

Received on (30-04-2018) Accepted on (08-07-2018)

# Understanding Hamas's Stereotype in three Daily British Newspapers A Comparative Study

Main Researcher

Dr. Hasan M. Abu Hashish

Second Researcher

Mr. Rami M. Ruhmi

2,\*

<sup>1</sup> University Name & City (Main)Faculty of Arts /Islamic University  
of Gaza - Palestine

\* Corresponding author:

E-mail address:

[rruhmi@iugaza.edu.ps](mailto:rruhmi@iugaza.edu.ps)

## Abstract

This article explores the Image of Hamas movement in the British Newspapers to understand the stereotypes of Hamas as a major player in the Palestinian conflict with the Israeli occupation. The research methods are based on the content analysis which serves the purpose of the examining news, while discourse analysis used in the argumentative structures of editorials. Three British newspapers were analyzed during two years study in 2015\16 to know Hamas stereotypes through the Guardian, the Times and the Daily Telegraph newspapers to illustrate the distinctions between the conservative and liberal British media regarding Hamas movement. Examining the three British broadsheets' engagement with Hamas's issues over two years, this study focused on Hamas's image to understand the agenda of these newspapers and priorities towards Hamas and the Palestinian conflict with the Israeli Occupation.

The study resulted that the British newspapers deal with Hamas as a "terrorist, militant group, that control Gaza Strip". It is clearly shown in the analyzed material that the British newspapers adopted the Israeli views; in addition to focusing on Hamas rockets fired into Israel as well as Hamas control on Gaza neglecting any explanation of the Israeli occupation or the imposed blockade of Gaza.

**Keywords:** Hamas's Stereotype - Daily British Newspapers

## فهم صورة حركة حماس في ثلاث صحف بريطانية يومية دراسة تحليلية مقارنة

### الملخص

هدفت الدراسة إلى فهم الصورة الإعلامية التي تبنتها الصحف البريطانية عن حركة حماس كمثل أساسي في الصراع الفلسطيني مع الاحتلال الإسرائيلي، في المدة الممتدة من 2015/1/1م وحتى 2016/12/31م، واستخدمت الدراسة أسلوب تحليل المضمون ومنهج تحليل الخطاب لتحليل محتوى الصحف والتعرف على الفروقات بين الصحف البريطانية المحافظة والليبرالية في التعامل مع قضايا حركة حماس، في حين شملت عينة الدراسة، صحف: الجارديان، والتايمز، والديلي تيليغراف، وتعتمد الدراسة على نظرية ترتيب الأولويات: لمعرفة الأجندة التي اعتمدها الصحف البريطانية في تناول صورة حركة حماس، ومدى اهتمام تلك الصحف بتناول صورتها. وخلصت الدراسة إلى أن الصحف ركزت على حركة حماس كحركة إرهابية وأغفلت الحديث عن إرهاب الاحتلال والحصار الإسرائيلي، ولم تولي أي اهتمام لحماس كحركة منتخبة ديمقراطياً أو لها قبول شعبي، وظهر التحيز واضح من خلال تحليل خطاب الصحف موضع الدراسة.

كلمات مفتاحية: حركة حماس - الصحف البريطانية اليومية

## Introduction

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been recently gathering a vast momentum in the western media outlets have been the most influential tool the political aspect of the conflict. News media have a constant effect on the mainstream over societies, cultures and the public opinion as well as agenda-setting (McCombs & Shaw, 1993). Some media agencies can be the overwhelming character in any event, locally or globally. More specifically, the British media has led the stern of coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict most vividly during the 2009 Gaza war as Hamas movement started to slightly partake in the standard of the balance of power .

Studies on media coverage of political conflict show that the news media are heavily influenced by the political context of their country and that news coverage often depends on a country's geographical, political or cultural affinity to the news outlet's home country despite globalization.(Karniel, Lavie-Dinur, & Samuel Azran, 2017)

Since its establishment, Hamas presented itself as a Palestinian Islamic national liberation and resistance movement. Its goal is to liberate Palestine and confront the Zionist project.(Hamas.ps, 2017) Nowadays, Hamas draws the attention of the media due to its popularity and crucial roles in many incidents especially after its victory in the 2006 Legislative Council elections and due to being the major actor in the conflict between the Palestinians and the Israeli occupation.

Three wars by Israel were waged on the Gaza Strip during the past ten years has gained the British media attention especially the first war in 2009. According to David Kaposi over a thousand articles, comprising a total of 7830 paragraphs were samples from the period of 20 December 2008 to 25 January 2009 for the single search term "Gaza". (David Kaposi, 2017)

According to a report published by the United Nations Office for the Coordination Humanitarian Affairs, during the 50 days of conflict in the summer of 2014, about 2,205 Palestinians were killed, including at least 1,483 civilians, of whom 521 are children and 283 are women while 71 Israelis killed, including 66 soldiers, a security coordinator and four civilians.

A sample of quantitative analysis was done regarding the news items published by the *Guardian* between 10<sup>th</sup> July 2014 and 10<sup>th</sup> August 2014 the Gaza war items were downloaded from the nexis UK electronic news archive. Among 400 news items, 65 items are opinion editorials; including, comment, analysis, letter and review articles; 35 of these news items are comment and analysis. "Hamas" was on the top priority of the media coverage at that time. Mostly the focus was on Hamas as a leading party of the struggle with the Israeli occupation forces.

Therefore, this study will examine the image of Hamas in three British newspapers; including, the conservative *Daily Telegraph* and *The Times* as well as the left-liberal *Guardian*, (Dávid Kaposi, 2014) in order to illustrate if there is difference in coverage of Hamas issues and characters in the British broadsheets. A sample of news articles was collected in the period from 1<sup>st</sup> January 2015 to 31 December 2016. The study will shed lights on Hamas stereotypes through the British broadsheets.

## Literature Review

David Kaposi(Dávid Kaposi, 2016) work has mainly focused on a large-scale study of the first Gaza war between Israel and Hamas which examined how the war had been accounted for in British broadsheets. (Kaposi 2016, 2014)

Kaposi argues that the *Guardian* newspaper did not just critique Israel but extended its critical perspective to both agents of the war by equally devoting space to the Israeli blockade and occupation, and to Hamas rockets while *The Times'* generally moderate pro-Israeli attitude "intrudes" and that is nearly the case with the *Daily Telegraph*.

Katrin Wolf(Wolf, n.d.) Conducts a discourse analysis of editorials in the liberal and conservative British and German broadsheets to show the ideologies in depth of reporting to understand the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in which Hamas has a sensitive part. The findings show that the Western media landscape is not homogeneous, and not only divided along lines of national discourse, but according to certain political lines and stances.

The study by Kaposi and Wolf referred to several areas of coverage such as violence and explanations of the conflict; nonetheless, the significance of their findings is resembled in the fact that British media coverage does not explain the significant historical implications of the conflict; one major factor of the conflict is Hamas.

Mahmoud Ayyash( Ayyash, 2014) illustrates the image of Hamas in the Egyptian Newspapers after the Arab Spring in January 2011. Ayyash finds that the Image of Hamas was critical in both Al-Ahram and Al-Masry Al-Youm newspapers, while it was supportive in Freedom and Justice Newspaper.

Wael Abdelal(Abdelal, 2012) examines the Hamas media strategy in three different periods in their historical and analytical context. The study addressed the emergence and the infrastructure of Hamas's media, and thus, the study discussed the development of Hamas's media strategy.

David Maggs (MAGGS, 2011) illustrates that Hamas leadership has to pose as more extreme when securing resources from Iran and Syria, whilst appearing more moderate when seeking a relationship with Europe.

Moataz Aldebes(Aldebes,2010) explores Hamas history , its national and political positions, concluding that Hamas experience could not be measured on any of the Islamic experiences after winning the legislative elections in 2006 while Adajani (Adajani, 2010) considers Hamas participation in the legislative elections a good mark for the Palestinian political system.

Koa. (2010) questioned about the main communication channels of Hamas; whether the public relations of Hamas were the main reason beyond its victory in the legislative elections (2006) or Hamas had a conscious strategy for achieving its objectives. The study concluded that Hamas had used all available communication channels to achieve its goals; these channels included all old and modern mass media and its techniques.

Many papers and books published about Hamas examining Hamas experience in politics, relations and media. Most of scholarly literature about Hamas published after the Palestinian 2006 elections,

during the period of Hamas's government; including the work of Matthew Levitt, (Levitt, 2008), Paul McGeough, (McGeough, 2010), Zaki Chehab (Chehab, 2007), and others.

Abu Amr (Abu-Amr, 1993) considers Hamas as a legitimate Palestinian resistance movement that aims to liberate the occupied Palestinian territories. Others consider Hamas as a terrorist group like Shaul Mishal (Mishal & Sela, 2006), Walter Laqueur (Laqueur, 2004), Maxine Rosaler (Rosaler, 2002).

The literature of Hamas's image in the British media is almost not-existent and the above literature review covered Hamas's overall history, ideology, tactics, relations and media. Other papers focused on the coverage of the British newspapers of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and had the first war as a case study, yet Hamas is not mainly discussed in the debate.

### **Hamas: A Background**

During the 30 years of establishment, Hamas history can be briefed into four episodes. Firstly, from 1987 till 1993 at the time of the first Intifada. Secondly, from 1994 till 1997 at the time of a Palestinian government lead by the Palestinian Authority after Oslo agreement. Thirdly, from 1997 till 2006 after the failure assassination of Khaled Mishaal and releasing Ahmed Yassin from the Israeli jail as well as the second Intifada. Fourthly, since Hamas victory in the Palestinian elections in 2006 till 2017. In Each episode, many incidents and a daily events happened that made Hamas a very popular and effective figure. A major factor that shift the focus on the debate is Hamas's form to the Palestinian government in 2006 after its winning in the Palestinian legislative council elections.

### **Conditions of Hamas Establishment**

Poverty combined with feelings of oppression and humiliation charged the Palestinian atmosphere with the ripe conditions for revolt against the occupation. The *intifada*<sup>1</sup> was the flashpoint. This kind of life lead to Hamas popularity as well as acceptance among the Palestinian community. According to Muslim Brothers in Palestine, the failures of Muslims-their backwardness, weakness and their defeat by their enemies. (Hroub, 2000.13)

Founded in the late 1980s, Hamas emerged as a doubly driven religious-nationalist liberation movement which peacefully preaches the Islamic religious call while harmoniously embracing the strategy of armed struggle against an occupying Israel. Hamas came into being officially on 14 December 1987, declaring itself in an official communiqué a few days after the eruption of the first *intifada*, the Palestinian uprising, on 8 December. (Hroub, 2000.xiv.12)

Since its establishment, Hamas has a clear hierarchy and body council, mostly the head declared and this happened in 2004 when Dr. Abedullaziz Ranitisi was declared as the head of Hamas movement in Gaza Strip. Also, Hamas political bureau head was declared and known since Musa Abu Marzuk during the 1990s (Abu-Amr, 1993), Khaled Mishaal till 2017 when Ismael Haniyya was declared as the head of the Movement.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The first intifada, "the uprising" that erupted in 1987 against the Israeli occupation in the territories occupied by Israel, that continued until late 1993.

<sup>2</sup> Ahmed Yousef. Interview

Militarily, Hamas adopted the controversial tactic of 'suicide bombing', to which its name has become attached in the West and the rest of the world. The first use of this tactic was in 1994, in retaliation for a massacre of Palestinians praying in a mosque in the Palestinian city of Hebron. A fanatical Jewish settler opened machine gun fire upon the worshippers, killing 29 and injuring many more. Hamas vowed to revenge these killings, and so it did. Since then all and each of Hamas's vicious attacks against Israeli civilians have been directly linked to specific Israeli atrocities against Palestinian civilians. (Hroub, 2000.xvii)

Historically, Hamas started as a charitable and social organization in the early 1970's; therefore, it the organization kept providing social and humanitarian services to the needy and poor people in Gaza. In 1987, Hamas declared itself as a political movement as a reactor to the Israeli occupation. In the 1990's, Hamas military wing was declared as the occupation grew fiercer and fiercer.

### **Hamas ideology**

Hamas considers itself to be an extension of an old tradition that goes back to the early twentieth century struggle against British and Zionist colonialism in Palestine. The fundamentals from which it derives its legitimacy are mirrored in the very name it chose for itself. Hamas, in the Islamic language, means that it derives its guiding principles from the doctrines and values of Islam. Islam is completely Hamas' ideological frame of reference. (Hroub, 2000)

This means that Hamas adopted the Islamic modern thought as a guide to achieve the organisation's goals building on that ideology many tactics; in addition to that, the charter of Hamas based all its points on Islamic perceptions.

### **Hamas and Britain**

Palestinians across the spectrum of political convictions struggled desperately for more than eight decades to extract even minimal legitimate rights, first from British occupiers following the 1922 Mandate, in which Britain was apportioned control of the part of the former Ottoman Empire that included Palestine, and then from 1948, when Britain withdrew from Palestine, leaving the Zionist organization to declare the Jewish state of Israel. (Hroub, 2000)

Hamas started to have a role in confronting the Israeli occupation insisting on ending this the fault committed by the British government at that time.

Therefore, Britain has a prominent role in the struggle between Hamas and the Israeli occupation forces, and then, may have a key of solution in this predicament. However, the British Foreign Office, hold the responsibility for the 'crisis' is generally attributed to both parties ([www.fco.gov.uk](http://www.fco.gov.uk)), despite the fact that there is an occupation on the Palestinian territories.

### **British Media Coverage to Hamas**

Since the Israeli\Palestinian conflict is 'one of the most problematic with which journalists need to deal' and where 'journalists feel compelled to watch every single word they write and broadcast' (Dávid Kaposi, 2014), Hamas, then, would be more complicated dilemma. Thus, "the journalist's task very difficult" (Philo & Berry, 2004) in such conflict in which Hamas is the major player.

Hamas as well as the Israeli forces, then, are the main characters of the British media coverage in the Arab\Israeli conflict.

## Hamas and Terrorism

In different researches and books, Hamas was depicted as a "Terrorist" group due to its military activities against the Israeli occupation. Writers like Jeroen Gunning, (Gunning, 2008) 'considered Hamas as a terrorist group and uses "terror tactics against Israel's civilians and military", yet Hamas is a political, cultural and social organization that has a separate military wing who headed the armed resistance against Israeli occupation.

## Methodology

To understand the image of Hamas in the British media, the researcher uses a thematic analysis<sup>3</sup> to analyze the three British newspapers. The research methods are based on the content analysis which serves the purpose of the examining news, while discourse analysis used in the argumentative structures of editorials. In this study, a critical discourse analysis (CDA) based on the approaches of Roger Fowler and Teun A. van Dijk (Van Dijk, 2015), has been adapted.

Examining the three British broadsheets' engagement with Hamas's issues over two years, this study will focus on Hamas's image to understand the agenda-setting of these newspapers and priorities towards Hamas in order to understand representations of the conflict with the Israeli Occupation in the British Broadsheets.

Agenda-setting concept was developed by Maxwell E. McCombs and Daniel L. Shaw (McCombs & Shaw, 1972), and since then the theory has been a popular one among media scholars. Media and communication studies on agenda-setting aim to reveal why some issues are communicated to the public while some others are not. (Rogers, Hart, & Dearing, 1997). These mechanisms are crucial in analysing how Hamas is positioned in the media agenda.

Three Daily British newspapers were chosen, including *The Guardian*, *The Times*, and *The Daily Telegraph*. *The Guardian* newspaper represents the left liberal attitude; while the *Times* and the *Telegraph* are dubbed as conservative (Dávid Kaposi, 2014). The newspapers will be referred to by these terms and orientations throughout the study. Mostly each newspaper has its style and orientation and that is the reason behind selecting these various newspapers.

A content analysis in the period from 1/1/2015 until 31/12/2016 was conducted, in order to understand the image of Hamas portrayed by these newspapers. The Nexis UK electronic news archive was used as the primary source. This period has some realistic history of Hamas as well as the materials of the conflict will be measured with no exceptional period (than if choosing a period of war that will have a huge number of articles referring to Hamas).

## Research Objectives

### This study aims

1. To analyse the stereotypical images of Hamas in the British media
2. To offer an analysis of the selected British broadsheets' coverage of Hamas officials, issues and events

---

<sup>3</sup> Thematic analysis can be used to make sense of seemingly unrelated material. It can be used to analyze qualitative information and to systematically gain knowledge and empathy about a person, an interaction, a group, a situation, an organization or a culture.

## Results and Discussion

This case study aims at exploring Hamas's image in selected British Newspapers in an attempt to understand Hamas's representation in the British Media. The study offers an analysis of the British broadsheets' coverage of Hamas, examining issues tackled and prominent characters mentioned, and as such, it attempts to examine various ways of presenting the conflict between Hamas and the Israeli Occupation.

A single search term 'Hamas' was selected to produce an original sample. Initially, all articles with at least one mention of 'Hamas' were included, then I manually selected the articles that are included in the period sample, one article for each day of week. I chose an article each from the selected newspapers from the Monday issue, then another article each from Tuesday, and so on.

**Table 1.1 Overall Coverage of Hamas Movement in the Newspapers**

Newspaper	Occurrences	%
The Guardian	37	43
The Daily Telegraph	32	37.2
The Times	17	19.7
Total	86	100

The table above illustrates that The *Guardian* referred to Hamas 37 occurrences with 43 percent. Secondly, The *Times* had 32 occurrences with 37.2 percent. Thirdly, The *Daily Telegraph* had 17 occurrences about Hamas with 19.7 percent.

**Table 1.2 Hamas issues in the three Newspapers**

HAMAS Issues	<i>The daily Telegraph</i>		<i>The Guardian</i>		<i>The Times</i>		Total	
	Occurrences	%	Occurrences	%	Occurrences	%	Occurrences	%
Gaza Control	4	16.66	14	10.60	10	13.20	28	12.00
Hamas attacks	3	12.50	15	11.40	9	12.00	27	11.69
Gaza Blockade	1	4.16	4	3.00	3	3.90	8	3.46
HRV <sup>4</sup> against Israelis	4	16.66	14	10.60	5	6.60	23	10
HRV against Palestinians	1	4.16	14	10.60	6	7.90	21	9.10
Hamas Prisoners	0	0.00	1	0.70	1	1.30	2	0.86

<sup>4</sup> Human Rights Violations

HAMAS Issues	<i>The daily Telegraph</i>		<i>The Guardian</i>		<i>The Times</i>		Total	
	Occurrences	%	Occurrences	%	Occurrences	%		
Kidnaping Israeli Soldiers	1	4.16	4	3.00	1	1.30	6	2.60
International Sanctions Against Israel	0	0.00	9	6.80	3	3.90	12	5.19
International Sanctions Against Hamas	2	8.33	10	7.60	4	5.30	16	6.92
Others	4	16.66	5	3.80	8	11.40	17	7.35
SUMMA	24	100.0	134	100.0	73	100.0	231	100.0

The table (1.2) illustrates that "Hamas control over Gaza Strip" and "Hamas attacks " occupied the highest percentages in the three newspapers (12% -11,69%, respectively). On the other hand, the code of "Hamas Prisoners", a persisting humanitarian issue, hit the lowest percentage in the three newspapers 0.86%, compared to 2.60% to Israeli soldiers captured by Hamas in 2014.

The table reveals that the percentage of "Human Rights Violations against Israelis" slightly outraced the percentage of "Human Rights Violations against Palestinians" about 0.90%. Whereas "International Sanctions Against Hamas" witnessed a higher rate 6.92% than "International Sanctions Against Israel" which reached 5.19%. The two codes "Kidnaping Israeli Soldiers & Funding Hamas" experienced the same percentage 2.60%. Likewise, the four codes "Targeting Hamas Institutions, Hamas Weapon, Gaza Blockade after Hamas Rule, and Hamas using civilians as human shields" also had the same percentage in the three newspapers 3.46%. Yet "Occupation using civilians as human shields" raised by nearly more than 2.5% if compared to "Hamas using civilians as human shields". In the three newspapers, the lowest rates were given to "Hamas Tunnels, Assassinations of Hamas leaders, and Hamas Prisoners (2.16% - 1.30%- 0.86%, respectively).

These nuances are clearly important. For instance, the three newspapers, can be said to overwhelmingly focus on the rockets Hamas fired into Israel, at the expense of showing the prisoners' issue or the Israeli blockade of Gaza, despite the fact that there are daily operations and raids by the Israeli occupation forces. In the study period, and no Israeli soldier was captured. Still, the three newspapers insisted on focusing on Hamas attacks (rockets), neglecting humanitarian issues like the of Palestinian prisoners as well as the Gaza blockade and Israeli human rights violations:

Hamas, the Islamic militant group that controls the Gaza Strip, did not claim responsibility but praised Wednesday's attack as "brave and heroic" in a tweet by Izzat Risheq, a **Hamas** leader residing in Qatar. (*Guardian*, 30 March. 2015)

In most of the surveyed news articles, by the British broadsheets, Hamas was depicted as "Islamic militant group" that "Control Gaza Strip". As mentioned above, Hamas is historically a charitable group since 1973 when setting up charitable organizations and established religious schools and kindergartens (Chehab, 2007.p19); in addition to being a political party that aimed to end the Israeli occupation. Thus, Hamas has a military wing but not merely a militant group and not all Hamas members and supporters are militants. Controlling Gaza is a controversy dispute between both the Palestinian Legislative Council and the Presidential office. Hamas said that they are an elected party to be the head of Palestinian government while the Presidential office said that Hamas's government was ended after the clashes between both parties in 2007. However, the *Guardian* insisted on depicting Hamas a controller of Gaza.

**Table 1.3 Occurrences of Hamas officials**

Characters	<i>The daily Telegraph</i>		<i>The Guardian</i>		<i>The Times</i>		Total	
	Occurrences	%	Occurrences	%	Occurrences	%	Occurrences	%
Haniyeh	0	0.00	3	4.70	0	0.00	3	2.90
Meshal	0	0.00	1	1.50	0	0.00	1	1.00
Netanyahu	2	14.30	22	34.37	7	28.00	31	30.10
Lieberman	1	7.10	2	3.13	1	4.00	4	3.90
SUMMA	14	100.0	64	100.0	25	100.0	38	100.0

The table above shows that the biggest number of prominent figures occurrences are for the Israeli leaders, such as Netanyahu with 30 percent. It was 28 percent in *The Times*, 34.37 percent in *The Guardian*, and 14.30 percent in *The Daily Telegraph*.

As mentioned above, it is easy to reach and to talk to Hamas leaders and officials. Hamas has a clear structure hierarchy, above the ground, where they live, and where they work. However, the newspapers surveyed speak about Hamas as an underground organization whose members are unknown, secret and masked. Both the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Times* have mentioned Hamas 52 times, none of which, mention any of Hamas leaders, spokespersons, or officials. This gives the impression that Hamas, contrary to reality, is a completely secretive and underground movement, whose members do their best to remain unknown.

The *Guardian*, on the other hand, mentions Hamas leaders. This study surveyed 37 *Guardian* articles that discussed Hamas. Two Hamas leaders, Haniya and Meshaal, were mentioned three times. In the same articles, Netanyahu was mentioned 22 times:

Ismail Haniyeh, the Hamas leader in Gaza, has said so. This year he told the people of Gaza that Hamas fighters were "digging twice as much as the number of tunnels dug in Vietnam. (*Guardian*, 2016)

Haniyeh was mentioned two times in all of the surveyed articles in the three newspapers to have this talk about Hamas tunnels. Haniyeh, at that time, was the Hamas leader in the Gaza Strip. What is missing here is that the *Guardian* insisted on having evidences of having Hamas a militant terrorist group without a hint of being a social or political movement. In addition, there is a missing

text in the Haniyeh speech here which is "to end the Gazans agony and closure". Here the *Guardian* focus is the military talk of Haniyeh and not the humanitarian section of the talk as many of Hamas tunnels are used for smuggling goods, especially in Rafah tunnels.

Overall, this shows clear bias against Hamas by presenting it as a faceless terrorist gang and insisting on refusing to talk to none of Hamas officials or to extend a hand for dialogue and understanding.

**Table 1.4 Occurrences & Ratios of Neutral images**

Sources	<i>The daily Telegraph</i>		<i>The Guardian</i>		<i>The Times</i>		Total	
	Occurrences	%	Occurrences	%	Occurrences	%	Occurrences	%
Hamas's right to defend itself	0	0.00	1	4.80	0	0.00	1	3.13
No justifications of killing civilians	1	50.00	12	57.20	6	66.67	19	59.38
Hamas and Israel use civilians as human shields	0	0.00	4	19.00	3	33.33	7	21.88
Others	1	50.00	4	19.00	0	0.00	5	15.63
SUMMA	2	100.0	21	100.0	9	100.0	32	100.0

Table 1.4 illustrates the percentages of the neutral images of the three British newspapers. As shown, the code "Hamas has the right to defend itself" was mentioned only once, with the lowest percentage (3.13%). Hamas is designated as a terrorist group by America and the EU; however, Hamas insists they live under occupation and has the right, according to international laws, to resist the alien occupiers. Even when the right to self-defense was attributed to Palestinians in the *Guardian*, it was a quote from a Pro-Palestinian doctor, Mads Gilbert. According to the UN, Gaza Strip is still occupied and the West Bank is occupied. Hence, Palestinian groups have the right to defend themselves<sup>5</sup> according to the democratic principles and international laws that had emanated from Europe, and adopted by Britain.

When it comes to the code of "no justification for killing civilians", the newspapers shows the highest percentage with 59.38%, and as usual, the *Guardian* has been doubled comparing to the two newspapers.

According to Hamas and Israeli usage of civilians as human shields, the total percentage is 21.88%

**Table 1.5 Occurrences & Ratios of Supportive image**

Sources	<i>The daily Telegraph</i>		<i>The Guardian</i>		<i>The Times</i>		Total	
	Occurrences	%	Occurrences	%	Occurrences	%	Occurrences	%
Popular and winner of democratic elections	0	0.00	2	22.22	1	33.33	3	21.42
Serving civilians	0	0.00	3	33.33	0	0.00	3	21.42
Europe sympathy	2	100.0	3	33.33	2	66.66	7	50.00
Others	0.00	0.00	1	11.00	0.00	0.00	1	7.14
SUMMA	2	100.0	9	100.0	3	100.0	14	100.0

<sup>5</sup> It appears in the Charter of the UN under the following formulation : "Article 4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations".

Table 1.5 shows that the study papers have taken up the positive image of Hamas with few occurrences compared to the overall sample size; the number of positive occurrences is 14. While the *Daily Telegraph* has zero occurrences referring to Hamas popularity or civil services, the *Guardian* makes 5 references to the fact that Hamas won a popular election and that it provides services to the Palestinians. The *Times* refers only once to Hamas winning the elections. The three newspapers touch upon the issue of sympathy towards Hamas, with combined 7 references in the 86 articles surveyed for this research. Sometimes, this positive code is framed in a larger context that taints the image. For instances, the *Daily Telegraph* has two references but they are framed by talks about "anti-Semitism" and criticizing Jeremy Corbyn for his sympathy with the "terrorist group" Hamas. In other words, the surveyed newspapers attempt to create balance and give the impression of impartiality in the Palestinian-Israeli struggle, but this positive coverage cannot escape the usual framing and references to anti-Semitism.

**Table 1.6 Occurrences & Ratios of Critical Image**

Sources	<i>The daily Telegraph</i>		<i>The Guardian</i>		<i>The Times</i>		Total	
	Occurrences	%	Occurrences	%	Occurrences	%	Occurrences	%
A terrorist group	8	40.00	16	30.77	9	31.00	33	32.67
Controlling Gaza by force	5	25.00	8	15.38	8	27.58	21	20.79
Destroying & exterminating Jews	2	10.00	9	17.30	0	0.00	11	10.89
Perpetrating killings among Israeli civilians	4	20.00	13	25.00	8	27.58	25	24.75
SUMMA	20	100.0	52	100.0	29	100.0	101	100.0

It seems from the above table 1.6 that the sample newspapers adopted the concept of Hamas movement as a terrorist group with 32.67 percent. This is followed by attributing killing Israeli civilians to Hamas with 24.75 percent. Hamas control over Gaza represents 20.79 of the overall references to Hamas image. 'Exterminating Jews' has experienced approximately 10% of the negative image of Hamas in the British broadsheets. In the 86 articles examined for this study, there were 147 codes referring to Hamas, 101 of which were critical of Hamas and its stances, policies, and actions. The papers make 32 references to Hamas as a terrorist organization, 8 by the *Daily Telegraph*, 9 by the times, and 16 by the *Guardian*. After that, 25 references were made to Hamas in the context of targeting Israeli civilians. Controlling Gaza received 21 references, and destroying the Jews 11 references.

Mr Netanyahu also hinted that Israel could attempt to turn the tables by pursuing war crimes charges of its own against the Palestinians. He cited a unity deal struck between Mr Abbas and Hamas, the Islamist militant group that runs Gaza, which is widely regarded as a terrorist organisation and has conducted numerous attacks on Israeli civilians. (*Daily Telegraph*, 2015)

The pro-Israeli views is clear in this editorial not only against Hamas but against the Palestinians in general, even the unity between Hamas and Fatah to have a peaceful atmosphere in the region, is rejected by the *Daily Telegraph*. Furthermore, pursuing war crimes of the Palestinians without having a hint to the Israeli occupation crime or the daily attacks in the West Bank and Gaza at the

expense of talking about the Gaza blockade or any humanitarian issue related to Palestinians. Again, Hamas is depicted as a militant and a terrorist group without having any of the Israeli assaults or crimes against the innocent civilians. The numerous attacks that have been conducted by Hamas against the Israeli civilians killed one Israeli during a six months rockets fired into Israel while in one attack by the Israeli airplanes tens of Palestinians have been killed and injured. Yet the dailytelegraph insisted on deviling Hamas reactions against the source of evil which is the occupation.

Table 1.7 Occurrences & Ratios of General Tendency of British Newspapers

Images	<i>The daily Telegraph</i>		<i>The Guardian</i>		<i>The Times</i>		Total	
	Occurrences	%	Occurrences		Occurrences		Occurrences	%
Neutral	2	7.40	21	26.60	9	20.50	32	21.91
Critical	23	85.20	57	72.20	33	75.00	101	69.17
Positive	2	7.40	1	1.20	2	4.50	14	8.90
SUMMA	27	100	79	100.0	44	100.0	147	100.0

This final table (1.7) shows that the British daily broadsheets examined have a critical orientation towards Hamas, for critical codes reached the highest percentage 69.17%, while the neutral trend was 21.91%, and the positive code was 8.90%. Both the *Telegraph* and the *Times* mention Hamas in only 4 occasions, two times each. And as discussed above, they were coated with critical issues such as accusations of anti-Semitism. The *Guardian*, meanwhile, has one positive reference to Hamas. Even that was a direct quote in the context of talking about Pro-Palestine physician Mads Gilbert

On the other hand, neutral references were nearly 22%, with 32 references. The *Guardian* use 21 of them, 9 by the *Times*, and only 2 neutral references by the *Daily Telegraph*.

All in all, two thirds of the code references made to Hamas in the selected newspapers are negative and critical of Hamas that reveals the bias they adopted in tackling both Palestinian and Hamas issues.

### Conclusion

It seems, from the quantitative analysis of this study that there are slightly differences between liberal and conservative British Newspapers in dealing with Hamas issues and characters. This is not surprising as the same results founded in David Kaposi's book(Dávid Kaposi, 2014) when analyzing the Daily British newspapers regarding the first Israeli assault on Gaza Strip in 2009.

The newspapers deal with Hamas as a " terrorist, militant group, that control Gaza Strip", despite the fact that Hamas was democratically elected in 2006 as the official government of the Palestinian Authority. The British newspapers adopted the Israeli views about Hamas as a terrorist organization in spite of being a legitimate in many countries around the world and a representative of Palestinian voters.

The British newspapers focus on Hamas rockets fired into Israel as well as Hamas control on Gaza, at the expense of illustrating the Israeli occupation or the imposed blockade of Gaza.

Transparency, Integrity, Credibility, accountability, and Objectivity are all building blocks of the media reputation; these blocks exemplify the ethics of democracy that monitor how real agencies actually operate. The greater the use of these blocks, the greater the agency restore democracy and public trust. Therefore, the British newspapers must maintain these blocks safe from being cracked

or broken; otherwise, it will be a den for fake news, which, in a way or another, scratches the power of its publicity.

Some limitations found in this study. First, three British newspapers that are oriented as conservative and liberal, while there are tabloid newspapers or other attitudes that could be a choice to the study. Second, the discourse analysis is limited to news sources, topics and issues while the study doesn't cover sentence structure, lexical choices, metaphors, transitivity, etc.

### References

- Abdelal, W. (2012). *From the Mosque to Satellite Broadcasting: A Historical Perspective of Hamas Media Strategy*.
- Abu-Amr, Z. (1993). Hamas: a historical and political background. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 22(4), 5–19.
- Chehab, Z. (2007). *Inside Hamas: The untold story of the militant Islamic movement*. New York: Daily Telegraph.
- (2015). Israel takes revenge on Palestinian move to join war crimes court. *Daily Telegraph*.
- (2015). Several wounded in Tel Aviv bus attack; Israeli police arrest Palestinian man reported to have stabbed at least nine people in suspected terrorist attack in central Tel Aviv. *Newspaper*, p. WORLD NEWS.
- (2016). Hamas tunnelling again in Gaza as Israelis fear attack from below; Residents close to the border think they can hear digging 19 months after the end of the last war. *Transcontinental Media Group Inc*.
- Gunning, J. (2008). *Hamas in politics: democracy, religion, violence*. Hurst.
- Hamas.ps. (2017). A Document of General Principles and Policies. *Hamas Official Website*.
- Hroub, K. (2000). Hamas: Political thought and practice. *Washington, DC*, 173.
- Kaposi, D. (2014). *Violence and Understanding in Gaza: The British Broadsheets' Coverage of the War*. Springer.
- Kaposi, D. (2016). On the possibility of critiquing Israel: The Times' engagement with Israel's deployment of white phosphorous during the first Gaza war. *Media, War & Conflict*, 9(3), 272–289.
- Kaposi, D. (2017). A proper study of the discourse on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict? Methodological implications of a large-scale study of the first Gaza war. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 44(3), 391–407.
- Karniel, Y., Lavie-Dinur, A., & Samuel Azran, T. (2017). Professional or personal framing? International media coverage of the Israel–Hamas prisoner exchange deal. *Media, War & Conflict*, 10(1), 105–124.
- Laqueur, W. (2004). *Voices of terror: manifestos, writings, and manuals of Al Qaeda, Hamas, and other terrorists from around the world and throughout the ages*. Sourcebooks, Inc.
- Levitt, M. (2008). *Hamas: politics, charity, and terrorism in the service of jihad*. Yale University Press.
- MAGGS, D. (2011). The History, Politics and Ideology of Hamas. *Enternational Relations Studies*. Retrieved from <http://www.e-ir.info/2011/06/17/the-history-politics-and-ideology-of-hamas/>
- McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36(2), 176–187.

- McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1993). The evolution of agenda- setting research: twenty- five years in the marketplace of ideas. *Journal of Communication*, 43(2), 58–67.
- McGeough, P. (2010). *Kill Khalid: The failed Mossad assassination of Khalid Mishal and the rise of Hamas*. The New Press.
- Mishal, S., & Sela, A. (2006). *The Palestinian Hamas: vision, violence, and coexistence*. Columbia University Press.
- Philo, G., & Berry, M. (2004). *Bad news from Israel*. Pluto Press.
- Rogers, E. M., Hart, W. B., & Dearing, J. W. (1997). A paradigmatic history of agenda-setting research. *Do the Media Govern*, 225–236.
- Rosaler, M. (2002). Hamas: Palestinian terrorists, inside the world's most infamous terrorist organizations. Rosen Publishing Group.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2015). 22 Critical Discourse Analysis. *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, 466.
- Wolf, K. (n.d.). The Coverage of the War on Gaza in British and German Newspaper Editorials.