which posits that the way information is presented or "framed" influences audience perception and interpretation. Comparative framing analysis is widely used communication studies, political science, and social movement research it can help identify:

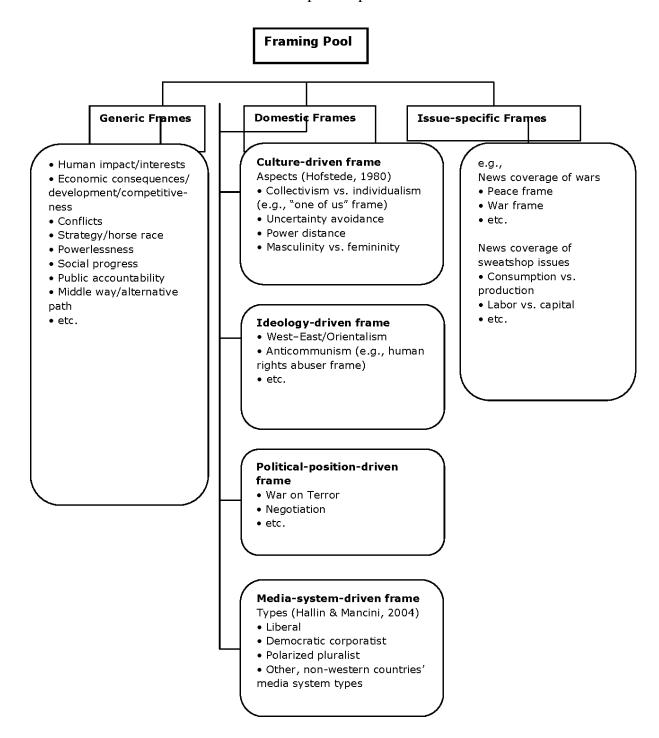
Cultural differences: how cultural values shape media narratives.

**Public perception:** how audience interpret and perceive media representation of different events.

*Media influence* the role of media in shaping public discourse on critical issues like health crisis or international conflicts.

Comparative framing analysis is often aligned with three significant concepts namely: Framing theory, comparative analysis and transnational comparative framing model or (TCFM), which was proposed in 2012 by Lei Guo, Avery Holton, and Sun Ho Jeong. This model is a structured approach for analysing how media frames transnational issues across different countries; it identifies gaps in existing comparative media studies and provides a systematic method for researchers.

The (TCFM) includes a "framing pool" with generic, domestic, and issue-specific frames to facilitate analysis and it aims to enhance understanding of how globalization influences media framing and supports cohesive research in comparative media studies, allowing for better identification of shared frames and their impact on public discourse.



**Figure 1:** Framing pool of the (TCFM) proposed by Lei Guo, Avery Holton, and Sun Ho Jeong (2012, p.13)

Establishing a Framework for the TCFM Standardized frameworks. Inspired by globalization, scholars have proposed various universal media frames applicable across different challenges and geographies. Scholars include Neuman, Just, and Crigler (1992) and Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, p.17) identified a set of generic frames prevalent in diverse news reports: human impact/interest, conflict, attribution of responsibility, impotence, morality, and economic implications.

Nisbet (2010) presents a series of frames that commonly emerge in science policy discussions, including social progress, economic development/competitiveness, morality/ethics, and scientific/technical uncertainty.

Domestic frameworks. In contrast to generic frames, domestic frames are utilised to analyse the domestication of media framing. The examination of contemporary international framing studies identifies four home components that influence the framing process: culture, ideology, political views, and media systems. Influenced by these characteristics, news media across various countries may employ unique frames to report on similar or identical events. Frames specific to particular issues. The final category in the framing pool is issue-specific frames. Concerning any specific subject, exploratory review of prior literature informs academics about the methods employed by news media in covering particular topics.

In summary, this framing pool is relevant to a wide range of international comparative framing research and ultimately offers a more cohesive method than has been previously utilized.

#### 2.3. Context of the Study

It is important to offer a historical and organizational background about the Palestinian organization, Hamas, and the two media outlets, Al Jazeera and Al Arabia, to understand their editorial policies, regional influence, and ideological orientations. This contextual information is crucial for analysing how each channel represents Hamas within its broader political and cultural framework.

#### 2.3.1. Hamas Organization

Hamas, officially known as Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya (Islamic Resistance Movement), was founded on December 14, 1987, during the First Intifada—a Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation (Mishal & Sela, 2006). It aimed to transform Palestinian frustration into an organized movement for liberation (Tamimi, 2007).

The group was established and led by Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, who positioned it as both a political and armed resistance movement, setting it apart from secular groups Fatah (the Palestine Liberation Organization, PLO) (Gunning, 2008). Hamas's rise was partly in response to the perceived failures of the PLO's diplomatic efforts.

Over time, Hamas expanded into politics, winning the 2006 Palestinian legislative elections in a surprise victory over Fatah (Levitt, 2006). This sparked a violent power struggle, resulting in Hamas's takeover of the Gaza Strip in 2007. Since then, Hamas has governed Gaza, and its role as a resistance group keeps it central to the ongoing Zionist-Palestinian conflict. On October 7, 2023, Hamas launched "Operation Al-Aqsa Flood," a large-scale attack against the Zionist, as a response of decades of occupation and blockade (Al Jazeera, 2023). Some argue that Hamas's refusal to recognize Israel perpetuates a cycle of violence with no clear resolution (Khalidi, 2020).

Hamas is widely considered a Palestinian offshoot of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, sharing a similar Islamist ideology while focusing on the Palestinian cause (Milton-Edwards & Farrell, 2010). This affiliation has shaped how regional governments view Hamas, especially those that see the Brotherhood as a threat. As a result, Hamas has been designated as a terrorist organization by several Western and Arab states, including Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Egypt, and Jordan.

In 2014, Saudi Arabia officially declared the Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist organization and, by association, Hamas as well (Reuters, 2014). Egypt, under President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, has taken similar measures, accusing Hamas of maintaining dangerous ties with the Brotherhood and posing a national security threat (BBC, 2015). Nonetheless, many Palestinians and Muslims around the world continue to view Hamas as a symbol of resistance against occupation.

In sum, while many Palestinians and Muslims see Hamas a legitimate resistance movement, several Arab and Western governments classify it as a terrorist organization.

#### 2.3.2. Al Jazeera and Al Arabia: Background Information

Al Jazeera Arabic, launched in 1996 in Doha, Qatar, represents a significant transformation in Arab media by promoting for a more liberal perspective (Zingarelli, 2010). The network achieved considerable popularity through its in-depth coverage of significant events, such as the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as its critical reporting on various issues across the Arab region. By presenting diverse viewpoints and challenging conventional beliefs, Al Jazeera distinguished itself within the media landscape. In an effort to expand its international presence, the network launched an English-language channel in 2006.

According to Yahyawi (2011), the channel's creation was part of Qatar's strategy to enhance its influence in the Middle East and globally, following Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani's rise to power in 1995. Although Al Jazeera asserts its independence from governmental interference, studies indicate its financial reliance on Qatar's royal family Abdulmajid (2019, p.23-47).

From its inception, Al Jazeera critically reported on political authorities across the Middle East, often-sparking conflicts between Gulf States and straining diplomatic relations. Researchers have observed that the outlet is used as political to counter pressure on neighbouring states, particularly Saudi Arabia Al-Rawi (2017, p.26-44); (Rashid and Naseer, 2019). Its critiques of Saudi matters concerning the Saudi Royal Family and domestic policies have often exacerbated tensions between the two states.

In response, Saudi Arabia launched Al Arabia in 2003; headquarter in Dubai, to challenge Al Jazeera's dominance as a Middle East-focused international news network. Researchers and viewers claim that Al Arabiya was created specifically to counter Al Jazeera's criticism of Saudi Arabia and its royal family (AlRawi, 2017; Abdulmajid, 2019). Similar to Al Jazeera, Al Arabia claims its editorial independence, but, in reality, it is relies on substantial support from the Saudi government, resulting in aligning with narrative of Saudi's foreign and domestic policies (Baghernia & Mahmoodinejad, 2018). Joobani (2014, p. 345) characterizes Al Arabia as a "Saudi voice in the Arab world," presenting news through a Saudi-centric viewpoint.

In summary, as Abdulmajid (2019) and Rashid (2019) observed, both Al Jazeera and Al Arabia advance different ideological stance and geopolitical priorities of their respective backers—the Qatari and Saudi royal families. These influences are evident in their differing approaches to regional issues, including their view of the Palestinian organization, Hamas.

### 2.3.3. Previous Studies on Al Jazeera and Al Arabia Coverage of the Palestinian Struggle

Although research on how Arab news outlets cover the Palestinian struggle remains limited, some studies have focused on analysing the coverage provided by prominent networks like Al Jazeera and Al Arabia.

For example, in a study titled "Al Jazeera and Al Arabia Framing of the Israel-Palestine Conflict during War and Calm Periods", Elmasry et al. (2013) conducted a comparative content analysis using framing theory (, p .750-768). Their research examined the two networks' coverage of the Israel-Palestine conflict during 2008–2009. The findings revealed that Al Jazeera's portrayal of Hamas was generally more positive. In contrast, Al Arabiya's coverage exhibited the opposite tendency. According to the authors, these outcomes reflect the foreign policy orientations of Qatar and Saudi Arabia.

Abdel Majid's 2019 study, "Media and Ideology in the Middle East: A Critical Discourse Analysis," provided further insights into these networks. His analysis of eight articles from Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya demonstrated that their editorial policies were strongly influenced by local political agendas, challenging their claims of objectivity. Al Jazeera highlighted Qatar's narratives, while Al Arabia emphasized Saudi Arabia's perspective. This ideological slant shows the broader regional conflicts and illustrates how media outlets can serve national interests rather than maintaining neutrality (2019, p.23-47).

The above-mentioned studies show that both Al Jazeera and Al Arabia are largely influenced by their respective state-sponsor, and their narrative on Hamas is politicized to serve their sponsor state.

#### 2.4. Research Method

Research methods can be classified into three primary approaches: mixed methods, qualitative, and quantitative. Mixed methods integrate both qualitative and quantitative

techniques to offer a thorough understanding of a research problem. Quantitative methods emphasize the numerical and statistical analysis, while qualitative methods are employed to investigate social phenomena, practices, and meanings through non-numerical data, such as text, interviews, or observations.

In this study, a qualitative approach was employed, as it allows researchers to concentrate on the analysis of the social production of meaning through texts. This facilitates a more profound exploration of how events or issues are framed in Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabia. According to Rahman (2017, p.102-112), this method is particularly effective for examining underlying patterns and themes, as well as for understanding the ways in which context influences meaning.

#### 2.5. The Research Approach

Wimmer and Dominick (2006: 152-153) indicate that news frame analysis is a form of qualitative content analysis. Thus, this study utilizes a qualitative content framing analysis to investigate and compare the representations of the Palestinian organization Hamas by Al Jazeera and Al Arabia. The objective of the analysis is to reveal the framing strategies employed by these media outlets to influence public perception, with particular emphasis on their ideological orientations and political affiliations.

Content analysis allows the researchers to compare potential biases of agenda setters regarding specific events. In this study, the researchers examined stories published by Al Jazeera and Al Arabia by:

- ✓ Describing the communication content;
- ✓ Analysing the manifest content, which refers to the visible and surface-level information, for each media outlet individually.
- ✓ Comparing the media content to identify differences in the framing of Hamas, which are influenced by their unique editorial policies and ideological contexts.

This methodology facilitates objective inferences regarding the framing strategies utilized by both media outlets, thereby offering a clear understanding of how each outlet constructs narratives surrounding Hamas within their distinct political and cultural contexts.

#### 2.6. Data Collection and Analysis

The data for this study was analysed and interpreted employing three-dimensional framework by Fairclough (1992, 2001). This framework stresses that every communicative event has three dimensions:

- 1. Text analysis (description): it refers to the analysis of linguistic features of the text (e.g., vocabulary, grammar, structure).
- 2. Processing analysis (interpretation): it refers to processes of production, distribution, and consumption of the text.
- 3. Social analysis (explanation): it involves the explanation of broader social, cultural, and political context in which the discourse occurs.

#### 2.7. Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter detailed the methodological framework and contextual background essential for conducting the study. It provided an overview of the two media outlets, Al Jazeera and Al Arabia, offering insights into their historical and organizational contexts, editorial policies, regional influence, and ideological orientations. It then outlined the key analytical methods employed in the research that set the foundation for the analysis presented in the subsequent chapters.

# Chapter Three Results and Discussion

### 3.1. Introduction

While the forgoing chapter outlined the research methodology used in this study, this chapter presents the findings of the study, applying Fairclough's three-dimensional Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) model to examine how Al Jazeera and Al Arabia frame the Hamas in their headlines. The analysis focuses on textual features, discursive practices, and broader ideological implications to uncover how language constructs differing representations of Hamas.

### 3.2. Corpus of the Study

The study data were collected from four Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya. These two Arab outlets were chosen for several reasons that they are highly circulated, and have strong influence. This study covered news published during the years from January 2012 to January 2024. This period was selected to determine the evolution of the two outlets regarding Palestinians dilemmas

### 3.3. Methods of Data Analysis

The collected data were coded and qualitatively analysed on Fairclough (1989) model of Critical Discourse Analysis, which is based on three dimensions:

- 1. Textual Analysis: A linguistic examination of lexical choices (word selection, connotations), Grammar (active/passive voice, nominalization), Modality (certainty, obligation e.g., "must," "should"), Metaphors & rhetorical devices.
- 2. Discursive Practices (Interpretation): it explores how texts are produced, distributed, and consumed (audience perception).
- 3. Social Practice (Explanation): it focuses on the broader societal and ideological effects of discourse.

This model was chosen it helped to achieve the objectives of the study. Data analysis involved several steps. First, headlines collected from the outlets. Then, they were classified into themes and analysed based on Fairclough Model. Then, for comparison, the reports of the two media reporting were matched.

### 3.4. Presentation of the Results

The results below are presented according to the event and the period of its production.

### 3.4.1. Textual Analysis (Description)

This dimension focuses on the examination of lexical choices (word selection, connotations), contextualisation and presupposition.

Theme 1: Ceasefire Agreement (21, November 2012)

Headline	Lexical choice	Intertextuality	Presupposition
Al Jazeera:  "Hamas ceasefire a  'victory for resistance'"	Victory Resistance	Quotes Hamas's perspective ('victory for resistance') is privileging their narrative.	The term "resistance" assumes Hamas is legitimately resisting occupation (not a "terrorist group").
Al Arabia: "Israel, Hamas agree to ceasefire after militant rocket barrage"	Militants Rocket barrage.	No direct quotes—uses third party labelling "militant", aligning with anti-Hamas governments (US/Israel/Gulf states).	The phrase "after rocket barrage" assumes Hamas started the escalation.

In "Hamas ceasefire a victory for resistance", Al Jazeera uses Hamas's own words, suggesting that the ceasefire is a win for their cause. Whereas, when Al Arabia says, "Israel, Hamas agree to ceasefire after militant rocket barrage", it uses the word "militant" to show threat, and blaming Hamas for starting violence.

Theme 2: Gaza Offensive Attack, 9 July 2014

Headline	Lexical choice	Intertextuality	Presupposition
Al Jazeera: Gaza under fire as Hamas vows to resist Israeli offensive.	Gaza, resistance, offensive.	Resistance discourse, echoes defense against occupation	Israel is the aggressor; Hamas is reacting
Al Arabia: Hamas militants fire rockets as Israel launches Gaza operation.	Militants, rockets.	Counterterrorism/state security discourse	Hamas initiated violence; Israel is conducting legitimate military operation

When Al Jazeera says, "Gaza under fire as Hamas vows to resist Israeli offensive", it directly shows Gaza as under attack and Hamas in position of defending themselves. However, in "Hamas militants fire rockets as Israel launches Gaza operation", Al Arabia deliberately puts Hamas first as the attacker to show Israel's actions seem organized and justified.

Theme 3: Gaza-Zionist clashes, 10 May – 21 May 2021

Headline	Lexical choice	Intertextuality	Presupposition
Al Jazeera: Hamas launches rockets after Israeli police storm Al- Aqsa.	Rockets, police, Al- Aqsa	Religious/nationalist discourse (Al-Aqsa as sacred)	Israeli provocation precedes Hamas' action
Al Arabia: Hamas escalates violence with rocket attacks on Israeli cities.	Violence, attacks.	Security discourse aligning with state narratives	Hamas is responsible for intensifying conflict

In "Hamas launches rockets after Israeli police storm Al-Aqsa", Al Jazeera uses a neutral tone to show that Hamas is reacting to Israel, defending a holy site. With "Hamas escalates

violence with rocket attacks on Israeli cities", Al Arabia uses a strong tone, blaming Hamas directly for escalating the conflict, without any mention of Al-Aqsa.

Theme 4: October 7, 2023 Events

Headline	Lexical choice	Intertextuality	Presupposition
Al Jazeera: Hamas launches surprise attack on Israel, claims resistance.	Attack, resistance, occupation.	Resistance/anti-colonial discourse	Attack presented within frame of political resistance
Al Arabia: Iran- backed Hamas militants massacre civilians in surprise attack on Israel.	Militants, massacre.	Anti-Iran, anti-terror discourse	Hamas is a proxy, violent, and illegitimate actor

In "Hamas launches surprise attack on Israel, claims resistance", Al Jazeera uses soft language, and Hamas' own words, referring to them as resistance. Al Arabia, "Iran-backed Hamas militants massacre civilians in surprise attack on Israel", on the other hand, uses harsh language, focusing on violence, and associating Hamas with foreign country, Iran.

Theme 5: Hostage exchange ceasefire, 30 November 2023

Headline	Lexical choice	Intertextuality	Presupposition
Al Jazeera: Hamas, Israel agree to truce, exchange prisoners and hostages.	Truce, prisoners, hostages	Diplomatic/conflict resolution discourse	Both sides have legitimacy and make concessions
Al Arabia: Israel, Hamas reach deal for hostage release amid international pressure.	Deal, hostage, pressure	Humanitarian/interventionist discourse	Hamas pressured into agreement; moral asymmetry implied

In "Hamas, Israel agree to truce, exchange prisoners and hostages", uses neutral words, showing both sides as equal. While in "Israel, Hamas reach deal for hostage release amid international pressure", Al Arabia deliberately blames Hamas for holding hostages, while ignoring the Palestinian prisoners.

Theme 6: Attack on Rafah, 14 May 2024

Headline	Lexical choice	Intertextuality	Presupposition
Al Jazeera: Hamas			
vows to defend	Rafah, assault,	Territorial defense	Israel is aggressor; Hamas is
Rafah as Israel	defence.	narrative	defending territory
intensifies assault.			
Al Arabia: Hamas			
militants threaten	Militants,	Military/security	Hamas is the threat; Israel
escalation as Israel	escalation	discourse	targets a justified military
targets Rafah	Cocaration	discourse	objective
stronghold.			

By reporting, "Hamas vows to defend Rafah as Israel intensifies assault", Al Jazeera emphasizes that Hamas is protecting Palestinian in Rafah from Israel aggressive attack. Whereas, Al Arabia's "Hamas militants threaten escalation as Israel targets Rafah stronghold", uses words (militants, threaten, escalation) that make Hamas looks as a threat and stability escalator.

Theme 7: Death of Mohammed Deif, 13 July 2024

Headline	Lexical choice	Intertextuality	Presupposition
Al Jazeera: Hamas mourns top commander killed in Israeli airstrike.	Commander , Strike, martyr.	Humanizing/personalizing discourse	Commander's role and identity matter; Israel conducted lethal strike
Al Arabia: Israel eliminates Hamas military chief in targeted Gaza airstrike.	Chief, airstrike	Anti-terrorism/military efficiency discourse	Strike is justified; target is a legitimate military actor

In "Hamas mourns top commander killed in Israeli airstrike", Al Jazeera uses humanized language (mourns) to describe the loss. Whereas, in "Israel eliminates Hamas military chief in targeted Gaza airstrike", Al Arabia uses a military language (eliminates) Justifying he killing.

Theme 8: Ceasefire Negotiations, July 2024

Headline	Lexical choice	Intertextuality	Presupposition
Al Jazeera Hamas drops key demand in ceasefire talks, seeks end to Gaza blockade.	Demand, talks, blockade.	Diplomatic/discourse of compromise	Hamas is negotiating in good faith
Al Arabia Hamas rejects ceasefire proposal, continues to hold hostages	Proposal, hostages.	Criminalization discourse	Hamas is unreasonable and obstructing peace

In "Hamas drops key demand in ceasefire talks, seeks end to Gaza blockade", Al Jazeera shows compromise and negotiation. On the other hand, Arabia reports "Hamas rejects ceasefire proposal, continues to hold hostages" to shows Hamas as uncooperative and aggressive.

### **3.4.2. Discursive Practice (Interpretation)**

This dimension examines how the headlines are produced, distributed, and interpreted, and how audiences engage with and make sense of the texts.

It is apparent that the production of Al Jazeera's headlines inclines for framing Hamas as a political or resistance group. The lexical choices, such as "resist," "defend," or "mourning", reveal the strategy of Al Jazeera that aimed at sympathetic the majority of Arab audiences, who are supportive to the Palestinian cause.

These headlines are distributed widely through Al Jazeera's satellite TV and digital platforms, especially in Arabic-speaking regions. Readers are likely to interpret these texts as validating a resistance narrative, possibly reinforcing political solidarity or sympathy with Gaza. For Al Jazeera's audience, such headlines invoke a collective memory of occupation, resistance, and Western double standards.

On the other hand, the production of Al Arabia's headlines seems to reflect an opposite editorial stance, which aligns with the foreign policy of other Gulf States like Saudi Arabia and Emirates who are generally against Islamist groups like Hamas. Terms like "militants," "massacre," "threaten," and "Iran-backed" are carefully selected to portray Hamas as a terrorist group, rather than resistance group.

Al Arabia's content is distributed widely through its satellite TV and digital platforms, especially in Arabic-speaking regions. For its audience, the headlines reinforce a worldview where building relationships with the so called Israel is paramount of the region stability.

### 3.4. 3. Social Practice (Explanation)

This dimension situates the discourse within broader societal structures and its ideological effects.

Al Jazeera's framing challenge the dominant Western narratives which often frame Israel as a democracy defending itself against terrorism. By framing Hamas as "resistance," Al Jazeera legitimizes Palestinian armed struggle and problematizes Israeli military actions as occupation or aggression. This reflects broader regional discourses about colonialism, sovereignty, and self-determination, and contributes to shaping public opinion.

Such discourse connects the Palestinian issue to themes of justice, liberation, and human rights. This ideology of normalizing Hamas as a political and resistance group within the Palestinian context contributes to shifting geopolitical narratives.

In contrast, Al Arabia reproduces hegemonic gulf-states' discourses that prioritize the region stability and anti-extremism, which align with Western ideology. By framing Hamas as "militants," linking them to Iran, and emphasizing their role in escalating violence, Al Arabia reinforces Gulf states' strategic distancing from political Islam and support for Israeli normalization efforts under initiatives like the Abraham Accords.

Socially, this discourse reflects and supports a broader ideological shift in some Arab states where regional order and Western alliance take precedence over traditional pan-Arab or Islamic solidarity with Palestine.

### 3.5. Interpretation of the Main Findings

The current research aims to investigate Al Jazeera and Al Arabia frame of Hamas, Utilizing Fairclough's three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis. The findings of this Critical Discourse Analysis align closely with the research questions and hypotheses posed.

For the first research question, "What key narratives and linguistic strategies do Al Jazeera and Al Arabia employ when reporting on Hamas?", the findings reveals that Al Jazeera frequently adopts a narrative grounded in themes of resistance, justice, and victimhood. Through lexical choices such as "resist," "defend," and "mourns," the network presents Hamas in a more humanized and, at times, legitimized light.

In contrast, Al Arabia utilizes a discourse rooted in security and state stability, applying terms such as 'militants', 'massacre', and 'threaten', which delegitimize Hamas and portray it as a violent, destabilizing force. These strategies serve different ideological functions and audience expectations.

These findings support our hypothesis that "Al Jazeera and Al Arabia employ distinct linguistic strategies and narratives when reporting on Hamas, reflecting their respective political and ideological alignments". The contrast in word choice, tone, and thematic framing clearly reflects Qatar versus Saudi Arabia's opposing ideologically regarding the issue.

Regarding the second research question, "What differences emerge in their representation and frame of Hamas?", the results showed a clear divergence in framing. Al Jazeera frames Hamas with a degree of neutrality or even sympathy, frequently contextualizing its actions as responses to Zionist aggression. It provides space for narratives of resistance and portrays Hamas as a legitimate actor within the Palestinian struggle.

Meanwhile, Al Arabia adopts a more negative framing, often-emphasizing violence, extremism, and foreign (especially Iranian) influence, thus reinforcing a narrative of Hamas as a regional threat aligned against moderate Arab interests.

These findings are consistent with the results of Elmasry et al. (2013) and Abdel Majid (2019) who found Al Jazeera's coverage to be generally more favourable toward Hamas, reflecting Qatar's political alignment and supportive stance toward the Palestinian cause; whereas, Arabia's editorial position is influenced by Saudi Arabia's ideological opposition to political Islam and its broader regional priorities.

In conclusion, the study's findings support the hypothesis that Al Jazeera and Al Arabia utilize distinct linguistic and discursive strategies in their coverage of Hamas. These strategies reflect the geopolitical and ideological orientations of their respective state sponsors. The contrasting representations of Hamas (sympathetic or neutral in Al Jazeera, and critical or negative in Al Arabia) highlight the instrumental role of media in projecting state narratives and shaping public perception in alignment with foreign policy objectives.

### 3.6. Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has examined how Al Jazeera and Al Arabia frame Hamas in their headlines by applying Fairclough's three-dimensional Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) model. Through analysis of textual features, discursive practices, and broader ideological contexts, the findings revealed that Al Jazeera tended to use more focused language that showed Hamas as political or defensive. In contrast, Al Arabia used a focused language that often presented Hamas as violent and illegitimate.

## **General Conclusion**

### **General Conclusion**

This study used a comparative analysis of Al Jazeera and Al Arabia's framing of Hamas in their news headlines. Employing Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) model, it sought to explore the narratives and linguistic strategies that Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya employed when reporting on Hamas, as well as differences that emerged in their representation and frame of the Hamas.

The findings confirmed that both Al Jazeera and Al Arabia employed distinct linguistic and narrative strategies that align with their respective political and ideological affiliations. While Al Jazeera's coverage often framed Hamas as a legitimate resistance movement, aligning with Qatar's foreign policy stance of supporting Hamas, Al Arabiya frequently portrayed Hamas as a militant group, reflecting Saudi Arabia's political position of opposing Hamas.

The research validated the research hypotheses, demonstrating that Al Jazeera and Al Arabia framing was deeply intertwined with political agendas of the countries behind these channels. These differences in representation showed the way news is presented in the Arab world is often shaped by politics, especially on sensitive topics like the Palestinian struggle.

The study also revealed how language choices in the news can influence how people think, reinforcing certain political ideas instead of just reporting facts. By analysing linguistic choices and narrative structures, this study revealed how Al Jazeera and Al Arabia reinforced certain ideological and political positions and influencing people perception, instead of reporting objective facts.

These findings contribute to existing research on media bias and show the role of political influence in news framing. The current findings also emphasize the need for critical media literacy among audiences, particularly in regions where media is closely tied to political powers. This highlights why it is important for people to think critically about the news they consume.

Ultimately, this study reaffirms that media discourse is not neutral. It often reflects geopolitical interests. This is why it is crucial to understand and engage critically with news narratives in order to make sense of complex issues like the Zionist-Palestinian conflict.

Finally, it should be noted that this study has a few limitations that should be acknowledged. First, the selection of headlines was selective and purposive, focusing on high

profile or highly charged events. While this approach helped reveal ideological patterns, it may not fully represent the broader coverage of Hamas across both networks. Second, although Fairclough's model includes analysis of textual features such as grammar, syntax, and cohesion (dimension 1), this study emphasized vocabulary and narrative framing, leaving other microlinguistic elements underexplored.

Therefore, future studies could build on this study by expanding the sample size, incorporating a larger dataset, including full articles, images, and video transcripts, or comparing additional media sources to further gain a more comprehensive understanding of how Hamas is framed across different media formats. Researchers might also explore audience reception studies to examine how such framing influences their perception and political attitudes.

# **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

### **Bibliography**

- Abdulmajid, A. (2019). Media and ideology in the Middle East: A critical discourse analysis. Digest of Middle East Studies, 28(1), 23–47. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1111/dome.12179">https://doi.org/10.1111/dome.12179</a>
- Aday, S., Livingston, S., & Hebert, M. (2005). Embedding the truth: A cross-cultural analysis of objectivity and television coverage of the Iraq War. The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics, 10(1), 3–21. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1177/1081180X05275727">https://doi.org/10.1177/1081180X05275727</a>
- Al Jazeera. (2023, October 7). Hamas launches surprise attack on Israel, escalating tensions. https://www.aljazeera.com
- Allen, M. (2020). Framing analysis: Its usefulness as a tool for advocacy on public health. Journal of Public Health in Africa, 11(2), Article 10200466. <a href="https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC10200466/">https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC10200466/</a>
- Al-Rawi, A. (2017). Assessing public sentiments and news preferences on Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya. International Communication Gazette, 79(1), 26–44.
- Althaus, S. L., Al-Sumait, F., & Qian, S. (2019). Frames and tweets: International media coverage of the 2014 Gaza conflict. Journal of Middle East Media, 15(1), 1–24.
- Baghernia, N., & Mahmoodinejad, E. H. (2018). Al-Alam versus Al-Arabiya: Iran and Saudi Arabia's media propaganda tools. Asian Politics & Policy, 10(2). <a href="https://doi.org/10.1111/aspp.12386">https://doi.org/10.1111/aspp.12386</a>
- BBC News. (2015). Egypt court declares Hamas a 'terrorist organisation'. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-31699606
- Cissel, M. (2012). Media framing: A comparative content analysis on mainstream and alternative news coverage of Occupy Wall Street. The Elon Journal of Undergraduate Research in Communications, 3(1), 67–77.
- Cottle, S., & Cooper, G. (2015). Humanitarianism, communications and change: The media and NGOs in a new world. Peter Lang.
- D'Angelo, P., & Kuypers, J. A. (2010). Introduction: Doing news framing analysis. In Doing news framing analysis: Empirical and theoretical perspectives (pp. 1–15). Routledge.
- Deuze, M. (2008). Understanding journalism as newswork: How it changes, and how it remains the same. Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture, 5(2), 4–23. <a href="https://www.westminster.ac.uk/">https://www.westminster.ac.uk/</a> data/assets/pdf\_file/0006/20022/002WPCCVol5-No2-Mark Deuze.pdf

- Dominika Kosárová. (2020). Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya: Understanding media bias. Politické Vedy, 23(4), 87–108. <a href="https://doi.org/10.24040/politickevedy.2020.23.4.87-108">https://doi.org/10.24040/politickevedy.2020.23.4.87-108</a>
- Elmasry, M. H., Shamy, A. E., Manning, P., Mills, A., & Auter, P. J. (2013). Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya framing of the Israel-Palestine conflict during war and calm periods. International Communication Gazette, 75(8), 750–768. https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048513482545
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. Journal of Communication, 43(4), 51–58.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language. Longman.
- Friedman, T. B. (2005). Israel and the American media: Bias or balance? In R. David & D. Newman (Eds.), The Routledge Handbook on the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict (pp. 187–204). Routledge.
- Friel, H., & Falk, R. (2007). Israel-Palestine on Record: How the New York Times Misreports Conflict in the Middle East. Verso.
- Gitlin, T. (1980). The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making and unmaking of the left. University of California Press.
- Goffman, E. (1974). Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience. Harper & Row.
- Gunning, J. (2008). Hamas in politics: Democracy, religion, violence. Columbia University Press.
- Guo, L., Holton, A., & Jeong, S. H. (2012). Transnational comparative framing: A model for an emerging framing approach. International Journal of Communication, 6, 1922–1944.
- Hall, S. (1980). Encoding/decoding. In Culture, media, language (pp. 128–138). Routledge.
- Hsieh, H.-F., & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. Qualitative Health Research, 15(9), 1277–1288.
- Joobani, H. A. (2014). Al Arabiya: The "Saudispeak" of the Arab world. Asian Politics & Policy, 6(2), 345–346. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1111/aspp.12103">https://doi.org/10.1111/aspp.12103</a>
- Kellner, D. (2004). Media propaganda and spectacle in the war on Iraq: A critique of U.S. broadcasting networks. Cultural Studies↔ Critical Methodologies, 4(3), 329–338. https://doi.org/10.1177/1532708604266530
- Khalidi, R. (2020). The hundred years' war on Palestine: A history of settler colonialism and resistance, 1917–2017. Metropolitan Books.
- Kuypers, J. A. (2009). Rhetorical criticism: Perspectives in action. Rowman & Littlefield.

- Levitt, M. (2006). Hamas: Politics, charity, and terrorism in the service of jihad.\* Yale University Press.
- Linström, M., & Marais, W. (2012). Qualitative news frame analysis: A methodology. Communitas, 17(1), 21–38.
- Matthes, J. (2012). Framing politics: An integrative approach. American Behavioral Scientist, 56(3), 247–259.
- McLuhan, M. (1964). Understanding media: The extensions of man. McGraw-Hill.
- McQuail, D. (2010). Mass communication theory (6th ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Mellor, P., & McDonald, R. (2021). Mediated identity: The impact of media discourse on public perception. Media, War & Conflict. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1177/17506352211021133">https://doi.org/10.1177/17506352211021133</a>
- -Milton-Edwards, B., & Farrell, S. (2010). Hamas: The Islamic Resistance Movement. Polity.
- Mishal, S., & Sela, A. (2006). The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, violence, and coexistence..Columbia University Press.
- Nisbet, M. C., Brossard, D., & Kroepsch, A. (2003). Framing science: The stem cell controversy in an age of press/politics. Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics, 8(1), 36–70.
- Ojala, M., & Nesbitt-Larking, P. (2017). Contrasting frames: Syrian refugees, security threats, and border control in Canadian and Finnish media. Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique, 50(4), 875–894. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008423917000608
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). Qualitative research and evaluation methods (3rd ed.). Sage.
- Philo, G., & Berry, M. (2004). Bad news from Israel. Pluto Press.
- Philo, G., & Berry, M. (2011). More Bad News from Israel. Pluto Press.
- Qasem, N., & Shoemaker, P. J. (2015). Coverage of the 2014 Gaza war in international media: A comparative framing analysis. Global Media Journal, 13(25), 1–17.
- Rahman, S. (2017). The advantages and disadvantages of using qualitative and quantitative approaches and methods in language "testing and assessment" research: A literature review. Journal of Education and Learning, 6(1), 102–112.
- Rashid, M., & Naseer, M. (2019). Diplomatic conflict and media framing: Reporting of Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya channels related to Saudi-Qatar conflict. SSRN Electronic Journal. <a href="https://ssrn.com/abstract=3432617">https://ssrn.com/abstract=3432617</a>

- Reuters. (2014). Saudi Arabia declares Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist group. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-saudi-security-idUSBREA2213520140307
- Shen, F. (2004). Effects of news frames and schemas on individuals' issue interpretations and attitudes. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 81(2), 400–416.
- Simon, A. (2001). Unified method for analysing media framing. In R. E. Denton, Jr. (Ed.), Communication in U.S. elections: New agendas (pp. 75–89). Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Tamimi, A. (2007). Hamas: Unwritten chapters. Hurst & Company.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2001). Critical discourse analysis. In D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen, & H. E. Hamilton (Eds.), The handbook of discourse analysis (pp. 352–371). Blackwell.
- Weber, R. P. (1990). Basic content analysis (2nd ed.). Sage Publications.
- Widdowson, H. G. (2007). Discourse analysis (Oxford introductions to language study). Oxford University Press. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780194389211.001.0001">https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780194389211.001.0001</a>
- Wodak, R. (2001). The discourse-historical approach. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), Methods of critical discourse analysis (pp. 63–94). SAGE. https://doi.org/10.4135/9780857028020
- Yahyawi, A. (2011). Al Jazeera coverage news and political awareness of Arab–Israeli conflict (Master's thesis, University of Kasdi Merbah Ouargla, Algeria).
- Zingarelli, M. (2010). The CNN effect and the Al Jazeera effect in global politics and society (Master's thesis, Georgetown University
- Al Jazeera. (2012, November 21). Hamas declares victory as ceasefire comes into effect. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2012/11/21/hamas-declares-victory-as-ceasefire-comes-into-effect">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2012/11/21/hamas-declares-victory-as-ceasefire-comes-into-effect</a>
- Al Arabiya. (2012, November 21). Israel-Hamas agree to ceasefire after eight days of fighting. <a href="https://english.alarabiya.net/News/middle-east/2012/11/21/Israel-Hamas-agree-to-ceasefire-after-eight-days-of-fighting">https://english.alarabiya.net/News/middle-east/2012/11/21/Israel-Hamas-agree-to-ceasefire-after-eight-days-of-fighting</a>
- Al Jazeera. (2014, July 9). Hamas vows to resist Israeli offensive as Gaza under fire. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2014/7/9/hamas-vows-to-resist-israeli-offensive-as-gaza-under-fire">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2014/7/9/hamas-vows-to-resist-israeli-offensive-as-gaza-under-fire</a>
- Al Arabiya. (2014, July 9). Hamas rockets fired as Israel military launches Gaza operation. <a href="https://english.alarabiya.net/News/middle-east/2014/07/09/Hamas-rockets-fired-as-Israel-military-launches-Gaza-operation">https://english.alarabiya.net/News/middle-east/2014/07/09/Hamas-rockets-fired-as-Israel-military-launches-Gaza-operation</a>

- Al Jazeera. (2017, October 12). Hamas, Fatah sign unity deal to end decade-long rift. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/10/12/hamas-fatah-sign-unity-deal-to-end-decade-long-rift
- Al Arabiya. (2017, October 12). Hamas, Fatah reach reconciliation deal after years of division. <a href="https://english.alarabiya.net/News/middle-east/2017/10/12/Hamas-Fatah-reach-reconciliation-deal-after-years-of-division">https://english.alarabiya.net/News/middle-east/2017/10/12/Hamas-Fatah-reach-reconciliation-deal-after-years-of-division</a>
- Al Jazeera. (2021, May 10). Hamas fires rockets after Israeli police storm Al-Aqsa Mosque. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/5/10/hamas-fires-rockets-after-israeli-police-storm-al-aqsa-mosque
- Al Arabiya. (2021, May 11). Hamas escalates violence with rocket attacks on Israeli cities. https://english.alarabiya.net/News/middle-east/2021/05/11/Hamas-escalates-violence-with-rocket-attacks-on-Israeli-cities
- Al Jazeera. (2023, October 7). Hamas launches surprise attack on Israel, claims resistance. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/10/7/hamas-launches-surprise-attack-on-israel-claims-resistance
- Al Arabiya. (2023, October 8). Iran-backed Hamas militants massacre civilians in surprise attack on Israel. <a href="https://english.alarabiya.net/News/middle-east/2023/10/08/Iran-backed-Hamas-militants-massacre-civilians-in-surprise-attack-on-Israel">https://english.alarabiya.net/News/middle-east/2023/10/08/Iran-backed-Hamas-militants-massacre-civilians-in-surprise-attack-on-Israel</a>
- Al Jazeera. (2023, November 24). Hamas and Israel agree to truce, exchange prisoners and hostages.
   <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/11/24/hamas-and-israel-agree-to-truce-exchange-prisoners-and-hostages">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/11/24/hamas-and-israel-agree-to-truce-exchange-prisoners-and-hostages</a>
- Al Arabiya. (2023, November 24). Israel and Hamas reach deal for hostage release amid international pressure. <a href="https://english.alarabiya.net/News/middle-east/2023/11/24/Israel-and-deal-for-hostage-release-amid-international-pressure">https://english.alarabiya.net/News/middle-east/2023/11/24/Israel-and-deal-for-hostage-release-amid-international-pressure</a>
- Al Jazeera. (2024, May 7). Hamas vows to defend Rafah as Israeli assault intensifies. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/5/7/hamas-vows-to-defend-rafah-as-israeli-assault-intensifies
- Al Arabiya. (2024, May 7). Hamas militants threaten escalation as Israel targets Rafah stronghold. <a href="https://english.alarabiya.net/News/middle-east/2024/05/07/Hamas-militants-threaten-escalation-as-Israel-targets-Rafah-stronghold">https://english.alarabiya.net/News/middle-east/2024/05/07/Hamas-militants-threaten-escalation-as-Israel-targets-Rafah-stronghold</a>
- Al Jazeera. (2024, July 13). Hamas mourns top commander killed in Israeli strike. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/7/13/hamas-mourns-top-commander-killed-in-israeli-strike

- Al Arabiya. (2024, July 13). Israel eliminates Hamas military chief in targeted Gaza airstrike. <a href="https://english.alarabiya.net/News/middle-east/2024/07/13/Israel-eliminates-Hamas-military-chief-in-targeted-Gaza-airstrike">https://english.alarabiya.net/News/middle-east/2024/07/13/Israel-eliminates-Hamas-military-chief-in-targeted-Gaza-airstrike</a>
- Al Jazeera. (2024, July 31). Hamas blames Israel for assassination of political leader. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/7/31/hamas-blames-israel-for-assassination-of-political-leader">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/7/31/hamas-blames-israel-for-assassination-of-political-leader</a>
- Al Arabiya. (2024, July 31). Israel accused of assassinating Hamas political chief in Iran. <a href="https://english.alarabiya.net/News/middle-east/2024/07/31/Israel-accused-of-assassinating-Hamas-political-chief-in-Iran">https://english.alarabiya.net/News/middle-east/2024/07/31/Israel-accused-of-assassinating-Hamas-political-chief-in-Iran</a>
- Al Jazeera. (2024, July 20). Hamas drops key demand in ceasefire talks, seeks end to Gaza blockade. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/7/20/hamas-drops-key-demand-in-ceasefire-talks-seeks-end-to-gaza-blockade">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/7/20/hamas-drops-key-demand-in-ceasefire-talks-seeks-end-to-gaza-blockade</a>
- Al Arabiya. (2024, July 20). Hamas rejects ceasefire proposal, continues to hold hostages. https://english.alarabiya.net/News/middle-east/2024/07/20/Hamas-rejects-ceasefire-proposal-continues-to-hold-hostages

تقدم هذه المذكرة دراسة تحليلية مقارنة لكيفية تناول قناتي الجزيرة والعربية لحركة حماس في عناوين الأخبار. يتمثل الهدف الرئيسي في كشف الاستراتيجيات اللغوية والسردية التي يستخدمها كل منهما، والتي تعكس الأيديولوجيات السياسية للقناتين. اعتمدت الدراسة على نموذج التحليل النقدي للخطاب لفيركلاف، وشملت ثمانية عينات من مواقع القناتين الرسمية والبث التلفزيوني بين عامي 2012 و2024. أظهرت النتائج أن قناة الجزيرة غالباً ما تصوّر حماس كمجموعة مقاومة مشروعة، في حين تُقدّمها قناة العربية كمجموعة مسلحة عنيفة. وتتوافق هذه الصور مع توجهات السياسة الخارجية لكل من قطر والسعودية. وتخلص الدراسة إلى أن تغطية كلتا القناتين تتشكل وفق أجندات أيديولوجية مرتبطة بالدولة، مما يبرز الطابع المسيس للخطاب الإعلامي العربي حول القضية الفلسطينية.

### **Summary**

This dissertation provides a comparative analysis of how Al Jazeera and Al Arabia frame Hamas in their news headlines. The main aim is to uncover the linguistic and narrative strategies each outlet employs, reflecting their respective political ideologies. Using Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the study examines eight samples from both networks, drawn from their official websites and TV streams between 2012 and 2024. The findings reveal that Al Jazeera tends to frame Hamas as a legitimate resistance group, while Al Arabia frames it as a violent militant group. These portrayals align with the foreign policy orientations of Qatar and Saudi Arabia, respectively. The study concludes that both networks' coverage is shaped by state-affiliated ideological agendas, highlighting the politicized nature of Arab media discourse on the Palestinian struggle.

### Résumé

Ce mémoire propose une analyse comparative de la manière dont Al Jazeera et Al Arabia encadrent le Hamas dans leurs titres de presse. L'objectif principal est de révéler les stratégies linguistiques et narratives utilisées par chaque média, reflétant leurs idéologies politiques respectives. En utilisant le modèle d'Analyse Critique du Discours (ACD) de Fairclough, l'étude examine huit échantillons issus des sites officiels et des diffusions télévisées des deux chaînes, couvrant la période de 2012 à 2024. Les résultats montrent qu'Al Jazeera présente le Hamas comme un groupe de résistance légitime, tandis qu'Al Arabia le décrit comme un groupe militant violent. Ces représentations s'alignent sur les orientations de politique étrangère du Qatar et de l'Arabie saoudite respectivement. L'étude conclut que la couverture des deux chaînes est façonnée par des agendas idéologiques étatiques, soulignant la politisation du discours médiatique arabe sur la question palestinienne.