ARTICLE

Palestine-Israel Crisis: Are Elite Cultural Models Driving US Discourse?

Timothy P. Daniels

Department of Anthropology, Hofstra University, Hempstead, New York, USA

Correspondence: Timothy P. Daniels (Timothy.P.Daniels@hofstra.edu)

ABSTRACT

Following the Hamas-led attack on 7 October 2023, and subsequent Israeli bombardment and siege of Gaza, it was apparent that US mainstream media and political elites were slanted in favour of Israel, the long-term US ally. This study aims to construe the relationship of cultural knowledge with mainstream media and elite US political discourse. It also seeks to discern linguistic features of this discourse. The researcher collected articles from five mainstream media sources and statements of four US presidents pertaining to the Palestine–Israel conflict. This research found that these discourse events embed dominant cultural models of Palestinians and Israelis, of political units and spaces, of Muslim militants and the sovereign 'Jewish state' and of the close relationship between the United States and Israel. Through examining news articles, this study demonstrates that these forms of dominant cultural knowledge guide the use of linguistic tools that, in turn, reproduce these cultural models.

1 | Introduction

The US mainstream media and political discourse amid the 7 October 2023, Hamas-led raid and Israeli bombing and ground incursion into Gaza appear to be slanted in favour of Israel, a long-time ally of the United States in the Middle East. FAIR (2023), the media watchdog group, examined 4 weeks of Sunday political news shows from 15 October to 5 November 2023 and noted that 'the guests invited to speak on Gaza skew strongly toward US politicians—especially those with strong financial influence by the military industrial complex and pro-Israel advocates'. Many scholars have noted this bias in major US media coverage and political policies (Said 2001; Chomsky 2001; Mearsheimer and Walt 2007; Jackson 2023). Jackson's study of the *New York Times* news coverage of the First and Second Palestinian Intifadas, using quantitative and qualitative methods, demonstrates anti-Palestinian bias during both periods. S. Saeed (2021), host and senior producer with the social media publisher AJ+, has astutely

pointed out the bias of mainstream media coverage of the May 2021 raid of the Al-Aqsa Mosque and the forced displacement of Palestinian families from Sheikh Jarrah neighbourhood of East Jerusalem. The researcher attempts to take these critical insights a step further by exploring the relationship of mainstream media and political discourse to aspects of hegemonic US culture. Exploring the interconnection between dominant media and political discourse and cultural models will fill an important gap in the literature. What are the cultural notions that constitute and produce these biased representations of the Palestine–Israel conflict? What are the linguistic devices deployed to generate these slanted news reports?

To answer these questions, the researcher reviewed articles focused on the Palestine–Israel conflict in *The New York Times, CNN, The Washington Post, Fox News, and The Wall Street Journal*. The researcher argues that US political elites, from both dominant political parties, and mainstream media newsrooms[1]

share certain influential forms of cultural knowledge, and major media outlets hyper-circulate them throughout American society and the world. Nevertheless, social activists and alternative media increasingly challenge and contest these forms of knowledge.

This study adopts a cognitive anthropological approach, the cultural discourse analysis tradition, to infer cultural knowledge from naturally occurring discourse of mainstream media articles and videos and US political elites (Quinn 2005a; Strauss 2005; Daniels 2017). The researcher uses a linguistic anthropological definition of *discourse* as 'all the varieties of talk and text' (Hill 2008). This work focuses on US discourse—speech and literacy events in US society—on the topic of the Palestine–Israel conflict. Anthropologist Naomi Quinn emphasizes the importance of using the cultural discourse approach to infer cultural models from discourses elicited by ethnographic interviews. Daniels (2017) used this cognitive anthropological approach to analyse interviews *and* naturally occurring discourse of people across society. Strauss (1992) and D'Andrade (1995) note that cultural models or schemas entail motives for action and vary in their motivational force. In addition, Quinn (2005b), building on the work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) on metaphorical concepts, demonstrates how the presence of metaphors in discourse about marriage were cues for American cultural models of this domain. This article builds on this approach, inferring cultural knowledge from discourse events and noting the contested entailments of some metaphors related to the ongoing Palestine/Israel conflict.

In a major volume on cultural discourse analysis, Quinn (2005a) points out the distinction between linguistic and cognitive approaches to analysing discourse; linguistic anthropologists focus on understanding how language works, including patterns in the structure of narratives, processes of telling, discourse types and temporal sequencing, whereas cognitive anthropologists are primarily concerned 'with some underlying cultural topic, theme, or schema'. The researcher attempts to bridge the gap between these approaches by examining how various linguistic features are directed by underlying cultural knowledge that shapes what the authors are doing in these discourse events. This study builds upon the pragmatic view of linguistic anthropologists who seek 'to understand how particular uses of language might sustain, reproduce, or challenge particular versions of the social order' (Duranti 1997).

2 | Methodology and Data Collection

Qualitative discourse analysis, along the lines of cognitive and linguistic anthropological analyses (Quinn 2005a; Strauss 2005; Hill 2008; Duranti 1997), is the main methodological technique used in this study to infer cultural knowledge and pragmatics in mainstream media articles and US presidents' official statement on the Palestine–Israel crisis. The researcher selected five national mainstream media sources with broad distribution beyond local areas and that are representative of dominant perspectives rather than far-left or far-right views. To gauge whether the ideas span media sources considered liberal and conservative, the researcher chose three sources with a liberal orientation, *New York Times*, *Washington Post* and *CNN*, and two sources with a conservative orientation, *Wall Street Journal* and *Fox News*. These nationally branded news outlets are leading sources of information and influence. This study gathered articles from these five sources through manual curation and keyword searches. The researcher created online accounts with the *New York Times*, *Washington Post* and the *Wall Street Journal* and manually curated articles from October 2023 to March 2024. These 6 months, following the Hamas-led 7 October 2023 raid and the subsequent Israeli bombing and military incursion, are highly relevant for understanding mainstream representations of the Palestine–Israel conflict. Keyword searches were also conducted during this period in *CNN* and *Fox News* portals focusing on events and themes, such as comparisons of 7 October 2023 to 11 September 2001 and reports on prisoner swaps, that the researcher encountered during manual curation of other sources. Thirty-one articles, a subset of the numerous articles reviewed, were selected for more rigorous discourse analysis based on the topics and themes of the articles. In addition, the researcher collected official statements of four US presidents, two from each major political party, pertaining to Israel and Palestine. These official statements were collected from presidential White House databases.

This study uses qualitative methodology to infer cultural knowledge embedded in discourse events in major media outlets and of powerful political leaders. This approach seeks to go beyond content analysis to deduce cultural models from patterns of term usage, semantics, metaphors and bundling of ideas. In addition, mainstream media ways of using language when representing Palestinians, Israelis and their clashes are examined. This study adopts linguistic anthropological methods to discern how cultural models[2] direct the use of linguistic features, such as frames, explanatory speech acts, deployment of voice and agency and abstract noun phrases as actors, to divert blame from Israeli military forces and political leadership.

3 | Palestinian and Israeli Identity Schema

Palestinians are represented as Arabs and Muslims, and in dominant US discourse, that means as different Others. The Rasgon and Kingsley (2024) and Abdel-Baqui et al. (2024) articles speak about Palestine as part of the 'Arab World'. These articles discuss US and European political leaders working on plans for Palestinian futures. Shaped by twentieth-century American Orientalism and its negative perceptions of the 'Arab Muslim world' (Aziz 2022), mainstream news reports suggest that western leaders will have to overcome the irrational, despotic, premodern Arab psyche to implement benevolent plans for Gaza. The Abdel-Baqui et al. (2024) article tells us that Mahmoud Abbas, 88-year-old president of the Palestinian Authority, insists on staying in power without elections despite '90% of Palestinians calling for his resignation' and widespread local views that the authority he leads is 'ineffective and corrupt'. We are informed by the Rasgon and Kingsley (2024) article that the Palestinian exile with a vision for Gaza has a 'reputation for brutality' and was 'convicted of corruption in absentia'. President Trump, in his remarks on 28 January 2020, with Prime Minister Netanyahu, stated that he 'traveled to Saudi Arabia to discuss our shared priorities with the 54 leaders of the Muslim and Arab countries…and made clear that all civilized nations share the same goals' (Trump Whitehouse 2020). Muslim and Arab countries, he suggests,

must embrace the priorities and goals of the United States, the dominant power in the Middle East, leaving behind their tribal and fanatic traits to become modern and civilized nations.

Many articles, such as Raja AbdulRahim (2022) and Kingsley (2022), represent Palestinians as Muslim worshippers seeking to pray in Masjid Al-Aqsa, an Islamic holy site. As Middle East studies and legal scholar S. Aziz (2022) notes, 'Religion is also an unstable and fluid differentiating category insofar as it interacts with race to affect "other" certain groups and in turn justify their subordinate status and unequal treatment'. Images of Muslims dressed in Islamic attire and praying in rows evoke many widespread Islamophobic notions, but most importantly here, they depict *difference* and inferiority before a dominant Judeo–Christian identity.

In addition to Arab and Muslim features, many other attributes constituting a dominant identity schema of Palestinians are embedded in news articles and statements of political leaders. Political discourse and numerous *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *CNN* reports depict Palestinians as dependent, desperate, uncivilized, wild and poor. President Trump, promoting his proposed 'two-state solution', states, 'Our vision will end the cycle of Palestinian dependency upon charity and foreign aid' (Trump Whitehouse 2020). The Coles and Ayyoub (2024) article describes the dependent character of locals: 'Before the war, many Palestinians in Gaza relied on aid—monthly $10 food vouchers or parcels with flour, oil, meat, dairy products and canned food—during years of blockade and conflict'. It notes the context of Israel shutting down all commercial deliveries and the difficulty of humanitarian aid transport under the current Israeli bombardment of Gaza, but it is silent on the broader political and historical context of the blockade and Israeli domination. Moreover, the authors frame and explain the causes of the humanitarian crisis using vague and passive language.

> Driving the desperation: logjams in food deliveries into and around the enclave and a battlefield that overlaps the places offering help. The combination has pushed more of the population—already almost wholly department on aid because of the war—into a state of hunger described as catastrophic or amounting to starvation.

They tell us that the population of Gazans are in such a state of hunger due to a 'combination' of food delivery 'logjams' and 'overlaps' of the battlefield with sites of assistance. There is no direct mention here of Israeli actions restricting the entry of aid trucks. However, this article includes the voices of two Palestinian men, nine United Nations, World Health Organization, IPC (Integrated Food Security Phase Classification) or World Food Program officials and three references to Israeli state officials. This article, and several others about contested aspects of this conflict, shift across a variety of voices, producing a form of multivocality, in which 'alternative realities' are presented to the reader. The two Palestinian men are treated as eyewitnesses, speaking of the lack of food, limited diets, widespread hunger and desperation. One of these men, Abu Sami, blames 'insecurity and the absence of police for the disorder'. UN, WHO, IPC and WFP officials repeatedly state that the problem is 'access' and

'restrictions on food deliveries' and warn that 'there is a risk of famine'. The UNICEF Deputy Executive Director Ted Chaiban uses a telling metaphor to get these points across: 'We are trying to drip assistance through a straw to meet an ocean of need'.

On the other hand, in this article, there are three potent references to Israeli voices offering alternative realities that the authors fail to assess or fact-check. Colonel Elad Goren, the head of COGAT (Coordination of Government Activities in the Territories), argued that the main problem is 'the United Nations' capacity to collect and distribute enough food'. He also declared that 'there is no starvation in Gaza, period' adding that there are 'twelve bakeries open' in Gaza and 'vegetables, fruits and bread' are available in markets. In the final paragraph of this article, the authors refer to Israel's statement that the number of humanitarian aid trucks has increased by 60 a day after the recent war began in contradiction to UN figures that state 'only seven of 29 planned aid deliveries reached their destinations in northern Gaza' in the first 2 weeks of January 2024. The authors' framing, explanations and deployment of voices are directed by dominant cultural models. Palestinians are used as eyewitnesses, depicted as needy, desperate and violent people, whose explanations for their experiences and condition are given no credence. The authors' use of a vague and passive voice in their framing of the reasons for the food crisis avoids placing blame on highly evaluated Israelis and their sovereign state. Moreover, presenting the contrasting representations of reality as 'simply at odds' without fact-checking protects Israel from criticism.

Mainstream media coverage of the Hamas–Israeli 'hostage' exchanges during temporary ceasefires also entailed constructions of Palestinians. This televised and online news referred to Palestinians in these exchanges as 'prisoners' held in Israeli jails, whereas Israelis and foreigners held by Hamas or Islamic Jihad were called 'hostages'. The Weinthal (2023) article went further, labelling Palestinians exchanged as 'convicted Palestinian terrorists'. To the contrary, *CNN* and *Al Jazeera* shared more accurate information about the women and children released from jails and the Israeli policy of holding Palestinians in 'administrative detention' under military law, which denies them the right of knowing what they are being charged with and standing trial. The Kottasová et al. (2023) article describes the 'two distinct justice systems' in the West Bank in which Palestinians fall under military jurisdiction, whereas Jewish settlers are subject to civilian courts. Rather than recognizing this as an instance of institutionalized racism or apartheid, they offered the explanation of an IDF legal advisor who stated that they are not 'allowed to 'export' their own legal system into the West Bank' under international law.

Although mainstream media outlets deploy the linguistic tool of accentuating the voices and perspectives of Israeli officials and victims or pro-Israeli experts, *Fox News* takes it a step further, using a hostage mother's first-person voice to circulate dehumanizing ideas about Palestinians. The Wulfsohn (2023) article focuses on a segment of an interview MSNBC journalist Andrea Mitchell conducted with an Israeli mother whose two sons were taken hostage by Hamas. When she is asked about Israel's bombardment of Gaza, she expresses a loss of sympathy for the children of Gaza: 'I can't be sympathetic to animal human beings—well, they're not really human beings, who came into

my house, broke everything, stole everything, took my children from their bedrooms…So there is no symmetry. I'm sorry'. This mother is echoing the dehumanizing public statements of Israeli political officials over several days prior to her interview. Israeli Defense Minister Yoav Gallant announced, 'We are fighting human animals and we act accordingly', apparently referring to Hamas fighters, while also calling for 'further oppression of all people in Gaza by denying them basic human needs' (Karanth 2023). Postcolonial scholar Frantz Fanon (1963) pointed out that zoological terms are often used by colonizers to castigate the colonized reinforcing hierarchies and power structures. *Fox News*, a popular outlet for the right wing and far right, centres the Israeli mother's voice to circulate depictions of Palestinians that cast them into the lower rungs of the North American racial worldview (Smedley and Smedley 2012; Aziz 2022).

Although Palestinians are constructed as dependent, desperate and poor Arab Muslims, Israelis are conceived of as possessing much more positive attributes in the dominant US perspective. The Israeli identity schema embedded in media and political discourse projects them as white, civilized, law-abiding, democratic and part of the Judeo–Christian heritage. In 2020, President Trump, speaking of Israel, stated:

> I was deeply moved and amazed by what this small country had achieved in the face of overwhelming odds and never-ending threats. The State of Israel comprises only a miniscule amount of land in the Middle East and yet it has become a thriving center of democracy, innovation, culture, and commerce (Trump Whitehouse 2020).

Thriving centres of this sort are associated with the Occident, western societies and whiteness in the dominant white supremacist worldview. Just as immigrant European Jews became 'white' in the racial schema of post-World War II (WWII) US society in contrast to Blacks, indigenous Americans, Asians and racialized Muslims (Aziz 2022), Israeli Jews are constructed as 'whites' in the Middle East surrounded by Arabs, Persians and Turks. Here, expressing amazement at their abilities and traits is part of a code or dog whistle indexing their racial superiority. The intention or illocution of President Trump's speech act is not only to compliment Israel but also to embrace it as part of western, white civilization. Furthermore, the effect of this speech act on the hearer, its perlocution, is to make Israelis feel good about themselves and what they have achieved. On the other hand, for Palestinian listeners or readers, it may be taken as a painful reminder of their forced displacement and experiences of military occupation by the State of Israel and its extensive financial support from the United States. Fanon (1963) puts things into perspective as he wrote, 'The settler owes the fact of his very existence, that is to say, his property, to the colonial system'.

The Wall Street Journal Editorial Board (2024) paints a picture of Israeli leaders as reasonable, civilized and law-abiding as they carefully advance to eliminate Hamas while guarding against civilian fatalities.

> Mr. Netanyahu and his military chief have already said that civilians will be evacuated from Rafah before Israel advances. Safe zones and a corridor out are being designated. There is plenty of empty space between Rafah and Khan Younis to its north, and the plan is to set up tent cities, perhaps with Egypt's help. This will delay Israel, especially if the U.N. resists the evacuation again, but it's the right thing to do.

Israeli leaders are being portrayed as rational and civilized even when 'doing the right thing' slows down efforts to achieve their military goals. Moreover, US political leaders depict Israelis as being like Americans, sharing the same values and Judeo-Christian heritage. On 15 March 2012, President Obama stated that the bond between the United States and Israel 'is also based on common values and the incredible people-to-people contacts' (Obama Whitehouse 2012). Likewise, President Biden, making remarks about Israel in the wake of Hamas' 7 October attack on Israel, declared, 'And like the United States, you don't live by the rules of terrorists. You live by the rule of law' (Whitehouse 2023). Many news articles, like some above, refer to Israelis as Jews attempting to pray at holy sites in Jerusalem. President Trump states, 'There are many Muslims who never visited Al Aqsa, and many Christians and Jews who never visited the holy sites in the West Bank described so vividly in the Bible…Our majestic biblical heritage will be able to live, breathe, and flourish in modern times' (Trump Whitehouse 2020). In the dominant US worldview, Judeo–Christian identity is a way of lumping ethnically diverse groups of Catholics and Jews together with Protestants in an expanded construction of whiteness (Aziz 2022). These well-formed identity schemas of Palestinians and Israelis are widely distributed in media and political discourse.

4 | Enclaves, Territories and the Sovereign 'Jewish State'

Mainstream media outlets refer to Gaza and the West Bank as 'enclaves' and 'territories' without describing the relationship between these spaces and sovereign power and without characterizing the racialized social formation. Numerous articles speak of the 'blockade' of Gaza by sea, air and land and mention 'occupied' West Bank in the absence of historical and political context. They project the image of spaces inhabited by Palestinians, whereas the control of these spaces is in the hands of the sovereign State of Israel out of 'security concerns' and not for purposes of political and economic domination. Moreover, the Tierney et al. (2023) article provides historical and political geography without going beyond 'occupied by Israel' to describe the structural relationship between Israel- and Palestinian-inhabited spaces. Given the history of British resettlement of European Jews and the subsequent dispossession and displacement of local Palestinians from their homes and lands from 1947 to 1949—The *Nakba* ('Catastrophe', Arabic)—and the erection of a legalized system of racial segregation and inequality in the nation-state of Israel and 'occupied territories', the apt social science terms would be settler colonialism and apartheid. In her biopolitical analysis of wildlife management in Palestine/Israel, ethnographer Braverman (2021) states that 'animal bodies are especially apt technologies for settler colonialism'. Similarly, US–Israeli anthropologist Smadar Lavie (2011) reports that 'Israel operates a vicious border machine, with patrols, electric fences, roadblocks, and land confiscations' around 'the Israeli apartheid walls of the West Bank and Gaza'.

There is a taboo against using these or other critical terms in mainstream newsrooms and leading political circles due to the deep embedding of, and power behind, the notion of Israel as a 'Jewish state' and the concomitant conflation of anti-Israeli sentiments with antisemitism in the worldview of US political elites. From this perspective, to call Israel a settler colonial nation or an apartheid state would be construed as expressing hate toward Jews. In his remarks on 18 October 2023, in Israel, President Biden stated, 'You are a Jewish state. You are a Jewish state, but you're also a democracy' (Whitehouse 2023). Similarly, President Obama declared, 'achieving the goal of two states for two peoples with Israel as a Jewish state and homeland for the Jewish people' (Obama Whitehouse 2012). In this model, embracing Zionist ideology, Israel is a Jewish state, not because it is a religious rather than secular state, but because it is conceived of as a state for Jewish people as an ethnicity.[3] A Republican-written resolution declaring 'anti-Zionism is antisemitism' passed with 311 votes, including 95 Democrats (Demirjian 2023). Republican and Democratic lawmakers argued that rhetoric critical of Israel that 'questions its right to exist' must be considered antisemitic.

However, some UN experts and human rights organizations, activists and academics represent the space inhabited by Gazans with the metaphor 'open-air prison'. Omar Shakir, the Palestine director at Human Rights Watch, asserted, 'Israel, with Egypt's help, has turned Gaza into an open-air prison' (Human Rights Watch 2022). This human rights organization demonstrated its understanding of this metaphor underscoring Israel's blockade of Gaza since 2007 and sweeping restrictions of the movement of Palestinians, here represented as 'prisoners'. It lays the major responsibility, under international humanitarian law, for this 'imprisonment' with Israel as the 'occupying power that maintains significant control over many aspects of life in Gaza', whereas Egypt also has the obligation 'to consider the impact of the border closure on the rights of Palestinians' (Human Rights Watch 2022). In 2023, Francesca Albanese, the UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in the occupied territories, declared that Israel has turned the occupied territories into 'an open-air prison' and that the system that they have imposed on Palestinians is 'apartheid by default'. This UN expert, commenting on the systematic detention of Palestinians, stated:

> By deeming all Palestinians as a potential security threat, Israel is blurring the line between its own security and the security of its annexation plan … Palestinians are presumed guilty without evidence, arrested without warrants, detained without charge or trial very often, and brutalised in Israeli custody (Reuters 2023a).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) inform us that 'metaphors as linguistic expressions are possible precisely because there are metaphors in a person's conceptual system'. Anthropologist Naomi Quinn (2005b) notes that metaphors 'are used by speakers to clarify the points they are trying to get across to listeners'. Furthermore, in contexts of political contestation, metaphors can be used to deliver opposing points to listeners and readers. Most agree that Gazans are 'prisoners', but there are competing views about who is holding them prisoner. Mainstream media and US political elites tend to claim that Hamas, and in some cases

Egypt, is holding Palestinians hostage in Gaza. For instance, the Kontorovich (2024) article claims that the United States tacitly supports Hamas and Egyptian policies to restrict the movement of Palestinians attempting to flee from the war zone. The entailment relationship of Israel as the occupying power holding Palestinians in this 'open-air prison' was replaced primarily with Hamas, but also with Egypt, as the parties responsible for controlling their freedom of movement. Extending on this metaphor, Israeli and US political elites, and media outlets, claim that Hamas is holding Palestinians hostage to use them as 'human shields' in hospitals, mosques and residential complexes.

5 | Violent Monsters and Civilized States

Mainstream media, and Israeli and US leaders, were quick to express the metaphorical concept that 'October 7 is Israel's September 11'. The Troy (2023) article vividly describes the brutal surprise attack on civilians and Israeli unpreparedness like the United States before 9/11. This historian and editor of 'Theodor Herzl: Zionist Writings' proclaimed that 'Israel needs to fight this latest battle with clarity that its many previous conflicts with Gaza lacked… And Israel needs to do what it takes to protects its citizens'. Former Director of National Intelligence James Clapper also argued that the Hamas attack is an 'apt comparison' to 9/11 stressing the common state of unpreparedness of the United States and Israel to these surprise attacks (CNN 2023). President Biden stated that, on 7 October, 'for a nation the size of Israel, it was like fifteen 9/11s. The scale may be different, but I'm sure those horrors have tapped into so- —some kind of primal feeling in Israel, just like it did and [sic] felt in the United States'. One of the main entailments of this metaphorical concept emphasized in dominant discourse is that the perpetrators are 'terrorists', evil, barbaric monsters driven by hate and the perverse lust to kill and cause harm. President Biden affirmed that 'Hamas committed atrocities that recall the worst ravages of ISIS, unleashing pure unadulterated evil upon the world' (Whitehouse 2023). Hamas evokes memories of ISIS and Al Qa'ida. In a recent interview reported by *Axios*, former President George W. Bush called Hamas 'cold-blooded killers' (The Guardian 2023). Puar and Rai (2002) note that the language used by dominant media in the post-9/11 context depicts Islamic militants in the image of a monster. Terms, such as barbaric, savage and pure evil, proliferated together with descriptions of beheadings, shredded bodies and sexual violence in media coverage after 7 October.

President Biden and Secretary of State Blinken immediately supported Israel's right of self-defence and right to retaliate. Israel declared war and unleashed a heavy bombing campaign followed by a ground invasion that killed tens of thousands of Palestinians. The Gazan Ministry of Health reported the constantly rising numbers of deaths; however, their reports were questioned by mainstream media and US politicians. For instance, the Youssef et al. (2024) article states that 'the Palestinian health ministry's figures don't distinguish between combatants and civilians'. This phrase questioning the accuracy and reliability of Palestinian health officials' reports is oft repeated in mainstream media coverage. On 25 October 2023, President Biden also publicly questioned the devastatingly high numbers of Gazans killed within a short period of time, stating, 'I have no notion that the Palestinians are telling the truth about how many people are

killed. I'm sure innocents have been killed, and it's the price of waging a war. … I have no confidence in the number that the Palestinians are using' (Kessler 2023). Several prominent US politicians, including New York Governor Kathy Hochul, made public statements justifying genocide of Palestinians in retaliation for the Hamas-led 7 October attack (Fahy 2024). In a fiery exchange with an activist who pointed out that genocide is happening in Gaza, Representative Andy Ogles stated, 'You know what? So, I think we should kill 'em all, if that makes you feel better…Everybody in Hamas' (Houghtaling 2024). Given the negative attributes that constitute US political elites' identity schema for Palestinians, especially their criminalization and dehumanization, these calls for genocide reflect the low value of Palestinian lives in the dominant worldview. President Biden finally admitted that some Israeli bombardment of Gaza was 'over the top', while also having his representatives veto a ceasefire in the UN Security Council for a third time on 20 February 2024 and argue in favour of the legality of Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories in the International Court of Justice.

Although many alternative media sources were critical of Israeli military forces shooting unarmed Palestinian civilians congregating for distribution of humanitarian aid on 29 February 2024, the Stancati et al. (2024) and Dorgan (2024) articles used linguistic tools to reproduce and sustain elite cultural models of Israelis, Palestinians and their conflict. At this early morning arrival of aid trucks in Gaza City, 112 people were killed and several hundred were wounded. The *WSJ* article authors provide a frame and explanation for this shooting, stating, 'The events illustrate how a power vacuum in the Gaza Strip, particularly its bombed-out biggest city in the north, has created a combustible mix of starving people, soldiers and militants that humanitarian experts and military analysts said was destined to blow up sooner or later'. They suggest that this inhumane massacre of hungry people converging on aid trucks looking for food should be understood as an inevitable result of a 'power vacuum' that has created a 'combustible mix'. This framing is devoid of actors and political context. Who has produced the 'power vacuum'? Why are people starving and soldiers and militants fighting? The author uses abstract noun phrases referring to situations and conditions as agents that produced tragic events rather than to human actors. As Ahearn (2021) points out in her study of love letters in Nepal, the way authors talk about actions and responsibility for events indicates their theories of agency. In the case of love letters, she noted a gendered difference in which male writers tended to attribute more agency to themselves and others, whereas female writers tended to emphasize fatalistic notions and limitations to individual agency. Here, the authors of mainstream media articles are inclined to not ascribe responsibility to Israeli actors for tragic violent events, whereas Palestinians are attributed agency for 'terrorist' acts. Their theory of agency is racialized.

Likewise, Dorgan (2024), using a passive voice, states that 'Palestinians rushing toward trucks loaded with humanitarian aid encountered fire in Gaza City'. This adoption of a passive voice leaves it underdetermined or disputed as to who was responsible for the killings. This article presents 5 Palestinian voices and only 2 Israeli voices, whereas the longer Stancati et al. (2024) article shifts across the voices of 4 Palestinians, 3 UN and World Food Program officials and 12 Israeli officials. Even when the number of Palestinian voices represented is high, it is the manner of their

deployment and the author's validation of Israeli voices that are most telling. The four Palestinian voices in the latter article are eyewitnesses who spoke about people being shot beside them at the trucks and doctors who described the nature of bullet wounds and other injuries in the hospital's emergency room. Sami Fayyad, a father of nine, said 'he heard shooting coming from the direction of the checkpoint'. UN and WFP officials spoke about how their aid convoys earlier in February faced Israeli gunfire. These voices suggest Israeli agency and responsibility. However, one of the many Israeli voices in this article states that they were targeting 'Hamas terrorist infrastructure' and were 'investigating the aid-truck incident' involving the UN food delivery. Endorsing this Israeli justification, authors label Palestinian security for aid convoys 'Hamas police officers' who have come under 'repeated attack by Israeli forces'. This implies that even if Israeli forces were firing on Palestinians, it was warranted because they were shooting at Hamas agents. Despite evidence of Israeli forces firing on previous humanitarian aid trucks, the authors of both articles rely on Israeli voices to leave the question of responsibility for this tragic shooting unanswered. The Stancati et al. article states that 'the Israeli military said some people approached Israeli tanks and ignored warning shots trying to get them to disperse. Troops felt threatened and opened fire'. This explanation is reminiscent of several US police officers' claims that they felt threatened by unarmed Black men whom they shot and killed. In these contexts, US and Israeli officers are alike in terms of claiming to not be personally responsible because they were forced to act due to the situation, or rather, their perception of the situation. Statements that people were approaching tanks and ignoring warning shots index and evoke stereotypes of dangerous and unruly Palestinians. Likewise, Dorgan (2024) states that 'the exact circumstances surrounding the deaths remain unclear; while several reports suggested Israeli troops fired on the crowd as they descended upon the trucks, the Israeli military suggested that most who died were trampled'. Given these contrasting reports, the author suggests that the actual cause of the event is ambiguous; Israeli forces may have been responsible, or it may have just been a chaotic situation in which aid trucks inadvertently ran over hungry people.

There is a pattern evident in these articles and many others of using a passive voice when speaking of Israelis shooting and killing and an active voice when speaking about how 'the Israeli military played a more direct role in helping secure aid convoys' and other ostensibly benevolent activities. The racialized theory of agency ascribes responsibility to Israelis for caring actions, whereas it sidesteps attributing blame on them for malevolent actions. These aspects of structuring news reports are shaped and guided by the dominant schemas of Palestinian and Israeli identities, models of the power differential between enclaves and the sovereign 'Jewish state' and the image of civilized Israelis retaliating against Palestinian militant 'terrorist' monsters. Mainstream media reports, shaped by this knowledge, in turn, widely distributed these schemas throughout society as people engaged in literacy events reading them.

This dominant metaphorical concept of Israel's 9/11 in the current context, together with the notion of Israel as a Jewish state and homeland for Jewish people, forecloses the possibility of viewing the legitimacy of any Palestinian anti-colonial violence. Even youth throwing stones as a form of protesting Israeli occupation

are criminalized and subjected to 'administrative detention' in Israeli jails.[4] Fanon informs us that settler colonialism is violent from its inception and is maintained through violence. 'Their first encounter was marked by violence and their existence together—that is to say the exploitation of the native by the settler—was carried out by dint of a great array of bayonets and cannons' (Fanon 1963). Fanon argues that the psychological and emotional pressure on the colonized builds up and eventually explodes in the violence of decolonization. However, from the perspectives of Israeli and US political elites and colonial and imperial forces, there is no 'ontological resistance' of Palestinians (Fanon 1967; Gregory 2014). Mainstream media and US political elites interpret militant groups like Hamas and Islamic Jihad as proxies of the Iranian government rather than as part of a homegrown Palestinian struggle for self-determination. Some additional metaphors are useful for making these points. President Trump, using a chess metaphor, asserted that 'the Palestinians have been the primary pawn in this regional adventurism, and it's time for this sad chapter in history to end—end quickly, end now' (Trump Whitehouse 2020). Similarly, Friedman (2024) uses an animal kingdom metaphor, representing Iran as a 'parasitoid wasp' that injects its eggs into caterpillars that give birth to Hamas and other Iranian proxies in the Middle East.

6 | US–Israel Bond

There is not a standard relationship between the United States and Israel. The United States has many allies around the world, but the bond with Israel appears to be of a different, and more dedicated, nature. This bond has called for 'unconditional' financial and military support, billions of dollars annually and transference of the most advanced military equipment. After France equipped Israel with a nuclear reactor, the United States became its major backer from the late 1960s until the present, furnishing Israel with top-of-the-line fighter-bombers and other forms of military technology (Khalidi 2004).[5] This bond has called for unflagging political and diplomatic support in the UN, the International Court of Justice and in other international venues. Even in the face of evidence of Israeli-style apartheid and genocide, the US government has stood firmly in support of Israel. What are the cultural dimensions of such a bond? How do US political elites conceive of this special relationship with Israel? Here, again, usage of metaphors signals the presence of a cultural model for this bond (Quinn 2005b).

In 2008, President George W. Bush announced:

> To the people of Israel: You know that peace and reconciliation with your neighbors is the best path to long-term security. We believe that peace is possible, though it requires tough decisions. The United States will always stand with Israel in the face of terrorism. And we will support you as you work to ensure the security of your people–and bring peace and reconciliation to the Holy Land (George W. Bush Whitehouse 2008).

In 2012, President Obama declared:

> Our commitment to the security of Israel is rock solid. And as I've said to the Prime Minister in every single one of our meetings, the United States will always have Israel's back when it comes to Israel's security. This is a bond that is based not only on our mutual security interests and economic interests, but it is also based on common values and the incredible people-to-people contacts that we have between our two countries (Obama Whitehouse 2012).

In 2020, President Trump announced:

> It is time for the Muslim world to fix the mistake it made in 1948 when it chose to attack, instead of recognize, the new State of Israel. It's time. …America's partnerships in the region have never been greater, and our alliance with the State of Israel has never, ever been stronger than it is today…Together, we can bring about a new dawn in the Middle East (Trump Whitehouse 2020).

On 18 October 2023, President Biden proclaimed:

> October 7th, which was a sacred to—a sacred Jewish holiday, became the deadliest day for the Jewish people since the Holocaust. It has brought to the surface painful memories and scars left by a millennia [sic] of antisemitism and the genocide of Jewish people. The world watched then, it knew, and the world did nothing. We will not stand by and do nothing again. Not today, not tomorrow, not ever (Whitehouse 2023).

In the more extensive US presidential statements, which these segments were drawn from, I found two patterns of metaphors and phrases that capture a shared cultural schema for the US-Israel relationship.

First pattern:

> 'United States will always stand with Israel in the face of terrorism'—Bush

> 'commitment to the security of Israel is rock solid'—Obama

> 'ironclad commitment to Israel's security'—Obama

> 'we will never ask Israel to compromise its security'—Trump

> 'do everything in our power to make sure it will be a safe place for Jewish people'—Biden

> 'we've ensured Israel's qualitative military edge'—Biden

Second pattern:

'we will support you as you work to ensure the security of your people'—Bush

'the United States will always have Israel's back'—Obama

'forcefully opposed unbalanced and biased actions against Israel'—Obama

'stood with Israel in times of crisis'—Obama

'our alliance with the State of Israel has never been stronger than it is today'—Trump

'together, we can bring about a new dawn in the Middle East'—Trump

'we will not let you ever be alone'—Biden

'we stood by your side ever since [1948], and we're going to stand by your side now'—Biden

'to deter further aggression against Israel'—Biden

'message to any state or any other hostile actor—Don't'—Biden

'we'll walk beside you in these dark days'—Biden

The researcher infers from the first pattern, especially given the metaphors of 'rock solid' and 'ironclad' commitment, that the ties between the United States and Israel entail a *vow, covenant* or *pledge* to uphold Israel's security. The second pattern features metaphors of 'having Israel's back', 'standing by Israel's side' and 'walking beside Israel'. These metaphors suggest friendship, companionship, protection and support. From these metaphors alongside related phrases, I infer a notion of a *devoted supportive alliance* between the United States and Israel. Taken together, these two patterns suggest a cultural schema for the US–Israel bond that entails a *vow to maintain a devoted supportive alliance*. When asked about his response to the 7 October Hamas-led attack on Israel, in an interview reported by *Axios*, former president George W. Bush said, 'My thoughts were that we need to support Israel…No ands, ifs or buts' (The Guardian 2023). Even after Israeli forces have reportedly killed over 30,000 Palestinians, on 9 March 2024, when asked whether the pending invasion of Rafah was a red line, President Biden stated, 'It is a red line but I'm never going to leave Israel. The defense of Israel is still critical. So there's no red line (in which) I'm going to cut off all weapons so they don't have the Iron Dome to protect them' (Reuters 2024b). This schema of a solemn US pledge of unconditional support to Israel persists in the worldview of US political elites. There was also a third pattern, partially listed below, in these remarks of recent US presidents involving policy goals and actions taken enacting or operationalizing this cultural schema. As Strauss (1992) notes, cultural models or schemas entail motives for action.

Third pattern:

Obama

'FY 2012…$3 billion in Foreign Military Financing'

'additional $205 million in FY 2011 to help produce an…Iron Dome'

'regular joint exercises and training opportunities, access to advanced military hardware…'

'determined to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons'

'intervened to help avert catastrophe when a violent mob stormed the Israeli Embassy in Cairo'

Trump

'moving the United States Embassy to Jerusalem

'recognizing the Golan Heights'

'getting out of the terrible Iran nuclear deal'

Biden

'unprecedented support package for Israel's defense'

'keep Iron Dome fully supplied'

'moved U.S. military assets to the region'

US political elites' schema for the US–Israel bond embed motives and goals for policies and political action, including military funding and training to enhance Israel's security, weakening and neutralizing Israel's foes in the region, and recognizing Israel's control of space, sovereignty and right to exist. It also motivates efforts to fend off criticism of Israel in the UN and ICJ and to frame Israeli state violence as a justified means of self-defence and retaliation.

The persistence and strength of this cultural model of the US–Israel relationship reflects the significance of Israel in the post-WWII global world order and the dominant position of the United States as a world power. Although the pro-Israel lobby, such as AIPAC and ADL, has a major impact on the slant of mainstream media and US politicians, it is dependent on the US political elites' geopolitical and ideological commitment to Israel as an outpost of American power in the Middle East. 'As a whole, US support for Israel is necessary for the Jewish state's functioning, which has become almost totally dependent on the US' (Said 2001). On the other hand, US political elites utilize Israel as a bulwark against the expansion of Russian, Iranian and militant political Islamic influence in the region.

7 | Conclusions

Mainstream media and US political elites' discourse about the Palestine–Israel crisis contained persistent representations of Palestinian and Israeli identities, Palestinian socio-political

spaces, the 'Jewish state', terrorist 'monsters' and civilized retaliation and the special relationship between the United States and Israel. These forms of cultural knowledge were hyper-circulated through popular liberal and conservative media outlets, maintaining an influence on the perspectives, attitudes and feelings of many people across society. In addition, the pragmatic structuring of mainstream media reports, guided by cultural models, produces discourse events slanted in favour of protecting Israel and shielding them from being held accountable for their crimes against humanity. However, some images and stories in mainstream media coverage caused many to question the way dominant cultural knowledge frames and explains events. Moreover, many people received information about current events from various social media sources that embed alternative and competing forms of cultural knowledge. Bloody images of Palestinian civilian victims of Israeli aggression may lead many people to question why Palestinian lives are not given the same value as Israeli lives in dominant media coverage and public policy. This study can be furthered by research on how readers are affected through participating in literacy events involving mainstream media reports. In addition, a similar study can be conducted focusing on alternative media sources highlighting cultural models that direct the production of texts, embed cultural knowledge and affect readers.

Nevertheless, cultural schemas and metaphorical concepts delivered through literacy and speech events of mainstream media and political elites are hegemonic, having extensive influence on society. As anthropologist Janet Keller (2011) points out, linguistic expressions 'acquire dominance through being authored by individuals and institutions with positions of power'. She argues that 'adding power as a factor in linking language to ways of thinking' augments the flexibility of an approach that attempts to account for intercognitive dynamics. As literacy and speech events of alternative media and pro-Palestinian activists gain more influence, dominant connections between mainstream media reports and cultural models distributed broadly in society begin to weaken. Future research should investigate the shifting persuasive power of discourses shaped by alternative schemas of Palestinian and Israeli identities and spaces they inhabit and of their conflict and US–Israel relations. Moreover, how do US political elites respond to such a weakening of their discursive power? What will be the societal and intercognitive dynamics and outcomes of their attempts to impose their cultural models through more coercive means?

Ethics Statement

This research conducted for this article is consistent with professional academic ethics. I only provide names of authors and individuals in publicly circulated news articles and the names of well-known public figures as I quote their discourse stored in archives or reported in other media. I don't divulge any identities of private individuals.

On the other hand, the motivation for this article was out of ethical concerns for the condition of Palestinians and for social and political justice. The article adopts a pro-humanity posture and suggests the need for change in unfair depictions of people and unjust political policies.

Endnotes

[1] Jane Hill (2008) notes the journalistic process in newsrooms that shape texts. Said (2001) informs us that pro-Israel lobbyists have gone after media that criticize Israel, claiming that they are antisemitic.

[2] I use schemas and models interchangeably as shared cognitive structures, often stored in long-term memory, that bundle interrelated elements and are used for reasoning about something (see D'Andrade, 2005; Daniels 2005).

[3] Researchers have demonstrated that this imagined Jewish ethnicity is fraught with internal hierarchies and boundaries constructed around European, Middle Eastern and African Jewish groups (Avruch 1987; Lavie 2011).

[4] Rashid Khalidi (2004) notes that most people in the Middle East 'believe that Palestinian violence against Israeli civilians can only be understood in the context of the Israeli occupation and its intense, systematic violence against Palestinian civilians'.

[5] Khalidi (2004) suggests that it was in the context of the Cold War in the mid-1960s that the United States consolidated this close bond with Israel to counter some leading Arab states, Egypt and Syria, that were becoming more identified with the Soviet Union.

References

Abdel-Baqui, O., S. Said, and F. AbdulKarim. 2024. "The Aging Bureaucrat Frustrating the West's Plan for Gaza." *Wall Street Journal*, February 12.

AbdulRahim, R. 2022. "During Ramadan, Palestinians Barred From Aqsa Turn to Smugglers." *New York Times*, April 29.

Ahearn, L. M. 2021. *Living Language: An Introduction to Linguistic Anthropology*. 3rd ed. Wiley Blackwell.

Avruch, K. 1987. "The Emergence of Ethnicity in Israel." *American Ethnologist* 14, no. 2: 327–339.

Aziz, S. 2022. *The Racial Muslim: When Racism Quashes Religious Freedom*. University of California Press.

Braverman, I. 2021. "Wild Legalities: Animals and Settler Colonialism in Palestine/Israel." *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 44, no. 1: 7–27.

Chomsky, N. 2001. "Middle East Terrorism and the American Ideological System." In *Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question*, edited by E. Said and C. Hitchens, 97–147. Verso.

CNN. 2023. "Why Clapper Says Hamas Attacks are an 'Apt Comparison' to 9/11." CNN. Published October 7. https://www.cnn.com/videos/world/2023/10/07/hamas-attack-israel-9-11-clapper-vpx.cnn.

Coles, I., and A. Ayyoub. 2024. "Tiny Gaza Is Home to Most of the World's Hungriest People." *Wall Street Journal*, January 22.

Daniels, T. 2005. *Building Cultural Nationalism in Malaysia: Identity, Representation, and Citizenship*. Routledge.

Daniels, T. 2017. *Living Sharia: Law and Practice in Malaysia*. University of Washington Press.

D'Andrade, R. 1995. *The Development of Cognitive Anthropology*. Cambridge University Press.

D'Andrade, R. 2005. "Some Methods for Studying Cultural Cognitive Structures." In *Finding Culture in Talk*, edited by N. Quinn, 83–104. Palgrave Macmillan.

Demirjian, K. 2023. "House Declares Anti-Zionism Is Antisemitism, Dividing Demcrats." *New York Times*, December 5.

Dorgan, M. 2024. "Stampede, Gunfire at Gaza Humanitarian Aid Delivery Kills Over 100, Reports Say." *Fox News*, February 29.

Duranti, A. 1997. *Linguistic Anthropology*. Cambridge University Press.

Fahy, C. 2024. "Hochul Apologizes After Implying Israel Has a Right to Destroy Gaza." *New York Times*, February 16.

FAIR. 2023. "Sunday's Gaza Guests Linked to Military Industry, Pro-Israel Funding." FAIR. Published November 21. https://fair.org/home/sundays-gaza-guests-linked-to-military-industry-pro-israel-funding/.

Fanon, F. 1963. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Grove Press.

Fanon, F. 1967. *Black Skins, White Masks*. Grove Press.

Friedman, T. L. 2024. "Understanding the Middle East Through the Animal Kingdom." *New York Times*, February 2.

George W. Bush Whitehouse. 2008. https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2008/01/print/text/20080113-1.html.

Gregory, S. 2014. *The Devil Behind the Mirror*. University of California Press.

Hill, J. H. 2008. *The Everyday Language of White Racism*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Houghtaling, E. Q. 2024. "'Kill 'Em All,' Republican Congressman Says of Palestinians in Gaza." *New Republic*, February 21.

Human Rights Watch. 2022. "Israel's Open-Air Prison at 15." Human Rights Watch. Published June 14. https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/06/14/gaza/israels-open-air-prison-15.

Jackson, H. M. 2023. "The New York Times Distorts the Palestinian Struggle: A Case Study of Anti-Palestinian Bias in US News Coverage of the First and Second Palestinian Intifadas." *Media, War & Conflict* 17, no. 1: 1–20.

Karanth, S. 2023. "Israeli Defense Minister Announces Siege On Gaza to Fight 'Human Animals'." *Huffington Post*, October 9.

Keller, J. D. 2011. "The Limits of the Habitual: Shifting Paradigms for Language and Thought." In *A Companion to Cognitive Anthropology*, edited by D. B. Kronenberg, G. Bennardo, V. C. de Munck, and M. D. Fischer, 61–81. Wiley Blackwell.

Kessler, G. 2023. "Biden's Dismissal of the Reported Palestinian Death Toll." *Washington Post*, November 1.

Khalidi, R. 2004. *Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America's Perilous Path in the Middle East*. Beacon Press.

Kingsley, P. 2022. "A Site Holy to Jews and Muslims Returns as the Nexus of Conflict." *New York Times*, April 22.

Kontorovich, E. 2024. "America Helps Make Gaza an Open-Air Prison." *Wall Street Journal*, January 21.

Kottasová, I., B. Arvanitidis, N. Elbagir, A. Salman, and A. Platt. 2023. "Release of Palestinian Prisoners Sheds Light on Controversial Israeli Justice System in the Occupied West Bank." *CNN*, December 8.

Lakoff, G., and M. Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live by*. The University of Chicago.

Lavie, S. 2011. "Staying Put: Crossing the Israel-Palestine Border With Gloria Anzaldúa." *Anthropology and Humanism* 36, no. 1: 101–121.

Mearsheimer, J., and S. Walt. 2007. *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Obama Whitehouse. 2012. Obama Whitehouse. https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/advancing-israels-security.

Puar, J. K., and A. S. Rai. 2002. "Monster, Terrorist, Fag: The War on Terrorism and the Production of Docile Patriots." *Social Text* 20, no. 3: 117–140.

Quinn, N. 2005a. "Introduction." In *Finding Culture in Talk*, edited by N. Quinn, 1–34. Palgrave Macmillan.

Quinn, N. 2005b. "How to Reconstruct Schemas People Share, From What They Say." In *Finding Culture in Talk*, edited by N. Quinn, 35–81. Palgrave MacMillan.

Rasgon, A., and P. Kingsley. 2024. "A Palestinian Exile Champions an Arab Vision for Gaza." *New York Times*, February 14.

Reuters. 2023a. "Israel Occupation Makes Palestinian Territories 'Open-Air Prison'. UN Expert Says." Published July 11. https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/israel-occupation-makes-palestinian-territories-open-air-prison-un-expert-2023-07-11/.

Reuters. 2024b. "Biden Makes Contradictory Comments on Gaza 'Red Line' in MSNBC Interview." Reuters. Published March 9. https://www.reuters.com/world/us/biden-makes-contradictory-comments-gaza-red-line-msnbc-interview-2024-03-09/.

Saeed, S. 2021. "The U.S. Media Has a Palestine Problem." AJ+. Published May 22. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-8jN-Suxos0.

Said, E. 2001. "Introduction." In *Blaming the Victim: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question*, edited by Said and Hitchens, 1–19. Verso.

Smedley, A., and B. D. Smedley. 2012. *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview*. Taylor & Francis Group.

Stancati, M., C. Deng, and A. Ayyoub. 2024. "How an Israeli Attempt to Coordinate Gaza Aid Went Horribly Wrong." *Wall Street Journal*, March 1.

Strauss, C. 1992. "What Makes Toby Run? Schemas as Motives Reconsidered." In *Human Motives and Cultural Models*, edited by R. D'Andrade and C. Strauss, 197–224. Cambridge University Press.

Strauss, C. 2005. "Analyzing Discourse for Cultural Complexity." In *Finding Culture in Talk*, edited by N. Quinn, 203–242. Palgrave Macmillan.

The Guardian. 2023. "Bush Says US Must Support Israel 'no Ands, Ifs or Buts' Amid 9/11 Comparison." The Guardian. Published October 13. https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2023/oct/13/george-w-bush-israel-hamas.

Tierney, L., L. Karklis, and D. Wolfe. 2023. "Six Maps Explain the Boundaries of Israel and Palestinian Territories." *Washington Post*, November 17.

Troy, G. 2023. "Israel Faces Its 9/11." *Wall Street Journal*, October 8.

Trump Whitehouse. 2020. Trump Whitehouse. https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-prime-minister-netanyahu-state-israel-joint-statements/.

Wall Street Journal Editorial Board. 2024. "Taking Rafah is Essential to Defeat Hamas." *Wall Street Journal*, February 14.

Weinthal, B. 2023. "Biden Admin Accused of Aiding Palestinian 'Pay for Play' as Terrorists Profit in Hamas Deal, Experts Claim." *Fox News*, November 26.

Whitehouse. 2023. Whitehouse. https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2023/10/18/remarks-by-president-biden-on-the-october-7th-terrorist-attacks-and-the-resilience-of-the-state-of-israel-and-its-people-tel-aviv-israel/.

Wulfsohn, J. 2023. "Israeli Mother of Kidnapped Children Pummels MSNBC For Asking About 'Attacks' on Gaza: 'There's No Symmetry'." *Fox News*, October 10.

Youssef, N. A., J. Malsin, and C. Keller-Lynn. 2024. "Hamas Toll Thus Far Falls Short of Israel's War Aims, U.S. Says." *Wall Street Journal*, January 24.