



# Representations of the ‘Palestinian Prisoners-Shalit Swap’ in Selected Arab and Israeli Online News Articles

Abeer Barakat Alhossary (Corresponding author)  
Languages Center, University College of Applied Sciences  
PO Box 1415, Gaza, Palestine  
Tel: 972-599860936 E-mail: abarakat@ucas.edu.ps

Mohd Faiz Sathivellu Bin Abdullah  
Faculty of Modern Languages and Communication, Universiti Putra Malaysia  
43400 Serdang, Selangor Darul Ehsan, Malaysia  
Tel: 600-03-8946 8721E-mail: faiz@upm.edu.my

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## Abstract

‘The Palestinian Prisoners-Shalit Swap’ was a major issue in the media coverage in the Middle East for almost five years. This issue refers to an agreement between Israel and Hamas, the dominant political party governing the Gaza Strip, to release the captivated Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit in exchange for 1,027 Palestinian prisoners held in Israeli prisons. Both the Arab and Israeli media played a role in portraying the image of the released Palestinian Prisoners versus the Israeli soldier to the readers worldwide. The study aimed to identify the online media coverage of the Swap by Aljazeera English and Ha’aretz in terms of the manipulation of language to identify the discursive strategies and the linguistic means of self-justification of both news agencies towards this issue. The results of the critical discourse analysis using the Halliday’s Transitivity Theory revealed that both news agencies employed material process, verbal processes and relational processes differently to highlight certain characters and actions of the Swap from their viewpoint.

**Keywords:** Critical Discourse Analysis, Transitivity Theory, ideology and power

## 1. Introduction

As the Hamas military wing abducted the Israeli soldier Shalit in a clever and highly prepared operation in 2006, the Palestinians were happy that a military wing can actually be very powerful in comparison with the Israeli Defense Army. Yet, Israel has turned the life of the Palestinians into a living hell since the abduction to hold a massive pressure on all the Palestinians to ask Hamas party to release the soldier. Palestinians’ lives have been affected deeply for five agonizing years due to the Israeli aggression towards the Palestinians since the abduction according to the statistics of B’tselm, the Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories (B’tselem, 2011). After these five agonizing years of suffering from the siege and the violent incursions and aggression on Gaza, and after the long wait to hear news about a relief of this issue, the Palestinians finally hear that a deal has been sealed. The sealing of the deal means the release of thousands of Palestinian prisoners from Israeli prisons with life sentences. It also means the end of aggression and the opening of the borders of Gaza to end the suffocating Siege (ALJAZEERA, 2011a). Within one week, all the media agencies and reports were publishing all kinds of news about the Swap deal and tracing its proceedings step by step (The Guardian, 2011; CNN, 2011; (ALJAZEERA, 2011b).

This study aims to examine the news coverage of the ‘Palestinian Prisoners-Shalit Swap’ in two contradictory news agencies: the Arab and Israeli Online news articles, in terms of the use of language by answering the following questions: (1) How is language manipulated to represent the ‘Palestinian Prisoners-Shalit Swap’ in particular ways? And (2) How are ideologies of the two conflicting sides were manifested in the online articles covering the issue?

### 1.1 *The Role of the Foreign Media in the Middle Eastern Power Struggle*

The Middle East has witnessed many forms of struggle along the course of history; the most prominent one is the Struggle on the land of Palestine between the Israelis, Jews; and the Palestinians, Muslims and Christians. This struggle has occupied a large space in the world media as it is considered heatedly debated topic. Many media discourse studies, conducted by Arab, Israeli and European scholars, (Barkho, 2008; Ibrahim, 2009; Korn, 2004; Zeitzoff, 2011; Kandil, 2009; Al-sharoufi, 2006) attempted to examine the media coverage and discourse of the struggle between the Palestinians and the Israelis to examine if the media is neutral or biased to one of the struggling parties, as will be reviewed in this section of the paper .

Media, by all means may not be neutral in its coverage of issues around the world. The American media; for example, whether in the form of newspaper articles or televised news, has been a major subject for scholars in terms of its news coverage and the kind of messages and ideologies it attempts to offer to its readers and audience (Ross, 2003; Amer, 2009). It is accused of bias in favor of the policies of the White House, which also favors Israel in public (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson, 2008). In her study, Ross (2003) argued that the American media, specifically the NYT through its editorial pages about the incident of 11<sup>th</sup> September, tried to 'frame' the Palestinians with false accusation as being involved in the incident by referring to them as 'aggressors rather than victims.'

On the one hand, the Israeli media is also put under the microscope by scholars, who wish to learn how the Israeli media covers the struggle between "them" and "others", the Palestinians. Some studies were conducted by Israeli scholars about their own institutionalized media discourse; such as Korn (2004), Zeitzoff (2011) and Orgad (2009); while other studies were conducted by Arab scholars such as Atawneh (2009) Hegazy (2010) and Ibrahim (2009).

On the other hand, Aljazeera is not spared from being accused of bias. Although Aljazeera is raising the motto 'The opinion, and the other opinion', various studies attempted to analyze the discourse of Aljazeera news in Arabic and English (Abdul-mageed, 2008; Wenden, 2005; Barkho, 2008; Gerhard, 2010). These studies came to the conclusion that Aljazeera directs its readers and viewers towards certain opinions stemming from its Arabic and Muslim identity, especially when covering issues about the Arab-Israeli struggle or the Arab-American issues.

### *1.2 The Abduction of Shalit and the Swap*

The story of Gilad Shalit started when a group of Palestinian militants attacked an Israeli Defense Force (IDF) stationed on the southern border of Gaza, in June 2006. The group managed to take over the Israeli unit by surprise as they managed to get to this group via a tunnel. The militant group managed to kill two Israeli soldiers, injured a third, Gilad Shalit, and dragged him inside Gaza through the same tunnel, as Wikipedia (2011) reported the operation .

In response to this operation, the Israeli forces undertook serious aggressive procedures, with the demand of returning the Israeli abducted soldier without any conditions. Yet, for the Palestinian militant groups and the Palestinians, this attack was considered heroic and gave them some avenge for everything that the State of occupation has perpetrated against them. Therefore, the militant groups made a few demands for the Israeli government in order to release the abducted soldier.

The most important demand for the groups was to seal the release of Palestinian political prisoners and detainees in the Israeli prisons, and to remove the siege imposed on the Gaza Strip, since Hamas, the Islamic party, won the elections in Gaza and the West Bank in 2004. The Israeli Government denied these demands and started waging aggressive raids and violent actions on the ground to retain the abducted soldier.

Israel attempted many hostile actions against the Palestinians on the course of five years as a response for Shalit abduction. Emily Hauser, an Israeli American Journalist and blogger, has traced these actions and reported them on her blog, as she commented as well on the Swap Deal. Hauser (2011) stated that the first actions were taken within two days, in June 28th and 29th, according to the news online; (BBC, 2006) sixty four Parliament Members from Hamas and government ministers in the West Bank were kidnapped.

Meanwhile, the IDF started an operation called "Summer Rains", in which many air strikes were taken on the Northern and Southern parts of the Gaza strip that resulted in destroying the infrastructure of these areas that left Gaza without electricity or running water.

A second hostile action, reported by the New York Times (NYT) (2006), was taken in November 1, 2006, whereby Israel has launched a new operation called "Autumn Clouds". This operation was taken over the pretext that the Northern rural area of Beit Hanoun in the Gaza Strip was a base for the militant Palestinian groups to launch missiles on the Israeli neighboring areas. HA'ARETZ (2006), on its reports about the operation have concluded that despite this mass destruction and casualties the operation has left, it did not succeed to achieve its goal as the missiles are still firing on the Israeli areas adjacent to the Palestinian areas .

A third hostile action, which was called this time "Warm Winter", Israel, launched its raids between February 27 until March 4, 2007. Israel killed 120 Palestinians and left.

The fourth and more prominent hostile action of all was the "Cast Lead" operation or as some media journalists called it "the War on Gaza", which was waged in the period between December 27, 2008 until January 18, 2009. This war was the most aggressive action taken against the Gaza Strip, which has left Gaza in a state total destruction from North to South. Only on the first day, the Israeli air strikes killed at least 227 Palestinians and wounded 700 hundred. According to the statistics and reports of B'tselem (2009), The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, "Israeli forces killed 1,387 Palestinians, of whom 773 did not take part in the hostilities and 119 were under the age of 11. ...". Also, according to statistics extracted from B'tselem website on line and the United Nations Reports (2006), the accumulative number of Palestinian Victims of the Israeli incursions, Air strikes, bombardment, and assassinations are 2070 killed, 2077 injured. The huge majority of these victims were civilians of women, children and elders .

Upon reviewing these facts and statistics about the number of casualties in response to the kidnapping of one Israeli soldier made people to raise the important question if it was worth it in the first place to abduct an Israeli soldier. At the time of the abduction, the Palestinians were joyful, but with the daily suffering resulting from his abduction, they started to wonder, until the swap was actually sealed, the media agencies revealed on their news reports and pictures taken of

the celebrations made by the Palestinian people. This study does not aim to examine how the Palestinians and the Israelis perceived the Swap. Yet, this can be a recommendation for further investigation in this matter.

## 2. Method

The two selected texts were analyzed using Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework. Fairclough (2002, p. 21) suggested three dimensions or "boxes" of discourse that can be looked at when analyzing texts. These dimensions are the text, interaction, and context .

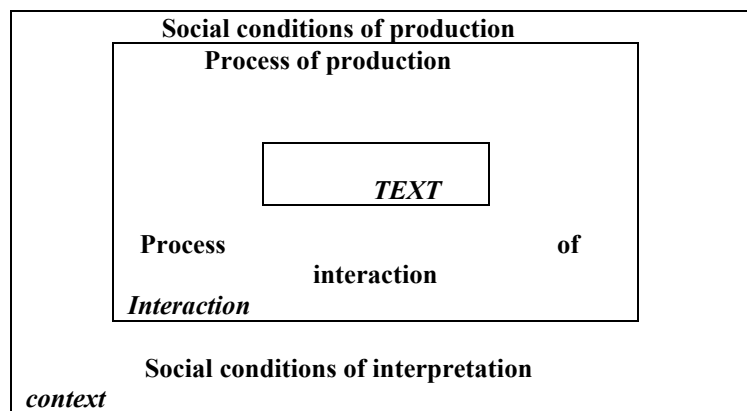


Figure 1: Fairclough's three-dimensional conception of discourse as text, interaction and context

Moreover, these CDA linguists adopted the Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar to analyze the language used in the media texts in order to discover how language is used to construct meaning about people, objects and events. According to Fowler (1991) the relationship between text in its context constructs the basic framework of CDA. Thus, as Fairclough stated: "discourse is the use of language seen as a form of social practice, and discourse analysis is analysis of how texts work within sociocultural practice." Hence, the language of the text is a very important component to analyze, but it cannot be analyzed in isolation. There are other components that must be taken into account when analyzing the media discourse, which are the discourse practices, text production, and sociocultural practices. The connection between these three components or dimensions comprises the essence of CDA.

In addition, CDA theories draw upon Halliday's transitivity theory when analyzing discourse. According to Halliday (1985) there is a set of interrelated systems in the general framework of linguistics system: transitivity, mood and theme. One of the approaches suggested by Halliday for the analysis of the clause is the transitivity system, whereby he distinguished six kinds of processes and their specifically associated participants, each with its own grammatical relations. Therefore, the researcher will break each article into sentences to look for the following properties in the vocabulary and grammar used in these articles with the use of Microsoft Excel Program: 1. Experiential values: process and participant, agency, active or passive (sentence) and positive or negative (sentence). 2. Relational values: How are pronouns 'us' and 'them' used?

With the use of transitivity analysis, the researcher will describe and analyze how each agency manipulated the language to present its own ideologies and show its bias towards one party in the struggle than the other .

### 2.1 Data Collection

The online articles from both news agencies were located and retrieved directly from the online website archives of both news agencies on the actual day of the Swap. Every story about the 'Palestinian Prisoners-Shalit Swap' was evaluated for its reference to the issue. However, comments of the readers at the bottom of each online article were eliminated as they represent the opinion of an individual about the issue. Upon exclusion, a final sample of 10 online articles from both online websites of ALJAZEERA and HA'ARETZ remained and were therefore used for the purpose of this study. Only two articles, published on the day of the actual implementation of the swap to cover its proceedings, were analyzed; one from each agency .

## 3. Results and Discussion

The study investigated the explicit and implicit messages sent by the two agencies through their online coverage of the Swap deal through the types of processes of Transitivity described by Halliday. According to Halliday & Matthiessen (1997) the system of transitivity, which realizes the ideational metafunctions of language to express our experiences, is being expressed into processes of different types. The basic transitive processes to Halliday are: the material, the mental, and the relational. The study included investigating the strategies used in the selected articles, which imply the ideologies of both news agencies .

The transitivity analysis applied on the websites of ALJAZEERA (Arab agency) and HA'ARETZ (Israeli Agency) revealed the following findings with regards to the types of process:

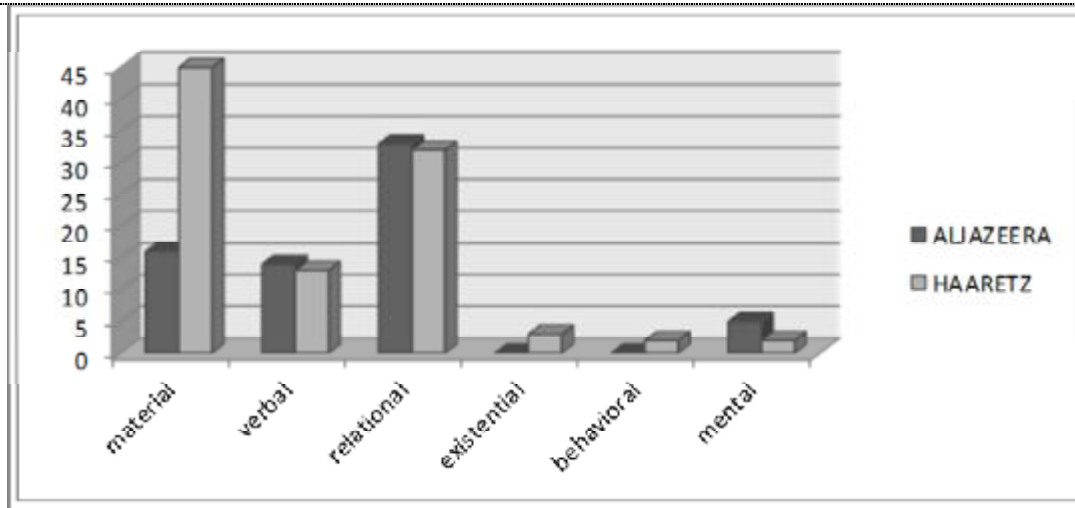


Figure 2. Distribution of transitivity processes in ALJAZEERA and HA'ARETZ

### 3.1 Material Processes and agency

Both HA'ARETZ and ALJAZEERA have followed different strategies in their representations of the actual implementation of the Swap deal as the transitivity analysis revealed of the selected online articles. ALJAZEERA, tried to maintain its objectivity by employing passivization strategy when describing the swap of Shalit with the prisoners between the two conflicting parties.

According to Van Dijk (1985) "...the news bias can even be expressed in syntactic structures of sentences, such as the use of active or passive constructions, which allow the journalist to express or suppress the agent of the news acts from subject position" (Van Dijk 1985 p.73, cited in Yaghoobi 2009 p. 12).

Table 1. Difference between ALJAZEERA & HA'ARETZ in the use of Material processes

Article in	Total No.	Material Pr.
ALJAZEERA	No	16/69
	%	23.50%
HA'ARETZ	No.	45/97
	%	46.30%

ALJAZEERA used material processes in which the actors, Hamas and Israel, were indirect actors in passive sentences. This strategy was clear in the beginning of the article on ALJAZEERA as the report placed equal weight of power to both conflicting parties. Consider the following examples:

*Sen. 1: 400 Palestinians released by Israel, in exchange for the handing over of Shalit who was captured by Hamas*

*Sen. 14: After Shalit was handed over, groups of Palestinians were sent by buses.*

As these examples show, this strategy of *passivization* used by ALJAZEERA, does not only indicate objectivity, but also may indicate that Hamas, which is not seen as a legitimate political party that reached the government in Gaza by election but rather seen as a terrorist movement, is now an equal power to the State of Israel in this deal. It also indicates that the deal could not have been achieved if Hamas did not agree in the first place to release Shalit until all its demands were answered.

HA'ARETZ, on the other hand, opened the article by giving more importance to the return of Shalit, and used *passivization* strategy when reporting that Hamas has imprisoned Shalit for five years. HA'ARETZ used this strategy to undermine the role of Hamas in this deal, in order not to be given equal power as the State of Israel; this can be seen in the following example:

*Sen1: ...since being taken captive by Hamas five years ago.*

However, with the *passivization* of the role of Hamas, HA'ARETZ *highlighted* the role of the Israeli government and its defense forces to bring Shalit back home by representing Israel, its leaders or its defense forces as positive actors in material processes in active sentences, as the following examples reveal:

*Sen. 4: Shalit's return to Israel came after the IDF has officially passed into Israeli custody less than an hour earlier.*

*Sen. 14: Israel is freeing a total of 1,027 Palestinian and Israeli Arab prisoners in return for the soldier.*

By representing the IDF or Israel as actors of processes in these active sentences, HA'ARETZ was *foregrounding* the role of Israel in the release of Shalit. Wales (1984) notes that: "linguistic features can themselves be foregrounded, or 'highlighted', 'made prominent', for specific effects, against the (subordinated) background of the rest of the text" (Wales 1984, p. 182, cited in Yaghoobi 2009 p. 9). Therefore, HA'ARETZ *backgrounded* the role of Hamas in the actual implementation of the Swap, as if Israel is the one who was behind the whole release issue for the sake of one soldier. Israel wanted to show that the life of one Israeli soldier is more worthy than the life of all the Palestinian prisoners, who are being seen as criminals.

On the other hand, ALJAZEERA foregrounded Israel, its officials, and its defense forces by representing them as negative actors in active processes to establish into the readers' minds that Israel is victimizing and oppressing the Palestinians. ALJAZEERA used statements from a Palestinian author and expert in the Palestinian issue to comment on the Swap, which is considered as a strategic move in order not to put itself as an agency under the fire of being subjective in this matter. The following example clarifies this point further: Sen. 7: Saree Makdisi, an author and professor at the University of California, told Al Jazeera that the value of the prisoner swap should not be over-estimated.

In order to assert the view about Israel as a state of terror, ALJAZEERA quoted the statement of the Prime minister Netanyahu, who sent a clear and direct threat towards the released prisoners in case they went back to fight the State of Israel. In his statement mentioned in ALJAZEERA article, Netanyahu put his country as a direct actor, which will not tolerate any action of the Palestinian prisoners as the example below shows:

*Sen. 11: "We will continue to fight terror"...*

From the example stated above, Netanyahu stated clearly that his government would act towards anyone who attempts to terrorize the Israeli people. Through quoting this statement by Netanyahu, ALJAZEERA is trying to assert the image that was drawn by the Palestinian expert in order to support its stand with more facts from both sides of the struggle so that it will not be accused of stating false claims and accusations towards Israel without clear-cut facts. Thus, ALJAZEERA would maintain its image as an objective news agency in the Arabic level and international level, which will also position ALJAZEERA among prominent news agencies such as CNN and BBC.

As for the representation of the Palestinian Prisoners in the deal, Al-Jazeera represented them both as actors and as passive goals in material processes. Once ALJAZEERA reported that both parties, Hamas and Israel have agreed on the Swap and the passing over has started, ALJAZEERA indicated that the Palestinian Prisoners were active actors on the process of their transfer or that there was an agent carrying them. The examples below demonstrate these processes:

*Sen. 16: ...,96 Palestinian prisoners left the Ketziot prison*

*Sen. 19: A convoy of vehicles left the Israeli Kats out prison in Nabob*

In sentence 16, the prisoners were active actors in the material process "left", which indicate that they have gained their freedom and managed to leave their prisons. Yet their freedom is still bound because buses to the crossing borders between Israel and the Palestinian Territories carried them. Therefore, ALJAZEERA is trying to send a message to the readers that although the prisoners were outside their prisons and on their way to their freedom, but technically, they are still moving on roads that are still under the control of Israel .

Palestinian people know that Israel is manipulative and cannot be trusted, so people were afraid that Israel might recapture the prisoners again as long as they are still on Israeli territories. In addition, ALJAZEERA represented an example of the Israeli unpredicted actions, as can be seen in the following example:

*Sen. 21: great sense of excitement" quickly evaporated after a last-minute change of plans meant that prisoners would not be brought in through the checkpoint to meet their families.*

Sentence 21 will be discussed in the relational processes as well, but here in the material processes, ALJAZEERA placed the Palestinian crowd as actors in active material process to respond to the deception of the Israelis. The Israeli Authorities denied the families of the prisoner in the West Bank from seeing their families near the checkpoint before being deported to the sieged Gaza Strip, which assert the hidden message that ALJAZEERA is trying to convey about the deception of Israel and the unexpected actions that they make to add to the misery of the Palestinians.

When Israel denied the Palestinian families from seeing their released relatives as indicated by ALJAZEERA, HA'ARETZ described the happiness of the Israelis in general, and Shalit's family in particular, by representing his family and his relatives as actors in material processes in positive sentences. In these material processes, HA'ARETZ described the preparations being made on the level of the Government of Israel and the level of Shalit's family and community for his reception. This can be seen in the following examples:

*Sen. 3: A military helicopter carrying Shalit is due to arrive at IAF Tel Nof base, where he is to meet Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and reunite with his family.*

*Sen. 18: Members of the Shalit family, parents Noam and Aviva, brother Yoel and sister Hadas, left this morning shortly after 6 A.M. for the Tel Nof Air Base.*

HA'ARETZ highlighted the role of Shalit's father in this article by assigning him the role of actor in positive material process. HA'ARETZ dedicated the last third of the article to describe the preparation of his family to receive him, and focused on the kind of activities that his father is doing to secure his son's release until the last minute of the implementation of the Swap .

With relations to Shalit's family, HA'ARETZ employed the strategy of mentioning the names of Shalit's family members who will be in his reception so that the reader can relate to the family and feel more intimate towards them. Yet, when it comes to the Palestinian Prisoners, HA'ARETZ only referred to them by numbers or called them "prisoners", which indicate that they are criminals. Anyone who does not have a background about the Palestinian Prisoners, he/she would think of them as criminals, when in fact they are considered as War prisoners not criminals, from the Palestinian and Arab point of view .

Another strategy that was employed differently by both news agencies is the strategy of *nominalization*. One of the features of nominalization is to allow for the elision of both actor and goal of the process. Consider the following examples from both HA'ARETZ and ALJAZEERA:

*HA'ARETZ: Sen. 1: following his release, Shalit spoke to his family for the first time*

*ALJAZEERA: Sen. 24: Hamas reached a deal with Israel.....for the release of 1.027 prisoners in exchange for Shalit.*

In these examples, one can notice that HA'ARETZ nominalized the process of the "release" in order to ignore the role of Hamas as a powerful part in this deal. However, ALJAZEERA nominalized the word "release" by putting the release of the Palestinian prisoners before Shalit. Such strategy indicates that Hamas has the upper hand in this deal, with the power in its hand to put its demands on the table first.

### 3.2 Verbal Processes and Agency

Verbal processes are other important processes that both the ALJAZEERA and the HA'ARETZ used in their coverage of the actual implementation of the Swap. Both HA'ARETZ and ALJAZEERA almost employed equal verbal processes, as can be noticed in Table 2.

Table 2. Difference between ALJAZEERA & HA'ARETZ in the use of Verbal Processes

Article in	Total No.	Verbal Pr.
ALJAZEERA	No	14/69
	%	20.20%
HA'ARETZ	No.	13/97
	%	13.40%

However, these verbal processes were different in terms of the source (sayer) in that they relied on different sources of information to be presented to the readers. The source of information is very important to give credibility and authenticity to the news being presented to the readers; therefore, the source of information should be powerful as well to make the readers either accept or reject what they read on the news .

On the one hand, ALJAZEERA tried to cover the actual implementation of the Swap by using these verbal processes to draw a picture of the Swap from different angles and points of view, as can be seen from the following examples:

*Sen. 4: In an interview with Egyptian television at Rafah, Shalit said that he hoped...*

*Sen. 7: Saree Makdisi, an author and professor at the University of California, told Al Jazeera that the value of the prisoner swap should not be over-estimated.*

In its article, ALJAZEERA employed five voices in its report; namely, Shalit, PM Netanyahu, an Israeli official, a Palestinian author, and its reporters in Gaza and Cairo. By this strategy, ALJAZEERA assures its readers that it is not biased and that it is presenting all the points of views in this subject matter.

Nevertheless, there are two missing voices in this article, which are the voice of the released Palestinian prisoners and Hamas officials. The Palestinian prisoners' voice was missing because they were still on their journey to reach their destination as they were still in the territories governed by Israeli, yet the Egyptian Television was able to have the first televised interview with Shalit as he was handed on the Egyptian land. Thus, the whole world was able to watch the interview and reporters were quoting this interview on their reports .

However, in the case of Hamas officials, ALJAZEERA deliberately neglected the voice of Hamas, despite the fact that Hamas was the one behind the success of the release of the Palestinian prisoners for Shalit. ALJAZEERA presented a justification for this deliberate act by stating that "where Hamas' military wing has been out in force" to indicate to the readers that Hamas is not a legal authority in Gaza, as the Western countries take this stand. ALJAZEERA (2011b) published a report tracing the timeline of the internal struggle between Hamas and Fatah. The real clashes on the ground began when Hamas won the Palestinian Legislative Council elections in 2006, which led to having Ismail Haniya as the Prime Minister in Gaza in a unitary government that included the two main political parties, Fatah and Hamas. Yet,

Fatah was not ready to surrender its power over the Palestinian territories since 1995 easily, thus some Fatah leaders started riots against the Hamas leaders and members, which led Hamas in 2007 to gain control over the Gaza strip by power in a battle with victims from both sides. After the gain of power over Gaza by Hamas, the international community did not recognize Hamas as a legal government in Gaza and continued to boycott Gaza to add to its siege imposed by Israel.

On the other hand, as ALJAZEERA's reporters are considered the main source of information about the Swap implementation day; however, HA'ARETZ did not have any first hand reporter on the Gaza Strip or Egypt to bring first hand news about the handing and transferring of Shalit. Thus, HA'ARETZ used verbal process for Israeli officials, Israeli Radio, and news taken from Arab media, as can be seen from these examples :

*Sen.: In an interview to the Egyptian Nile TV station Shalit said he was informed of a deal to secure his release a week ago...*

*Sen. : An Israel Defense Forces official confirmed that Shalit was identified at the Rafah border crossing between the Gaza Strip and Egypt and was "alive and well."*

In its article, HA'ARETZ employed verbal processes from four sources of information. Firstly, the HA'ARETZ quoted Shalit from the exclusive interview with him by the Egyptian television. By quoting Shalit, HA'ARETZ tried to bring relief and comfort to his family and the Israelis that he is alive and well. Secondly, HA'ARETZ followed Shalit's quote by a report from an army official that he is healthy and in good condition. Thirdly, HA'ARETZ employed confirmation from the Arab media, which may not be a reliable source to the Israelis, as it used the verb "claimed", but then, it confirmed the news with a more reliable source of information, which is the Israeli Radio. In addition, due to the lack of insider information, HA'ARETZ tried to convince its readers that it brings reports from different sources of Arab media, but after filtering and accommodating the information to be provided to its readers as the article reads .

One important strategy that was used by both news agencies in their online articles is the choice of the pronouns 'Us' vs. 'Them', or 'We' vs. 'Them' as to indicate the huge differences between the two enemy groups. According to Van Dijk (Teun A van Dijk, 2000) the use of possessive pronouns Us vs. Them indicate the in-group vs. out-group categorization to indicate the racist discourse of newspapers against some ethnic groups. In the current context of struggle over land between the Palestinians and the Israelis, ALJAZEERA employed equal weighing for both opponent parties as it employed verbal processes from both the Palestinian side and the Israeli side. Both sides used the pronoun 'we' to indicate to their in-group or people; consider the following examples, which were mentioned and analyzed earlier:

*Sen. 7: "We have to remember that the Israelis raid the West Bank literally on a nightly basis..." said Saree Makdisi*

*Sen. 11: "We will continue to fight terror and every released terrorist who returns to terror will be held accountable." Said Netanyahu .*

Each speaker was trying to direct a message to his in-group, who share the suffering in this struggle, so that they would not forget their shared ideologies and faith. Consequently, the pronoun 'They' or 'Them' were used to indicate the other out-group or opponent in this struggle.; such as:

*Sen. 9: "...they capture 300-400 prisoners, held against international law, held in appalling circumstances." Said Saree Makdisi*

*Sen. 10: PM Netanyahu warned the released Palestinian prisoners that if they resumed armed struggle, they would be punished.*

In sentence 10, although Netanyahu did not use the pronoun "They" in his speech, the ALJAZEERA reporter used this pronoun when paraphrasing the words of Netanyahu, which clearly indicated that ALJAZEERA tried to evoke the ideology of 'us' vs. 'them' in its report .

### 3.3 Relational Processes and agency

A further consequence of transivity analysis undertaken in this research showed that both the ALJAZEERA and the HA'ARETZ employed relational process almost equally, as can be seen from Table 3.

Table 3. The difference between HA'ARETZ & ALJAZEERA in the Relational Processes

Article in	Total No.	Relational Pr.
ALJAZEERA	No	33/69
	%	47.80%
HA'ARETZ	No.	32/97
	%	32.90%

The relational processes employed extensively in the two online news articles, were namely 'circumstantial' and 'causative processes' due to the nature of reports as they described the actual implementation of the Swap deal on the

ground. 'Intensive identifying' processes were not prominent in the two texts, yet both agencies assigned Values to Tokens that represent the point of view of their agency. Consider the following examples from ALJAZEERA and HA'ARETZ:

*ALJAZEERA: Sen. 23: Three days of celebrations were planned across the occupied West Bank, with President Mahmoud Abbas welcoming returning prisoners.*

*HA'ARETZ: Sen. 2: Shalit was in good health*

As these examples show, ALJAZEERA assigned value to the released prisoners, while HA'ARETZ assigned value to the health and well-being of Shalit. Such contradictory assignment of value systems of the two agencies, reveal that each agency is highlighting more the most important value from their point of view. Such value assignment is considered as bias from both media agency towards its own people and identity.

Another important clear bias in the use of the relational processes is the use of causative processes in a different manner by both agencies. Each agency assigned different Agent or Assigner in the causative processes to different Carriers, as can be seen from the following examples in ALJAZEERA:

*Sen. 22: After the announcement, the assembled crowd threw stones at the Israeli border post, prompting "them" to retaliate with tear gas and water cannon.*

In this example, ALJAZEERA report showed that the Palestinian crowd which gathered to welcome the released prisoners acted in anger by throwing stones on the Israeli soldiers as a result of the change of the plan for the released prisoners to meet their families on the crossing point before being deported to Gaza. Therefore, as a result the Israeli soldiers were prompted to retaliate and fight back. ALJAZEERA reporter tried to show that both the Palestinians are engaged in actions of actions and response from both sides that seem endless so that the reporter will not put the blame on only one side of the struggle .

On the other hand, HA'ARETZ used the causative process to indicate that its military was responding to the terrorist attacks of the Palestinians. HA'ARETZ justified the actions of its government and at the same time cast the blame on the Palestinians in this struggle in order to show that Israel was only seeking peace, but when it came to the safety of its citizens, it would respond. Consider the following example :

*Sen. 23: Amna Muna, who was jailed for life in 2003 for luring 16-year-old Israeli Ofir Rahum from Ashkelon to Ramallah, where he was shot dead by Fatah terrorists.*

In the above example, HA'ARETZ mentioned only one story for one of the released prisoners in the Swap and even mentioned the name of the prisoner (Amna). HA'ARETZ put the blame on Amna for the murder of a 16-year-old Israeli by leading this "boy" from his home to be killed by "Fatah terrorists". HA'ARETZ picked this example for a released prisoner who is female to indicate to the international community that even Palestinian females are terrorists. One might sympathize with females for being treated badly since females are seen as tender loving creatures, but in the case of the Palestinian females, they are portrayed as emotionless creatures for leading a boy to be killed .

Furthermore, HA'ARETZ employed the strategy of *repetition* of the negative action of Amna in order to convince the reader that there should be no sense of happiness for the release of these prisoners because they are criminals and their hands are stained with the blood of innocent Israeli citizens. Consequently, HA'ARETZ identified Amna as "the female terrorist", by assigning to her the value of terror. With the George W. Bush philosophy of the War on Terror in the Middle East, when any one is being named as "terrorist" it means that this person is the enemy of the "West" and must be punished .

#### 4. Conclusion

The study analyzed the choices based on the linguistic system of the selected texts. The results of the critical discourse analysis using the Hallidayan's Transitivity Theory demonstrated that the representations of the same news actors; Hamas vs. Israel, the Palestinian prisoners vs. Shalit, by two different and ideologically opposed media were different. For the same reason, these online media presented facts in a way that will influence the readers' views of the Swap. The transitivity analysis also disclosed that there were patterns of mystification of agency or actor of the processes by using some strategies like passivization, nominalization, and repetition of negative actions. On the one hand, although ALJAZEERA tried to highlight all sides of the Swap equally, the analysis revealed that it highlighted the Palestinian Prisoners more as being heroes behind the deal as it; for example, gave equal weight of power to Hamas, the Palestinian a political party, with the State of Israel to highlight that Hamas won the battle. On the other hand, HA'ARETZ degraded the role of Hamas in the Swap and degraded the Palestinian prisoners by considering them as criminals. In addition, both agencies gave credibility to its resources through referring to certain personalities to support their statements. In the verbal process, Aljazeera relied on different sources of information as Sayers in the verbal process from both opponent sides. Yet, in Ha'aretz the Sayers in these verbal processes were Israeli personalities. In addition, Both agencies employed the relational processes extensively with focus on circumstantial and causative processes. Nevertheless, each agency assigned values differently according to the token that the agency relates to, which is the Palestinian Prisoners, in the case of Aljazeera, and Shalit, in the case of Ha'aretz. Therefore, even if the news agency



claims to be neutral and only presenting the truth as it is, as in the case of Aljazeera; yet it is still carrying some of its belief system into the text presented to the readers, while some news agencies are clearly biased and don not claim to hide this bias, as in the case of Ha'aretz.

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