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Phalaistín and Palestina: An analysis of Irish and Brazilian Newspapers' Coverage of the Israeli war in Gaza

By

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I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of the MA in Journalism & Digital Communications, is all only my own; based on my personal study and/or research, and that I have acknowledged all material and sources used in its preparation. I also certify that I have not used any form of 'artificial intelligence' or related software, nor copied in part or whole or otherwise plagiarised the work of anyone else, including other students.

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ABSTRACT

Biased reports can create and/or maintain stereotypes and generalizations. The framing chosen by the media to cover a specific issue can have significant effects on its audience.

When it comes to war coverage, the media role is even more important as it is a subject that most individuals typically encounter only in the news, which means the journalists are the main source of information, explanation and contexts (McCombs and Reynolds in Bryant and Oliver, 2009). Journalistic choices can attach a deeper level of importance for a subject, for example, based on how and how often it is framed in the media.

The coverage of conflicts in the Middle East can maintain the dominant perspective, permeated by Orientalism, by using images of violence and masses of people to highlight the differences from "us" in the West.

This dissertation analyses Irish and Brazilian coverage of the ongoing Israeli war in Gaza, in terms of content and discourse. The study considered a six month period starting with the Hamas' attack in Israel on October 7th 2023 and four samples (O Globo and O Estado de São Paulo, from Brazil, and The Irish Times and Irish Independent, from Ireland).

The aim of the research is to identify similarities and contrasts between the approaches of opinion pieces from the four newspapers. Only opinion pieces (written by both columnists and guest contributors) were analysed due to the argumentative structure they present and the possibility of creating mental models about important issues such as terrorism, for example.

The study analysed word clusters and expressions, in addition to sources from quotations, main topics and general tone from the pieces.

The analysis revealed that most of the pieces were neutral in all four samples. In spite of that, when the pieces presented partial opinions, there was a clear contrast between Ireland's and Brazil's positions.

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Chapter One: Introduction

This research will approach the coverage of the Irish and Brazilian media outlets regarding the ongoing Israeli war in Gaza. Although the timeline of this study begins with Hamas' attack on October 7th 2023, the assault did not happen in a vacuum. Therefore, it is essential that some context is introduced. Further historical information is presented in Chapter 2.5 "Antisemitism and Anti-Zionism".

1.1 The Partition

The Israel-Palestine conflict is as old as the State of Israel.

Initially under Ottoman rule, the administration of the Palestinian territory was transferred to England after the First World War. Palestine was declared a Mandate territory in 1922, meaning it should be governed by a member of the League of Nations until a stable and sovereign government could be established in the region.

By then, however, England had promised the Palestinian territory to the Zionists by 1917. Despite the Zionist movement's slogan claiming Palestine was "a land without people for a people without land", that land was, in fact, already populated. Since Jews had lived in Palestine 2,000 years earlier, the Zionists believed that Jewish settlers had more right over the land than the Palestinians.

With the release of the 1917 Balfour Declaration, the native Palestinian population questioned the "right of the British to give away a country which did not belong to them." (Philo and Berry, 2011, p. 15). With British encouragement and protection, the Jewish emigration gained force in the subsequent years. The conflicts between Israelis and Palestinians were already noticeable and Britain offered many "solutions", majorly consisting in Palestinians giving up on their own country.

The problem created by Britain soon got out of control and without any prospect of an end to the conflicts, the question of the future of Palestine was forwarded to the United Nations (UN) in 1947.

The UN Resolution recommended the partition of Palestine in one area of 5,700 square miles to the Jewish state and another area of 4,300 square miles to the Arab state. Again, the native Palestinian population contested the international decision on the future of the territory. Palestinians claimed it was unfair to give more than half of the total territory for Jewish immigrants who, at the time, owned less than 10% of the land and had been in Palestine for less than 30 years (Philo and Berry, 2011).

The protests were not heard, and Palestine was partitioned. Authors suggest that the division plan was accepted by “the Zionists because they anticipated they would quickly be able militarily to overwhelm the Arabs and unilaterally expand the borders of the Jewish state.” (Philo and Berry, 2011, p. 31).

Half of the indigenous population was expelled by the end of 1948. Jewish settlements erected from the rubbles of Palestinian cities.

Since the middle of the 1980s the United Nations has been producing reports pointing out Israeli human right abuses and violence committed against Palestinians by armed settlers in the occupied territories (Philo and Berry, 2011).

The Israeli settler colonialism and the violence against Palestinian led to the formation of groups such as the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) and revolts like the first Intifada. It was during the Intifada that Hamas was created, in 1988. The group demanded the return of conservative Islamic values, and, for many years, it received funding from Israel. It is argued that Israel supported Hamas to weaken the PLO. “Chomsky (1999) suggests such a weakening would be beneficial to Israel because it would allow them to evade a political solution to the conflict which might involve returning the occupied territories.” (Philo and Berry, 2011, p. 82).

In this sense, Raz (2023) claims that “Netanyahu is the one who turned Hamas from a terror organization with few resources into a semi-state body.”. The explanation, according to Raz, is “that it’s easier with Hamas to explain to Israelis that there is no one to sit with and no one to talk to.” (Raz, 2023).

Finally, Raz (2023) concludes that the attack of October 7th 2023 was a result of Netanyahu’s policy.

1.2 The consequences of the October 7th 2023

In 2024 the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) released a report with the detailed findings on the attacks carried out on October 7th 2023 in Israel. The investigations were done by an Independent International Commission of Inquiry.

On October 7th 2023, more than 1,200 persons were killed in a complex attack launched from the Gaza Strip.

Around 1,000 people from Palestinian armed groups, including the Hamas’ armed wing al-Qassam, and civilian society entered Israel by land, sea and air, while rockets were being fired towards Israeli cities and military bases. At least 252 people were kidnapped and more than 14,000 were injured in the attacks. It was considered the deadliest event in Jewish history since the Holocaust.

Between all locations of the attacks, the Nova outdoor music festival had the highest number of deaths. 379 people were killed. The report stated that alarm sirens allowed the festival attendees 30 minutes to escape before the attackers reached the area.

The UN Commission reported five bodies were found in the Nova festival site with signs of sexual violence. There is also documented evidence of 52 cases of sexual violence in other locations attacked on the October 7th.

The report stated that the Israeli Security Forces' response was delayed and inadequate to the magnitude of the attacks. The terrorists had full control over the Nova festival site, for example, for four hours. "They [Security Forces'] were slow to arrive, insufficient in numbers and lacked coordination with central command and with each other." (OHCHR, 2024, p. 38)

The attacks were led by Hamas, with the participation of six other armed factions, and were first proposed in 2021. The OHCHR investigation declared Israel has been aware of the plans since 2022. However, the Security Forces perceived the attacks' plans to be "beyond the capabilities of Hamas" (OHCHR, 2024, p. 51-52).

The right to life and the right not to be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment were examples of international law violations identified by the Commission in relation to the Hamas' attack in October 7th 2023. .

Israel launched a counteroffensive in Gaza in response to the Hamas' attack on October 7th 2023. As this research was being finalized, in August 2025, there were no solid plans for a cease-fire and Israel was keeping Gaza under siege and without access to humanitarian aid.

International journalists are prohibited from entering Gaza. All information about the Strip is being publicized by the trapped Palestinians or released by the Israeli government. Due to the media restrictions, Israel has control over the narrative. In spite of that, Israel claims western media have anti-Israel positions, while pro-Palestinian activists insist the media portrays the conflict with pro-Israel reporting.

In July 2025, the World Health Organisation (WHO) issued a statement¹ in relation to the dangerous levels of Famine in Gaza. According to the Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC), Gaza entered the worst-case scenario of Famine.

Regarding the starvation levels, the WHO recommended the end of hostilities, followed by the humanitarian access in Gaza and the protection of civilians.

Whereas the Israeli government insists there is no starvation in Gaza and no restrictions on aid, the screens are filled with images of desperate Palestinians facing dangerous conditions² to reach any sort of humanitarian aid.

¹ In: <https://www.who.int/news/item/29-07-2025-ipc-gaza-strip-food-insecurity-and-malnutrition-alert>

² In: <https://www.bbc.com/news/live/cvgvnp57yp7t>

The Israeli military imposed a widespread manmade famine and enforced a system for aid³ distribution where Palestinians get injured or killed daily.

Mass displacement, collapsed essential services and restricted humanitarian access led the crisis to a deadly point. The Human Rights Watch⁴ pointed out that Israel's use of starvation as a weapon of war and the intentional deprivation of aid and basic services constitute crimes against humanity and acts of genocide.

The global pressure is rising and the diplomatic demands for the Israeli government to stop its assaults in Gaza and to reach a cease-fire agreement are growing. In addition, the starvation, especially of children, has caused deep outrage across the Globe. In spite of that, the Israeli government shows no signals of stopping.

The Commission has previously found that the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territory is unlawful. Palestinians therefore have a right to oppose that unlawful occupation but in doing so they must act in accordance with international law, including international humanitarian law and international human rights law. The unlawfulness of the Israeli occupation does not justify unlawful action by Palestinians in resistance. Equally, unlawful action by Palestinians opposing the occupation does not justify unlawful action by Israel." (OHCHR, 2024, p.54)

1.3 The analysis

This dissertation aims to raise awareness and to create a discussion regarding the portrayal of the Israeli war in Gaza in the western media. The main purpose of the study is to identify how Irish and Brazilian media portray Israel and Palestine in the context of the ongoing war in Gaza (described previously in this chapter), in order to validate or no the hypothesis that media outlets' opinion pieces usually present a clear point of view, typically slanted for one of the sides in detriment to the other.

To understand how the media covered the war, four newspapers of reference were selected, two from Ireland and two from Brazil.

The research title "Phalaistín and Palestina" not only references but also is a literal translation of "Palestine" in Irish and Portuguese, respectively. The choice of displaying "Palestine" was made due to the place where the ongoing humanitarian crisis is happening, Gaza (Palestine).

The samples were then analysed, and the findings were compared and contracted in order to produce a final discussion about the power of discourse and representation.

It is imperative to declare that this author does not have any sort of personal history or connection in relation to the Israel-Palestine conflict.

³ In: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2025/8/5/how-much-aid-has-entered-gaza-5>

⁴ In: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/08/01/gaza-israeli-killings-of-palestinians-seeking-food-are-war-crimes>

The subject of this research was chosen based on a keen interest in human rights, Middle East studies and post-colonial theories. In agreement to the aforementioned statement by OHCHR, this author believes no unlawful action should be used to justify another unlawful action.

This study takes into consideration the connection between Irish and Palestinians, referring to terms such as colonialism and imperialism; the Brazilian position facing the conflict; the relationship between Irish and Jews in Ireland; the differences of antisemitism and anti-Zionism; international law and human rights; and, finally, the role of western media in covering wars.

Following Entman's (1993) notions of framing, the research analysed the content of 174 opinion pieces and identified how journalistic choices can make aspects of reality more salient and important. Every text contains framings as people are constantly making choices (consciously or not), hence why it is important, in the journalistic field, to comprehend how the presence or absence of keywords, stereotypes, sources of information and sentence structures can reinforce judgments and ideas. In other words, the choices made to frame a specific issue can influence the audience's perspective and attitudes towards it.

The discussions originated from the findings of this study are of extreme importance for the study of journalism and media coverage of war. By comparing and contrasting opinion pieces from different countries, the community can learn and improve.

In addition, this dissertation brings valuable insights regarding the power of the media, audience reception and the patterns used in discourse to normalize stereotypes, prejudices and violence.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Considering the complex, long and intricate situation in Palestine, this literature review aims to briefly explain some of the key events and themes associated with this research topic in order to provide a knowledge foundation for readers.

This chapter explores the relationship between Irish and Jews, and Irish and Palestinians. The Brazilian position and its relationship with Israel and Palestine is also analysed.

This chapter also examines the media role in covering war and the influence of Orientalism on it. Furthermore, the differences between antisemitism and anti-Zionism are explored within this chapter, along with a breakdown of international and Human Rights laws.

2.1. The Irish-Palestinian Connection

Ireland was invaded in 1169, becoming England's first colony. The British used Ireland as a laboratory where they formulated imperial and anglicising policies. British imperialism in Ireland was strongly based on violence and the use of force (Ohlmeyer, 2023).

Ethno-Religious and race-based ideologies that treated the natives as racially inferior were created in Ireland and then exported to Britain's other colonies (Rahman *et al.*, 2017). The racism within colonialism contributed to normalising violence perpetrated by the police. The colonial police were infected with a sense of superiority over the natives that were hardly regarded as human (Hughes, 2015). This colonial and imperialist stance is not unique to Britain or to older times, as it will be further explored in this chapter, Israel's policies today are strongly based on a sense of superiority over the Arab natives.

In the early 1920s, British soldiers who served in Ireland during the War of Independence arrived in Palestine. Most of the former Black and Tans⁵ were used to brutality (having fought in the First World War before the War of Independence) "and they easily transferred the violence of Ireland to Palestine" (Hughes, 2015, p. 270).

The Black and Tans established in Ireland a pattern of collective punishment and reprisals, with regular attacks on civilians and destruction of properties⁶, that later was used in Palestine (Hughes, 2015).

The British police in Palestine also employed many Jews to enforce the law and assist in suppressing Palestinians in times of revolt. In 1948 the policing structures of Israel were set

⁵ British special reserve force recognized for its killing and violence, often against civilians. The name derived from the colors of their uniform.

⁶ See the "Sack of Balbriggan" in: <https://www.rte.ie/centuryireland/articles/explainer-who-were-the-black-and-tans-and-the-auxiliaries> (access: 22/06/2025)

by these Jews, mirroring what the British soldiers did before (Hugh, 2015). Hence why it is possible to note so many similarities in today's Israeli policies and military actions against Palestinians.

The British foreign secretary, Arthur Balfour, who declared in 1917 that the British crown was in favour of the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestinian land, is also well known by the Irish.

With the nickname of "Bloody Balfour", he was chief secretary for Ireland between 1887 and 1891. Balfour was behind the establishment of the Criminal Law and Procedure Act 1887⁷, also known as Perpetual Crimes Act, allowing the imprisonment of anyone involved in strikes or boycotts against rent payments. The Act led to many imprisoned people going to trial without a jury (Aljamal, 2021). That is another similarity between Irish and Palestinians and their struggle against settler-colonialism.

In the early 20th century, many Irish people recognized a common cause in the Zionist project, seeing themselves in the other displaced and persecuted people looking for their own territory. However, the sympathy dissipated quickly when the Zionists accepted the partition of Palestine in 1937 and when Israel started its plan of occupying more of the Palestinian land (Casey, 2021).

De Valera condemned the partition, claiming it was a "bitter repetition of Ireland's own division by the British 15 years earlier." (Casey, 2021). In fact, the partition of Palestine used as foundation the Government of Ireland Act (December 1920): the legislation that partitioned Ireland (Ohlmeyer, 2023).

It is possible, then, to acknowledge how the comparable events in the history of these two countries led to a bond and identification between Irish and Palestinians. The shared struggle against a foreign power and its colonialist and race-based policies made the Irish deeply connect with the Palestinian fight.

2.2 The Brazilian stance

Despite also having been colonized by a European colonial force in the past, it is arguable that, because the colonization and fight for independence ended so long ago, Brazil's society is more disconnected with the issue if compared with Ireland's.

There are large and well-established communities of Jews and Muslims in Latin America. Both developed great cultural, educational and religious connections, becoming part of their new countries.

⁷ In <https://catalogue.nli.ie/Record/vtls000653836>

Jewish immigration from Europe started in the late 19th century and in 2019 there were around 120 thousand Jews in Brazil only (Munck and Pozzi, 2019). The Palestinian immigration was encouraged by the Brazilian Emperor Dom Pedro II in the 1870s, with the goal of attracting immigrants for the northeast region of Brazil due to the extinction of slavery.

Brazil maintains good relations with both Israel and Palestine. In 1949 the diplomatic relationship between Brazil and Israel was established. An important moment in their relationship is the assistance of Oswaldo Aranha, president of the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN) when the partition of Palestine was approved⁸.

The relations between Brazil and Palestine officially started in 1975, when the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was allowed to have a representative in Brasília. Brazil recognizes the Palestine state with its borders from 1967, which includes the Gaza Strip and the West Bank⁹. The recognition had a significant effect:

Within three months, all the countries of South America except Colombia had recognized the Palestinian state. Between 2008 and 2013 every Latin America state except Colombia, Panama, and Mexico did so. This recognition demonstrated the regional leadership of Brazil while angering Israel and the United States. (Bisharat, 2019, p.106).

Regardless of the general neutral diplomatic stance, Brazil's overall position towards Palestine or Israel fluctuates depending on who is in power (left or right parties).

The State of Israel and the United States armed and supported the right-wing military dictatorships in Latin America in the 1970s. The Israeli alliance with Latin America's dictatorships had economic and political value, as the government had interest in opposing to nationalist and progressive governments in the region. The most important element in trade relations between Israel and Latin America, between 1970s-1980s, were arms (Munck and Pozzi, 2019).

With the end of the brutal far-right military dictatorship in Brazil in 1985 and the restoration of democracy many of the left-wing activists that were in exile returned to the country and brought with them the notion that the United States' imperialism led to that violent period (Bisharat, 2019).

The convergence of the Arab communities in Brazil with the left-wing parties and unions "contributed to the inclusion of the Palestinian cause in their agendas and programs. The Palestinian people were considered a living example of imperialist aggression against humanity [...]." (Bisharat, 2019, p. 103).

The rise of right parties in Brazil since 2015 harmed the pro-Palestine movement. Zionism and the State of Israel gained popularity and support with the election of President Jair

⁸ In: <https://www.gov.br/mre/pt-br/assuntos/relacoes-bilaterais/todos-os-paises/estado-de-israel>

⁹ In: <https://www.gov.br/mre/pt-br/assuntos/relacoes-bilaterais/todos-os-paises/estado-da-palestina>

Bolsonaro in 2019, who Benjamin Netanyahu declared to be a “brother” (Munck and Pozzi, 2019; Bisharat, 2019).

After the election of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva in 2022, Brazil returned to its general neutral stance. Since the beginning of the Israeli war in Gaza, Lula has been vocal against the violent and criminal actions of the Israeli government. In an official note¹⁰ released by the Brazilian government, the country condemns the constant annexation of Palestinian territories by Israeli forces and states that Israel has the obligation to evacuate its citizens from Palestine.

Brazilian society has been more involved in the news on the Israeli war in Gaza now compared with previous events. However, people often don't understand what is happening when they see images of the war. They usually don't understand the context and only know it is “complicated” and that “these people are always at war”. It is undeniable that a great part of the population's opinion is intertwined with Orientalist notions and their knowledge about the war comes from what they see in the mass media. These topics will be explored below.

2.3 The Media on War

Newman and Fletcher (2017) stated that one of the biggest reasons for lack of trust in the media is the perception that journalism is biased. According to Cambridge Dictionary, bias is the “action of supporting or opposing a particular person or thing in an unfair way, because of allowing personal opinions to influence your judgment”.

In agreement with that, the propaganda model (Chomsky and Herman, 1988) argues that the ownership and profit orientation of media outlets influence the alignment of the news contents to political and economic interests of privileged groups and elites.

Biased reports in the news can lead to stereotyping and generalizations. Considering most people are not extremely well-informed on all political issues, for example, they heavily depend on media explanations and orientations. The way a journalist chooses to report (consciously or unconsciously) can heavily influence people's opinion on a given subject.

Framing is an example of this influence.

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text [...]. The text contains frames, which are manifested by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments. (Entman, 1993, p.52).

¹⁰ In: https://www.gov.br/mre/pt-br/canais_atendimento/imprensa/notas-a-imprensa/aprovacao-de-22-novos-assentamentos-israelenses-no-estado-da-palestina

Cottle (2006) suggests that media coverage of conflicts that involve terrorism usually give attention to the terrorist acts and consequences, but too often fail in providing the audience with explanations and political contexts. This extra information is important as it is through the media that conflicts that are distant for the majority of the people become publicly known. Therefore, as mentioned above, the way these events are framed, narrativized and mediatized is important since it can impact the audience's understanding and attitudes towards an issue.

Orozco Gómez (2000) disputes this idea by considering the audience's autonomy and independence to decode media products. It is unlikely that the mere presence of frames in a text will have a universal effect and make all the receiving audience think the same thing. Orozco Gómez (2000) argues that the receptor of a message can produce individual meanings based on their own identity, which is formed by mediations such as level of scholarly, sex, age, ethnicity, religion, social class, etc.

It is indisputable, however, that the frames do provide a notion of dominant meaning that has high chances of being accepted by the majority of people and

In choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality. Readers learn not only about a given issue, but also how much importance is attached to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. (McCombs and Shaw, 1972, p. 176).

Equally, Said (1997) explains that, when talking about the Middle East, the distance, unfamiliarity to the topic and threatening images of violence increase a negative feeling towards the region and its population.

Mass media has an important role in providing symbols and creating ideologies that will organize a common culture. When covering the Middle East, the Western media creates a narrative that identifies the Arabs and Muslims as "them", very different from "us" in the civilized West. This perspective of divergence and confrontation has its roots in Orientalism.

Difference is a product derived from identity. If the identity is what "I am", the difference consists in what "they are" and what "I am not". Orientalist thought is based on a polarized view that divides the world between "us" and "the others".

According to Said (2007), the notion of the Orient was created by an arrogant and colonial European attitude. One of the principles of Orientalism is the absolute difference between "our world": the developed, civilized and superior Occident; and the exotic, inferior and uncivilized Orient that must be feared and controlled (Said, 2007).

The relationship between West and East is based on power, domination and the assumption that the West is always superior. In this context, Israel is viewed by the West as part of "us", an example of democracy and freedom against "the others", the brutal terrorists.

Zionism and Israel incorporated the Orientalist concepts and used them to justify the need to take the Palestinian territories. Since the Arabs are wild, inferior and only understand violence, they must be contained, sometimes by force.

The Western media adhere to the Orientalists norms and points of view, which interfere in the vision the audience will hold regarding the subjects portrayed. In consequence, maintaining stereotypes, generalizations and prejudices.

Pilger (2002) noted that, in the case of Israel-Palestine, Palestinians rose up against the Israeli regime and ruthless control, even though they do not have an army, weapons or structure. Still, the mass media validates what Said (1997) condemns. He claims the one-sided coverage takes responsibility away from what the West does, while drawing attention to the Arabs and their “very flawed nature”. The Occidental powerful mass media commonly represent the Arabs as “terrorists” but hardly ever points out the “state terrorism” actions coming from Israel.

Tasseron and Lawson (2022) argue that there is an informational asymmetry involving Israel and Palestine. That could be argued to be mostly because of availability, as the Israel government and military spokespeople positioned themselves as the first source of information for media outlets when it comes to the area. Bowen (2025) stated that it is difficult to get information from Gaza in the ongoing war because Israel prohibited international journalists from entering the Strip. The numbers of deaths inside Gaza, for example, are constantly disputed by the Israeli government, because the source is a Hamas’ controlled institution. Yet, journalists are not authorized to enter the area and check the information. “The conclusion has to be that it [Israel] does not want foreign reporters to see what it is doing in Gaza.” (Bowen, 2025).

This absence of foreign media pressures the Palestinians journalists inside Gaza, as they become the world’s primary source of information while “facing starvation along with the community they cover” (Wright, 2025). Besides the risk of famine, journalists have been killed by Israeli attacks. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists (2025) at least 186 journalists/media workers were killed between October 2023 to July 2025, which means the period is the deadliest for journalists since 1992 (when this sort of data started being collected by CPJ).

2.4 The Irish-Jewish Relationship

Most of the two million Jews who fled eastern Europe between 1880 and 1914 travelled to the United States. Around 150 thousand Jews went to Britain and a smaller number settled in

Ireland (Keogh, 1998). The disparity was “almost certainly a reflection of Ireland’s peripheral location and the more limited economic prospects facing both immigrants and natives there at the time.” (Ó Gráda, 2006, p. 11)

The causes for the Jewish migration to the west at this period diverge, with the most recognized ones being persecution and discriminatory legislation. David Cesarani contrasts this notion (in Ó Gráda, 2006) suggesting that the greater number of Jews were pursuing “opportunistic migration”. Ó Gráda endorse this interpretation and states that only a small amount of the Jewish emigration happened during the 1880s, when the pogroms and discrimination were most actively happening in Russia and that would suggest that

Ireland’s Litvaks should perhaps be seen less as victims of persecution than as individuals and families – many of them poverty-stricken – bent on ‘bettering themselves’. In this respect they were much like other south and east European emigrants to the United States in the same era, and indeed the Irish and German emigrants of a previous generation. (Ó Gráda, 2006, p. 21).

The Jewish population in Ireland went from 1,779 in 1891 to 3,898 in 1901 (Keogh, 1998). The number increased to 5,221 at the end of the 1930s (Ó Gráda, 2006).

Acknowledging the critics towards Ireland’s reception of Jews, Keogh (1998) states that Irish Catholicism was never recognized for its

toleration of other religious minorities. While most antagonism was reserved for Protestants, the liturgical and theological antipathy towards Jews was rooted in an intellectual foundation out of which a strong antisemitism might emerge at any time. (Keogh, 1998, p 26).

Militant Catholicism “saw Jews and Freemasons (often coupled together) as part of an anti-Catholic conspiracy, while others were convinced of the age-old smear that ‘Jews killed Jesus Christ’.” (Ó Gráda, 2006, p. 180).

On the other hand, the Jewish notion of the Gentile culture was rather negative and there was a degree of disdain for Christians. “These negative images were constituent elements in traditional Jewish identity, reinforcing Jewish notions of their own individual and collective superiority [...]” (Liebman and Cohen in Ó Gráda, 2006, p. 181).

President of Israel in 1983, Chaim Herzog was born in Belfast and a resident of Little Jerusalem in Dublin for decades. He recalled (in Ó Gráda, 2006) that the Jewish community in Ireland was indeed very closed, self-centered and with not much willingness to mingle with others. Taking that into account, Ó Grada (2006) deliberates that closeness can breed misunderstanding.

The Limerick Boycott of 1904, caused by Father John Creagh’s sermons, is regarded as “the most serious outbreak of antisemitism in recent Irish History” (Ó Gráda, 2006, p. 192), although “a sad but uncharacteristic and atypical episode’ in Irish History.” (Louis Hyman in Keogh, 1998, p. 51).

The first sermon was firstly induced by fear: "It would appear that the priest had been approached by shopkeepers in the city who were hostile to the Jewish peddlers because they provided unwelcome competition." (Keogh, 1998, p. 27). The language and arguments used in the sermons inflamed feelings against Jews, causing episodes of physical assaults and property damage.

"They [Jews] could not sell their goods and, in some cases, they were not served in shops. Jewish children were being ostracised in the schools." (Keogh, 1998, p. 43). The boycott led to a wave of Jewish emigration out of Limerick, whose community counted with 170 people before the event (Ó Gráda, 2006).

Ó Gráda (2006) points out that there is evidence of Jewish peddlers being the target of rough treatment in other Irish cities, however, he explains that the perpetrators "were more xenophobic than strictly anti-Semitic." (Ó Gráda, 2006, p. 180) and were threatened by economic competition.

Regardless of both sides' wariness and flaws, there is plenty of evidence to show that there was an overall positive relationship between Jews and Irish.

Ó Gráda (2006) assembled memoirs of Jews who lived in Ireland and reasoned that there was little data on antisemitism episodes. Most memoirs recalled harmony, a friendly environment and no hostility.

"The uninterrupted increase in Ireland's Jewish community between the 1870 and the 1940s was a measure of its prosperity and integration." (Ó Gráda, 2006, p. 212).

The Jewish population in Ireland continually grew and it hit 5 thousand people by 1936-1937. Ó Gráda (2006) assumes that the peak of the community was reached on the verge of the establishment of the Israeli state, declining after that due to emigration.

The Second World War was initiated (1939) during this period of growth in the Jewish population and Ireland's position is repeatedly inspected.

Before the war the then Taoiseach (Prime Minister) of Ireland, Éamon De Valera¹¹ had already announced that the country was going to be neutral (Wills, 2007), position that is often used against¹² Ireland as a way to validate the argument of the country's antisemitism and ineffectiveness against Nazism.

Irish neutrality was, however, not about Jews or a desire to see Germany winning the war. "Neutrality was above all a practical stance dictated by military and political necessities, not an ideological declaration, or the expression of a moral choice." (Wills, 2007, p.7).

¹¹ De Valera was Prime Minister from 1937-48, 1951-54 and 1957-59. In 1959 he was inaugurated as President of Ireland. See: <https://president.ie/en/the-president/eamon-devalera> (access on: 22/06/2025)

¹² In December 2024 the Israeli Foreign Minister Gideon Sa'ar wrote on X: "And if we are discussing historical truths, let us not forget that Ireland was at best neutral during World War II. At that time, the free world was fighting Hitler's axis while Ireland sat on the side and did nothing." > <https://x.com/gidonsaar/status/1869131653777658124?s=51> < (access on: 22/06/2025)

Wills argues that the neutrality was based on the necessity to fully establish the country's sovereignty, self-determination and independence, but it was also motivated by the Irish powerlessness in terms of military power.

De Valera stated that his government would not allow the territory of Ireland to be used as a base for attacks against Britain (Wills, 2007) and his aspiration for sovereignty and independence from Britain required commitment to neutrality (Fanning, 1982).

Despite Ireland being non belligerent (which means the country was not officially involved in the war) and De Valera's neutral stance, the country did help the British and Americans (Smyllie, 1946).

Large numbers of Irishmen joined the British Forces and worked in war industries in Britain.

There were well known acts of solidarity such as De Valera sending fire engines north during the blitz on Belfast, or the repatriation of the Allied airmen downed in Éire; there was sharing of information from German decodes and coastal surveillance of German planes and submarines. (Wills, 2007, p.8).

The Irish Republican Army (IRA) provided military aid to Germany and one of its leaders expressed the interest in seeing "England beaten" (Hanley, 2005, p.34).

But the support for the Germans was outstanding and not a reflection of Irish society's opinion. IRA's statements were met with anger, and many publications criticized the group for "inviting 'German soldiers to come and devastate the country they talk of freeing.'" (Hanley, 2005, p. 32).

By understanding Irish neutrality is it possible to move to the refugee issue. Ireland didn't facilitate the entrance of Jews during the War and as mentioned above, this stance is also often used as proof of Irish antisemitism. The anti-refugee position was, however, not directed specifically to Jews. "Having only gained independence in the early 1920s and battling with considerable economic problems - and indeed, emigration - Irish policy was mainly to keep anyone out who could become a burden." (Holfter, 2017). The suspicion was not limited to Jews refugees, as even a returning Irish emigrant from the United States could be a burden to the Irish State (Sally, 2017).

Holfter (2019) adds that, "unlike today, Ireland was not perceived as a desirable destination. It was hardly known and was seen as a poor and unstable country on the periphery of Europe."

Several Irish politicians already recognized that the government should have done more to help the Jewish refugees at the time. In 2011 Ireland became a full member of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, committing to the implementation of national policies and support of education, research and remembrance on the Holocaust¹³.

¹³ In: <https://jewishmuseum.ie/jews-of-ireland/ireland-the-holocaust/>

2.5 Antisemitism and Anti-Zionism

The American Jewish Committee states that the noun “semitic” refers to the people who speak (or spoke) a Semitic language, for example: Hebrew and Arabic. The term “antisemitism” was conceived in Germany in the late 19th century to name the hate against Jews.

According to the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) antisemitism is: “a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities.”.

In addition, IHRA declares that claims that “the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavour” and “drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis” are also antisemitic behaviours.

The Jerusalem Declaration on anti-Semitism (JDA) disapproves this definition, claiming it is open to interpretation, and it can cause confusion and controversies, which would only harm the fight against antisemitism. The JDA adds that hostility towards Israel could be an expression of antisemitism, as declared by the IHRA, but it could also be a reaction to human rights violations committed by the Israeli State. In this context, Finkelstein (2008) claims that the “new antisemitism” discourse immunizes and mislabels legitimate criticism of Israel by exploiting the historical suffering of Jews.

“The transparent motive behind these assertions is to taint any criticism of Israel as motivated by antisemitism and – inverting reality – to turn Israel (and Jews), not Palestinians, into the victims of the ‘current siege’.” (Finkelstein, 2008, p. 33).

The antisemitism shield is used to protect Israel even when it comes to Jews. The Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP) organization claims that Zionism is a settler-colonial movement and that it established in Palestine a state of racist hierarchy and apartheid with European Jews at the top.

Zionism emerged in central and eastern Europe in the late 1880s “[...] as a national revival movement, prompted by the growing pressure on Jews in those regions either to assimilate totally or risk continuing persecution.” (Pappe, 2006, p.10).

Theodor Herzl, one of the founding fathers of the modern Zionist project, presented to the Zionist Congress in 1903 the idea of establishing the Jewish State in Uganda, then controlled by the British. The Congress rejected the proposal and from 1905 on “the Jewish homeland would be in Palestine or nowhere.” (Pappe, 2024, p.11).

Palestine was under Ottoman rule from 1516 until the end of the First World War, when the Empire collapsed and British rule commenced. In 1922, Palestine was granted the status of a

British Mandate by the League of Nations. At this point in time, Jews constituted around 11% of the population in Palestine.

During the British Mandate on Palestine there was an increase in, not only the Jewish population, but also violence. In those years the British government

[...] tried to manufacture Palestinians consent to losing their own country by offering 'solutions' like partition, federation and forming a binational state. They did not offer to respect the mandatory principle that the majority of the people in a country have the right to decide its future, as happened in all the neighbouring Arab countries. And even when Palestinian leadership was willing to countenance accepting the presence of Jewish settlers in a future Palestine, Britain did not dare to impose on the Zionist movement any solution that did not include a Jewish state over part or the whole of Palestine. (Pappe, 2024, p. 45).

Without the possibility of an end to the conflicts it created, Britain handed the future of Palestine over to the UN in February 1947.

While the Palestinian leadership believed the UN would make Palestine a state for Palestinians, considering they were native to the land and the majority of the population, in November 1947 the UN declared itself in favour of the partition of Palestine.

By the end of 1948, half of the indigenous population had been expelled, its villages and cities destroyed so Israel could build Jewish settlements. The Gaza Strip was created by Israel as a solution for the expelled Palestinians, it still is the biggest refugee camp on Earth today.

Said (1980) argues that Zionism is deeply connected with the notion of Orientalism. From the beginning the Zionist plan appealed to Europeans who saw the East as a degraded place in need of reconstruction, progress and enlightenment, and only a superior European could provide that.

As they [Zionists] saw it, Palestine was occupied by 'strangers', and had to be repossessed. 'Strangers' here meant everyone not Jewish who had been living in Palestine since the Roman period. In fact, for many Zionists Palestine was not even an 'occupied' land when they first arrived there in 1882 [...]" (Pappe, 2006, p. 11)

The JVP states that the race hierarchy of the Zionist state creates differences even between European Jews and other Jews, who are often marginalized. Shohat (1988) agrees by saying that while Zionists claim the movement works for the liberation of all Jews, it actually always had as a primary goal the liberation of European Jews. Inside Israel, Zionism presented advantages for its European immigrants in detriment of Oriental Jews, who were considered backward and not Jewish enough.

Taking this historical context into consideration, anti-Zionism considers that Palestine should be a free and independent state. Anti-Zionism understands that an ethnocentric state is inherently racist and both Israelis and Palestinians should have equal rights. That does not correspond to hate toward Jews (Serwer, 2023). "To write critically about Zionism in Palestine has therefore never meant, and does not mean now, being anti-Semitic." (Said, 1980, p.59).

Several authors recognize the problem in equating anti-Zionist positions with antisemitism as it silences and delegitimizes the criticism of the Israeli government practices by Palestinians and their advocates (Serwer, 2023; Robinson, 2019). When both positions are associated, any criticism of Israel is turned into a desire to destroy all Jewish people (Agnew, 2023). “[...] Israel claims a right to persecute the Palestinian people free from any censure or criticism, based on the historical identity of Jews as a persecuted people [...] To put it simply, Israel denies the meaning of the Holocaust, in the name of the Holocaust.” (Neiss, 2021). Complementary, Finkelstein (2008) calls this stance “Holocaust immunity to criticism”.

Rosenberg (2023) points out that it is not realistic to expect Palestinians to accept Zionism on the grounds that it harmed them with displacement, dispossession and extreme violence.

While there are forms of anti-Zionism that are antisemitic, there are also antisemitic Zionists. “Since Zionism’s birth in Europe more than a century ago, it has attracted support from Christians who supported a Jewish state at least in part because they feared Jews would undermine the ethnic and religious purity of their own countries.” (Beinart, 2023).

The Balfour Declaration promised Palestine as a national home for the Jews. However, its author, Arthur Balfour, pushed for immigration restrictions concerning East European Jews and argued that they could not be assimilated into Gentile British society. In his opinion, the Zionist project offered an ideal solution for the hordes of undesirables Jews by diverting them to Palestine, whose people he was also indifferent about (Beinart, 2023; Agnew, 2023; Pappe, 2024).

Edwin Montagu, the only Jew in the British government at the period, opposed the Balfour Declaration because he understood “[...] it would encourage anti-Semites throughout the world to expel Jews from their countries.” (Schneer, 2010). Validating this idea, a 2021 research suggests that in Europe hostility to Jews is often accompanied by a pro-Israel position. Eastern European countries tend to be more pro-Israel and more anti-Jewish. In comparison: amongst the 16 countries surveyed Britain was the third most hostile to Israel, while also the least hostile to Jews (Kovács and Fischer, 2021).

Zionism and antisemitism coincide in “the notion that countries belong to a particular racial, religious, or ethnic tribe and everyone else must know their place.” (Beinart, 2023).

2.6 Human Rights and International Law

The International Criminal Court (ICC) has jurisdiction to the most serious crimes concerning the international community: Genocide; Crimes against humanity; War crimes; and Crime of aggression.

The ICC issued arrest warrants for Israel's Prime Minister and the former Defence Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu and Yoav Gallant, for their role in the Israeli war in Gaza. Netanyahu accused the Court of being antisemitic and hostile towards Israel, again using the antisemitism claim to protect Israel from criticism. ICC also issued an arrest warrant for the Hamas Military Chief Mohammed Deif, considered the orchestrator of the October 7th attacks in Israel.

A United Nations (UN) Independent International Commission investigated the attacks carried out on October 7th 2023 in Israel and concluded that the Palestinian armed groups severely violated international human rights laws, such as the right to life and the right to not be subjected to torture or any kind of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Since the beginning of the Israeli war in Gaza, claimed to be retaliation to the October 7th attacks, Israel has been accused by the International Community of war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide taking into account the following laws, rights and resolutions:

The United Nations (UN) Resolution N° 2625 (XXV) of October 1970 declares as principles of International Law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among states, based on the UN Charter (1945): States should avoid threatening or using force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State (including in territorial disputes) or against international lines of demarcation; Equal rights and self-determination of peoples; No territorial acquisition as a result of threat or use of force must be recognized as legal; Sovereign equality of States.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of December 1948 states that all humans are born free and equal in terms of dignity and rights. In addition, no one should be subjected to torture or to cruel or degrading treatment or punishment.

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) declares that no human being shall be deprived of their lives and no one can be arbitrarily destitute of the right to enter their own country.

The Geneva Conventions of August 1949 establishes that the following are violations of the international law in international armed conflicts: Intentionally direct attacks against the civilian population; The transfer, directly or indirectly, by the Occupying Power of parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies, and the transfer of all or parts of the population of the occupied territory within or outside this territory; Intentionally using starvation of civilians as a method of warfare.

As Israel keeps its blockade on humanitarian aid for Gaza since March 2025, the World Health Organisation (WHO) declared that the Strip has the worst hunger crisis in the world. An UN assessment stated that in May 2025 one hundred percent of the Gaza population (around 2.1 million) was at critical risk of famine. The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights

warned that using starvation of civilians as a method of war and all forms of collective punishments constitute war crimes.

An UN Independent International Commission found that Israel violates women's and girl's reproductive rights by preventing humanitarian assistance to enter Gaza, including the necessary medication and equipment to ensure safe pregnancies, deliveries, and postpartum and neonatal care.

Human Rights Watch reported that under international humanitarian law Israel has the obligation to ensure the welfare of the Palestinian population as an occupying power.

Chapter Three: Methodology

This chapter will introduce and explain the methodology of this research.

This study used a mixed-method approach aimed to perform qualitative and quantitative research in order to have a better understanding on the portrayal of the Israel-Hamas war in Gaza on both Irish and Brazilian media. The study will compare and contrast the coverage in the two countries to identify patterns and differences.

The mix-methods approach was chosen because it allows a more comprehensive analysis. The integration of quantitative and qualitative methods promotes more complete conclusions within one study, and it has the advantage of complement strengths. A mixed-methods research favors complementary results considering different aspects of an event, “[an] example of complementarity occurs when researchers need quantitative methods to describe general trends about variables and qualitative methods to illustrate the details of those trends.” (Plano Clark and Ivankova, 2016, p.85).

Discourse analysis was used for the study’s qualitative part, focusing on meanings behind language use. Content analysis was used for the quantitative portion of the research, by quantifying elements and identifying patterns in the dataset. In the context of this study, it was important to discuss what the data was presenting in an interpretative way, considering the background of the event and how language and discourse hide meaning.

According to Gill (in Clark *et al.*, 2021) a discourse analysis looks into tendencies in the language, since discourse is a form of action affected by context and is used to build views of reality.

Precisely, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) focuses on how the discourse structures “enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power abuse (dominance) in society.” (Van Dijk, 2015, p. 467). CDA analyses the use of notions such as hegemony, dominance, social structure and ideology, and it can be used to show how discourses may reproduce prejudices against Others. Fairclough (1995) harmonizes with this idea, considering that there is a connection between ideology and social power relations to the proprieties of texts, hence why texts are “sensitive barometer of social processes, movement and diversity” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 209) and a critical analysis of its discourse provides indicators of sociocultural practices and structures.

In this sense, Bourdieu (in Cottle, 2006) also elucidates that symbolic violence can be encoded into language in an almost invisible way. Hall (in Durham and Kellner, 2006) joins this discussion by explaining that codes are used in discourses as a tool to enable power, domination and ideologies. These codes can be so widely distributed that they are considered “natural” and not a sociocultural construction. This profound naturalization reveals structures

of understanding and why, for example, the notion of “us” in the West and “the others” in the East is so widely spread in the Occident.

Tewksbury and Scheufele (in Bryant and Oliver, 2009) agree by stating that even one single word can affect audience’s beliefs and impressions of an issue.

Said (1997) criticizes the role of the western media in, precisely, naturalizing codes that display Islam and Arabs as threats to “us”. The author rationalizes that the media does so by repeating “lazy historical judgment, over-generalization, and incredible stereotyping [...]” (Said, 1997, p. 32). Cottle (2006) agrees by explaining that the media coverage of terrorism, for example, generally prioritizes the framing of actions and consequences, failing to provide deeper explanations and reasons.

In this context, Kozman and Cozma (2024) add to the discussion the idea that, typically, the media is the main source of information in relation to situations beyond the public’s personal reach, such as war. Consequently, the media inadvertently shapes the audience’s understanding and even its attitudes. That occurrence is what McCombs and Reynolds (in Bryant and Oliver, 2009) call “unobtrusive issues”, meaning events that the public encounter only in the news; this concept, of course, depends on individual experiences and circumstances. Typically, individuals need explanations provided by the media regarding unobtrusive issues and this orientation can be incorporated into agenda-setting as a predictor of effects.

3.1 The study

Following Bryman’s methods of sampling (in Clark *et al.*, 2021), four newspapers were chosen: The Irish Times and Irish Independent from Ireland; O Globo and O Estado de São Paulo from Brazil. These media outlets were chosen considering their extensive circulation, readership and prominence. These are newspapers of record and have significant influence and authority.

The Irish Times was established in 1859 and today it has an average of five million users monthly on its website and 261,000 readers per day.

The Irish Independent was first started as “Irish Daily Independent” in 1891, being relaunched as Irish Independent in 1905. It has 10 million online users monthly and 500,000 readers every day.

O Globo was launched in 1925. In 2024 it had an average of 1,7 million readers in the print and online version. In June alone the newspaper sold 401,860 copies. O Globo states that one in every five people read the publication.

O Estado de São Paulo, also known as Estadão, was established in 1875 as “A Província de São Paulo” and was renamed in 1890 as “O Estado de São Paulo”. In 2021 it was the newspaper with the biggest printed circulation in Brazil, with an average of 76,000 copies sold per day. Estadão had 389,000 paid online subscribers in 2024 and 25 million single accesses on its websites in June 2025 alone.

By using the explanatory sequential design, first the quantitative data was collected and analysed. Then the qualitative data was examined in order to elaborate findings and supply further explanations.

For a transparent and replicable data collection, the study’s sample was retrieved from Nexis Uni database. The sampling was done systematically by using a combination of keywords in the entire document: Israel AND Palestine for The Irish Times and Irish Independent; Israel AND Palestina for O Globo and Estado de São Paulo.

The time frame considered for the research was a six month period from October 1st 2023 to April 1st 2024. This decision was made taking into account the necessity of a dataset that would be big enough to draw conclusions (on the grounds that a sample is a fragment that ideally should represent part of a bigger whole), while having a practical amount of material for the time available.

Considering that pieces with greater wordcount provide more space for analysis, the results were filtered on Nexis Uni to consider only pieces with 600 words or more. The word count criteria were based on the average size of an opinion piece, which would be 750 words. The word count was set below the average to provide a reasonable margin.

The focus of the research were opinion pieces, seeing that they allow room to different points of view and have an important role in creating debates and raising awareness about different topics. Opinion pieces are popularly called op-eds because they typically sit on the opposite page to the editorial. Op-eds are written either by columnists or guest contributors (generally experts in the topic: academics, advocates, organizational or institutional leaders, for example). Van Dijk (2015) points out that the argumentative structures in opinion pieces and editorials can be used to control the attitudes of whole groups and to condition specific mental models based on generalizations and abstractions about issues such as terrorism and immigration, for example. The opinion and knowledge expressed in reliable media outlets will mostly be accepted, unless they are specifically inconsistent with the audience’s personal beliefs and/or experiences.

Initially the research identified 735 articles, encompassing 325 in English and 410 in Portuguese. After the collection, the material was manually organized using Microsoft Excel software. The data was firstly displayed in the table with title, date of publication, author’s name and wordcount. Then, the sample was categorized.

By sorting the pieces out into categories in a purposive sampling, it was possible to identify all relevant data and prepare it for analysis. The goal here was to identify the material where the authors explicitly presented their personal opinion.

The categories created at this stage were: reports (factual or features), opinions (written by the newspaper's team), guest contributors' opinion pieces, analysis (specific events, mostly diplomatic situations), interviews (in two formats: "question and answer" or quotation in the body of the text) and unrelated.

For purposes of clarity, examples of articles considered unrelated are: reports about internal politics of a specific country with only a brief mention of the Israel-Hamas war; reports on other Middle East countries that mentions Israel or Palestine to create a geo-political context, but do not explore the subject; sport reports with teams that have Palestine or Israel in the name, or come from these areas; reviews of books or movies that involve Palestine or Israel in the plot, name or the author's birthplace; and letters from the audience to the editor.

The categorizing phase returned 376 factual reports, 81 columnist's opinion pieces, 93 guest contributors' opinion pieces, 14 analysis of events, 13 interviews and 158 unrelated articles.

Table 1: Initial Sample

Title	Reports	Opinion	Guest Contributors	Analysis	Interviews	Unrelated	TOTAL
O Globo (print/online)	232	17	10	-	12	54	325
O Estado de São Paulo	16	19	36	-	1	13	85
The Irish Times	68	35	24	10	-	70	207
Irish Independent	60	10	23	4	-	21	118
TOTAL:	376	81	93	14	13	158	735

For elucidation purposes: Nexis Uni combined the material of both printed and online version of O Estado de São Paulo, The Irish Times and Irish Independent. However, the software kept the results for O Globo separated in printed and online. Consequently, this research aggregated these results to have one main sample similar to the others.

The outcome of the categorizing phase was a sample of 174 opinion pieces to be examined. That includes 81 pieces written by columnists (36 in Portuguese and 45 in English) and 93 by guest contributors (46 in Portuguese and 47 in English).

At this point it is relevant to highlight that while the study ensured a respectful representation of the subject and strove for academic objectivity, all humans have, nevertheless, personal bias. The translation process can reduce neutrality and be slightly partial. Only one person worked as a coder for this research, which can result in some subjectivity, but has the strength of producing a consistent evaluation.

In the analysis portion of the study the first step was an initial reading of the full piece, followed by a second and thorough reading. The first reading was used to comprehend and register the main topic approached in the piece, for example: peace prospects; antisemitism; public opinion; or human rights.

In the second examination it was possible to identify the overall tone of the opinion piece. Manually the material was sorted between “pro-Israel”, which considered pieces that slanted heavily to the Israeli side of the subject, using justifications for violence, for example; “critics to Israel”, that corresponds to the articles that, despite criticizing the country’s politics and military actions, do not, necessarily, have a pro-Palestine stance or do not give enough attention to the situation in the Palestinians Territories; pieces were categorized as “neutral” when they gave equal attention and importance to events involving both Palestinians and Israelis; and the label “human rights” was given to the pieces who had main focus on the humanitarian crisis happening in the Gaza Strip. There will be further discussion about the tones of the pieces in the Discussion portion of this study.

It is important to highlight that one unique body of text can present sentences agreeing and disagreeing with the same side or agreeing with different points of views in different contexts, as will be explored in the Findings and Discussion chapter. What was considered here was the general tone and idea of the piece (what had more focus).

At this point there was some attention placed on spotting the presence of passive sentence structures as they can be used to normalize or downplay violence, as well as to mention a violent event without holding perpetrators accountable or recognizing victims.

The next step was identifying what were the terms most associated with Israel/Palestine or Israelis/Palestinians, the keywords of this study. Again, this was done manually and individually. The word clusters and expressions were separated in groups of similar contexts, for example: “Military” contemplated terms such as troops, soldiers, invasion, army and assault.

By analysing word clusters related to Palestine/Palestinians, it was identified a connection with “Hamas” (which was itself a keyword in most opinion pieces) and “extremist

groups/militias". Acknowledging that, the study also incorporated terms and expressions in relation to Hamas, as it could be argued that those terms could eventually be associated with Palestinians civilians, if not clearly explained.

Likewise, during the analysis it was detected the imbalance in sources being quoted in the texts, to such a degree that this data was also included in the study. In relation to the sources, five categories were created: No quotes (when the whole text contained only the author's opinion); No quotes from Israel/Palestine (there were quotes, but from outside sources); Quotes from Israel/Palestine (when both people were included); Quotes from Israel only (Israeli personalities, civilians, politicians and army); and Not Palestine (pieces that included quotes from Israel in addition to international sources [United Nations or foreign politicians and diplomats, for example], but did not present any Palestinian voice).

The fundamental research question of this study is: how do the Irish and Brazilian media portray Israel and Palestine in the context of the ongoing war in Gaza?

There was a hypothesis that the media outlets' opinion pieces typically gravitate more towards one side in detriment of the other.

After the conduction of both quantitative and qualitative analysis, it was possible to draw conclusions that will be presented and discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter Four: Findings and Discussion

As explained in the methodology portion of this study, the text dimensions of the material collected was analysed considering content and structure in order to sort the articles out. This step was followed by an examination of discourse, which will be explored now.

4.1 O Globo

Among the 27 pieces analysed from O Globo, the majority (11) were considered neutral, which means they presented arguments for both sides (Israel and Palestine), providing equal importance and balance.

Table 2: O Globo's stance

Category	Neutral	Pro-Israel	Criticizes Israel	Human Rights
Opinion	8	4	2	3
Guest Contributors	3	5	-	2
Total	11	9	2	5

When considering the total numbers and the authors, guest contributors showed a more pro-Israel stance in their texts, while the newspaper columnists were more neutral.

The pro-Israel pieces delve into themes like antisemitism and genocide. They criticize the genocide accusations against Israel and present Israeli experiences in the context of the war.

Overall, these were the most approached topics in the pieces, with the addition of "Peace Prospects", a topic that involves discussions and negotiations regarding cease-fire and peace agreements.

From the 27 total pieces, only five focused on the humanitarian crisis in Gaza. The topics approached in these pieces were humanitarian aid, the genocide accusations against Israel, declarations from the United Nations and both Israeli and Palestinian visions of the conflict.

In the context of visions from the conflict, O Globo presented two pieces with the intention of displaying both perspectives on the war: "Conflict in the Middle East, the Israeli vision: Adir's head and the war in Gaza", written by André Lajst (guest contributor) and "Conflict in the Middle East, the Palestinian vision: the war is not only against Hamas", written by the columnist Zeina Latif.

An element that stood out in these two articles was the different sources of information used for quotations. Lajst's piece uses only sources from Israel, with an additional quote from a Hamas statement to explain the danger they present to Israel's security.

Between the five pieces that present a strong Human Rights perspective, two introduced Palestinian voices. One of these is Latif's article, the columnist introduced 12 quotes: 10 from Israeli sources; one from an UN representative and one from a Palestinian.

It is noticeable that, although some pieces are showing the Palestinian vision of the war, the perspective is typically presented by individuals who are not Palestinians. This may present a trend of underrepresented Palestinians in the media.

The pieces who use quotations are heavily based on sources from the Israeli government or Defence Force, the United States' government, the UN and international specialists. At times there were quotes extracted from Hamas' videos or interviews, but there isn't much space for the civilians affected by the war in Gaza.

Table 3: Types of quotations from O Globo

Type of quotation	Frequency
No quotes	10
No quotes from Israel/Palestine	8
Quotes from Israel/Palestine	2
Quotes from Israel only	2
Quotes from Israel and other sources (Not Palestine)	5

One of the neutral pieces highlighted the importance of separating the notions of Hamas and Palestinians, which is interesting when compared to another piece (with pro-Israel tone) that directs the attention to the connection between Jews and the Israeli State soon before associating the terms Hamas and Palestinians by saying: "*his book [Hitler's], 'Mein Kampf', is popular in the Gaza Strip*". The author does not clarify if the book is popular amongst Hamas' members, the Palestinian population or both, nor does he identify the source of this information, but the sentence makes a clear juxtaposition between Palestinians and antisemitism. This association can be harmful for the humanitarian crisis in Gaza, since connecting the Palestinian civilian population with a terrorist group can make the audience feel detached from a fair and important issue.

The word clusters and main expressions connected to Palestine/Palestinians are another example of this juxtaposition. "*Palestinian terrorists from Hamas*", "*Palestinian militia*" and "*Palestinian terrorist groups*" are illustrations of how the terrorism theme can be combined with the notion of Palestinians in general, without a clear separation between civilians and combatants.

In this sense (considering the connection, that could have been made deliberately or unconsciously), it is important to also analyse the word clusters most related to Hamas. The expressions usually refer to the underground tunnels structure made by the group in Gaza; its connection with other extremist and terrorist organisations; and terms related to violence and brutality, such as: massacre, barbarism, annihilation, heinous, murders and torture.

On the other hand, another theme of clusters heavily connected to Palestine/Palestinian refers to the violence in Gaza. For example: occupation; apartheid; civilians; refugees; Nakba; famine; dehumanization; and humanitarian crisis.

These recurrent themes indicate that, generally, Palestinians are seen as victims or terrorists. There are mentions of a Palestinian Authority and State, but those are often disregarded considering the difficulties to create a strong and united Palestinian political power. In these circumstances, two pieces blamed the Palestinians for rejecting Israeli peace offers, not considering, for example, that the Palestinian demands could be fair and legitimate.

The terms Israel/Israeli are most frequently linked to expressions and words related to military structure and actions (troops, soldiers, invasion and war), antisemitism (Holocaust and persecution of Jews), and colonisation (collective punishment, settlements, occupation and violations). An interesting discussion could emerge from the fact that, even though terms connected to occupation and violence are deeply connected to the Israeli state in these opinion pieces, their overall tone is very pro-Israel.

By analysing the whole of the opinion pieces, some elements stood out.

When referencing violence, on many occasions there was a need to be more explicit when talking about the humanitarian crisis in Gaza. If one says there are humanitarian violations and war crimes being committed in the Israel/Palestine context, it should be clear who is the perpetrator.

In this regard, there are examples of how the use of passive sentence structures can be used to downplay or hide cases of violence. One of the authors states that "*420 children are killed each day*" in the background of the Israel-Hamas war, which generates questions instead of answering them. What children are being killed and by who? In this same context another author declares: "*Journalists in Gaza lost their lives*". How did they lose their lives? Were they murdered? Another example is: "*The urgency now is that 2,3 million are still under bombs [...] 6.500 killed, 2 thousand being children.*". Again: who are these people? Who is bombing who?

It is arguable that these passive structures make the audience confused and make it harder for them to engage in the topic. Since the authors did not clarify what is being said, after reading these sentences the reader must do some further research to be able to fully understand what is being said, and most of them will not do it. Which means the issue is still a question.

4.2 O Estado de São Paulo

The sample from Estadão had 55 articles. 26 displayed a neutral position, being mindful of both sides (Israelis and Palestinians) but presenting arguments in a balanced manner.

18 pieces were considered to have a pro-Israel stance as they justified violence, did not present enough information on the humanitarian crisis in Gaza and/or focused on the Israeli point of view.

Five guest contributors criticized the Israeli government and politicians but did not demonstrate substantial information about Gaza to be considered pro-Palestine or even human rights.

At last, six pieces focused on the humanitarian war and civilian suffering in the Gaza Strip (Human Rights category).

Table 4: O Estado de São Paulo's stance

Category	Neutral	Pro-Israel	Criticizes Israel	Human Rights
Opinion	7	8	-	4
Guest Contributors	19	10	5	2
Total	26	18	5	6

The majority of opinion pieces in O Estado de São Paulo were written by guests, although both columnists and contributors presented fairly equal tones: mostly neutral or pro-Israel.

The main topics covered in the 55 articles were diplomacy between governments, discussions on peace prospects, geopolitical and historical contexts of the war and predictions on post war conditions.

Table 5: Main topics from O Estado de São Paulo

Main topics	Occurrence
Diplomacy	10
Peace Prospects	8
War context	8
Israeli Government	8

Amongst the 55 articles, only two displayed Palestinians voices. They had as the main topic “Hamas” and “Humanitarian Crisis”, and divergent tones:

“Human shields” written by the columnist Denis Lerrer Rosenfield, include a quotation from a Palestinian against Hamas. Rosenfield’s tone is considered pro-Israel because he explores the fact that Hamas uses the civilians in Gaza as human shields to prove Israel is the right side and must win the war. He does not present other alternatives.

“Three myths about the Palestinian Question” by Nicholas Kristof, a contributor from The New York Times, uses quotes from a Palestinian man in Gaza to explore the life of civilians trapped in the war. The author presents a balanced piece with deep focus on civilians and the ongoing humanitarian crisis in Gaza.

Table 6: Types of quotations from O Estado de São Paulo

Type of quotation	Frequency
No quotes	27
No quotes from Israel/Palestine	10
Quotes from Israel/Palestine	1
Quotes from Israel only	5
Quotes from Palestine only	2
Quotes from Israel and other sources (Not Palestine)	10

Since “diplomacy” was the main topic in ten out of 55 articles, it is understandable that the majority of quotations were from international politicians and institutions.

In addition, it is prominent that ten pieces did not have quotes from Palestinians. There is a clear imbalance in the space given for Israeli and Palestinians statements.

The difference in themes regarding the word clusters mostly associated with Israel and Palestine was also outstanding.

The terms most linked to Israel/Israeli are included in themes such as: military (troops, army, operation, attacks, bombing, counter attack and retaliation); war against terrorism (destruction/overthrow/eradicate/combat/punish Hamas); October 7th 2023 (children murdered, Israeli corpses, trauma, revenge and bloodiest day); and Israel's existence (defence, democracy, hatred against Israel, most stigmatized people on Earth, Holy Nation, right of self-defence/existence, Zionism, Antisemitism, protection of its citizens).

Limited connections are made to themes like occupation (settlers, colonialism, occupied territories) and Gaza (Palestinians civilians, demilitarization and blockage in Gaza).

While the terms Palestine/Palestinians are connected to terms related to statehood (right to exist, self-determination and independence), humanitarian crisis (civilians, refugees, victims, misery, trauma, genocide, ethnic cleansing and human rights) and territory (colonisation, expulsion, Nakba, ancestral land and native people), they are most often associated with terrorism and Hamas.

There is a frequent use of terms like Palestinian Islamic Mafia, Palestinian Factions, militants and militias, Palestinian terrorists and Palestinians that killed Israelis. In addition, Palestinians are called “tools of a terrorist organization” and Hamas' victims or accomplices. It is said that Palestinian suffering is displayed to attract sympathy towards Hamas.

Even though there are brief statements that “Hamas and Palestinians are not the same thing” and that Hamas “do not represent Palestinians”, it is arguable that this information can be lost amongst the heavy connections with terrorism. That is specially because “Hamas” is only linked with concepts of violence and terrorism, which means the connection between Palestinians and Hamas can be harmful for the Palestinians in Gaza.

Overall O Estado de São Paulo had many advocates for the Israeli right to defend itself and for its war against terrorism. There were abundant analyses of the future of Israel and many authors presenting Israeli perspectives.

On the other hand, there were few or none problematization of the ongoing humanitarian crisis in Gaza and scarce pieces with space for the Palestinian point of view. The Palestinian point of view is not used for post war predictions, there is typically an international or Israeli voice reflecting on that.

The writers apply a dense and emotional discourse to describe the attacks of October 7th 2023 (murder of youth, children murdered, Israeli corpses, fear and massacre) but there is a lack of depth when debating the humanitarian crisis in Gaza.

Finally, Palestinians are often presented as Hamas' victims. One could argue that the statement itself is not wrong, yet for this research purposes it is necessary to contemplate the meaning of this declaration in the war context. If Hamas is the only perpetrator of violence against Palestinians, it means that Israel does not have responsibility over the consequences of its attacks on Gaza and cannot be held accountable for the humanitarian crisis.

4.3 Irish Times

In the Irish Times sample three articles stood out for having a pro-Israel position. The majority, 31 out of the 59 opinion pieces, had a profound focus on human rights, exploring the humanitarian crisis in Gaza, the civilian death toll and the people affected by the war. 24 articles were deemed neutral for showing balance and presenting information on Palestine and Israel in an equal approach. One piece was included in the "Criticizes Israel" category because, despite displaying significant criticism to the Israeli government, it only briefly mentions the Palestinian struggle, hence why it could not be considered neutral.

Table 7: The Irish Times' stance

Category	Neutral	Pro-Israel	Criticizes Israel	Human Rights
Opinion	18	1	-	16
Guest Contributors	6	2	1	15
Total	24	3	1	31

Amongst the three pro-Israel pieces, one is written by a columnist of The Irish Times, Joe Humphreys. The piece explores the October 7th 2023 attack, only mentioning Palestine to contextualize the "Israeli-Palestine conflict". The remaining two pieces are written by Rachel Moisselle, an Irish citizen with Jewish descent, and by Dana Erlich, Israeli ambassador in Ireland.

Moiselle delves into her own experience as a Jewish descendant. She claims there was an increase in hatred towards Jews in Dublin after October 2023, mentioning protests filled with pro-terrorism and antisemitic chants that spread hate against Israel and its right to exist as a Jewish ancestral homeland.

Erlach declared that most capitals in the European Union have shown deep solidarity with Israel, but Irish neutrality means the country has “a double standard when it comes to Israel”. The ambassador stated the Irish recognition of a Palestinian state is a reward to terrorism. Erlach also claims that any sign of “empathy or humanity expressed toward Israel” is met with hostility in Ireland, a place where Israeli suffering is disregarded, she wrote.

This study, however, shows that most of The Irish Times’ opinion pieces manifest empathy for both Palestinian and Israelis. The majority of pieces, as aforementioned, have a deep focus on the ongoing humanitarian crisis in Gaza, yet the writers consider the October 7th attack as a terrorist action and recognize the trauma of Israeli society.

For example, in one of Michael McDowell’s columns he initially established Hamas as a “repugnant terrorist organisation” and explored the trauma inflicted by the group. Then, he wrote: “[...] what is now being done to the Palestinians in Gaza is as wrong and as barbaric as what Hamas did to innocent Jews and others in southern Israel on October 7th.”.

In this context, Justine McCarthy (another columnist) displayed equal information on innocent children from both sides by saying, for example: “these babies and young people [Palestinians] were nobody’s enemy. Neither were the babies and children who were massacred on Israel’s side of the border.”. McCarthy proceeds, then, to focus on the humanitarian crisis because, as she explained: “The differences on the Gaza side are the scale and prolonged duration of the killings and the comparative lack of anguish they elicit in leaders of the world’s powerful countries.”.

Overall, it is arguable that, in spite of the “human rights” pieces having a bigger focus on Gaza and the humanitarian crisis, they do recognize the Israeli suffering and are capable of displaying sympathy. Contrary to the “pro-Israel pieces” that present only the Israeli perspective.

Guest contributor, Daniel Levy, stated: “The appalling crimes committed against Israelis on October 7th cannot justify this aggression [in Gaza], just as the structural violence of Israeli occupation and apartheid before October 7th cannot excuse the events of that day.”.

Still exploring balance, the pieces published in The Irish Times presented a smaller difference in terms of the proportion of quotations from Israeli and Palestinians.

While 35 articles displayed only the author’s opinion, amongst the other 24 pieces five presented only Israeli quotes and two had Israeli and other sources. On the other hand, two

pieces had only Palestinians' quotes and other two presented quotations from Palestine and international sources.

Table 8: Types of quotations from The Irish Times

Type of quotation	Frequency
No quotes	35
No quotes from Israel/Palestine	12
Quotes from Israel/Palestine	1
Quotes from Israel only	5
Quotes from Palestine only	2
Quotes from Israel and other sources (Not Palestine)	2
Quotes from Palestine and other sources (Not Israel)	2

While the main topics approached in the opinion pieces were diplomacy (international negotiations, agreements in the Middle East and UN statements), context (historical and geopolitical), public opinion (including social media activism) and human rights (international law and information on the humanitarian crisis), the connection between Irish and Palestinian people was noted in many of these texts.

One opinion piece highlighted a quote from Leo Varadkar, where the former Taoiseach of Ireland states: "We see our history in their eyes. A story of displacement and dispossession, a national identity questioned and denied, forced emigration, discrimination, and now hunger".

The expressions used by Varadkar are in agreement with the word clusters found to be mostly associated with Palestine/Palestinians. The clusters are often related to themes such as occupation (colonisation, dispossession, open-air prison, attacks by settlers and Israeli military rule in Palestine), statehood (Palestinian Question, Partition of Palestine, Palestinian rights, imposed statelessness, independent state and right of return) and violence (genocide, ethnic cleansing, collective punishment, children snatched from Gaza/beaten broken/dying in droves, famine and massacres).

The main themes linked to Israel/Israeli were violence against Palestinians (indiscriminate mass killings, war crimes, apartheid, denying human rights, imprisoned Palestinians and manmade famine), occupation (illegal settlements, Zionists, colonial forces, violation of territorial integrity), the Israeli state (Jewish ancestral homeland, Holocaust, Zionism and right

to exist/retaliate/self-defence) and October 7th 2023 (brutal, butchery, children massacred, trauma, hostages, grief and fury).

The attack of October 7th was also the fundamental theme when mentioning Hamas, with terms such as: slaughter, barbaric, heinous, savagery, sadistic, bloody events, abduction and unjustifiable attacks.

The word clusters and expressions mostly used in connection to Israel/Israeli, Palestine/Palestinians and Hamas can be used to showcase the prominence in tone between the pieces published in The Irish Times.

4.4 Irish Independent

The first element that stood out from the Irish Independent sample was that out of 33 pieces, 10 were written by the newspaper's columnist and 23 by guest contributors. A theory could be that the media outlet does not want to compromise on such a polarized subject of discussion. Despite using agenda-setting notions and choosing what articles and opinions are going to be displayed, the editors then exempt the newspaper from having an explicit position on the topic.

Table 9: Irish Independent's stance

Category	Neutral	Pro-Israel	Criticizes Israel	Human Rights
Opinion	6	-	-	4
Guest Contributors	9	4	-	10
Total	15	4	-	14

The opinion pieces written by columnists were predominantly neutral, with only four texts having a "Human Rights" position and major focus on Gaza.

Among the guest contributors, ten showed a pro "Human Rights" tone, nine were neutral and four presented a pro-Israel position.

Between the main topics covered in the pieces, diplomacy was one of the most presents. The Irish position regarding the war was also heavily explored, especially the country's recognition of the Palestinian State. One of the pro-Israel pieces, entitled "Irish in Israel: 'The reaction at home is hard to stomach. I thought about burning my passport'", criticizes the demands for a ceasefire, saying Irish people were, in fact, asking for Israel's surrender and acceptance of terror. Not once did the author recognize the humanitarian crisis in Gaza.

Another pro-Israel piece criticizes student activism for what the author calls a “one-sided” protest: “[...] while denouncing alleged Israeli atrocities, the manifesto has not one word of censure for Hamas or its brutal tactics [...]. They call for Israel to stop fighting but not for Hamas to release its hostages or surrender.”. It is interesting to notice that, by saying the violence perpetrated in Gaza is “alleged” and by not explaining what is being done in the Strip, the author is presenting a one-sided perspective, exactly what he denounces.

On the other hand, the opinion pieces included in the “Human Rights” category acknowledge and condemn the brutality of Hamas' attack, while also condemning Israel's actions in Gaza. “It's evident that war crimes were committed by Hamas [...]. That does not give Israel a pass to respond as it pleases. An eye for an eye - or 100 eyes for one eye - is not a thing in international law.”, declared the guest contributor Peter Maass in the piece “I'm Jewish, and I have reported on wars - I know war crimes when I see them”.

Guest contributor Alyssa Rosenberg approaches the theme of the effects of violence on children and gives the same importance for those born in Israel and in Gaza. The author highlights the need to protect all children. Rosenberg delves deeper into the humanitarian crisis and the lives of children in Gaza, which could be simply explained due to the magnitude and length of the attacks in the area. “More than righteous sympathy, the world owes the children of Israel and Gaza another chance at childhood.”, she insists.

The columnist Jim O'Brien reprimanded Hamas for the October 7th attack and for still holding Israeli hostages, before explaining how the Irish feel connected to the Palestinians because of the violence they are subjected to. The violence mentioned by O'Brien can also be identified when analysing the word clusters in relation to Palestine.

Often described as victims, in the Irish Independent Palestinians and Palestine are typically connected with terms such as: civilians, carnage, killed, death toll, denied dignity, refugees, suffering and genocide. Other common themes are statehood (Palestinian State/Authority, self-determination, recognition and independence), territory (division of Palestine, colonisation, expelled en masse, displacement and forced migration) and terrorism (Hamas, Palestinian factions/armed groups and “From the river to the sea”).

The expressions and word clusters usually linked to Israel can be categorized in themes such as: violence against Palestinians (siege, invasion, starving Gaza, apartheid and humanitarian catastrophe), security (military, security forces, Iron Dome, danger to Israel and facing down a terrorist organisation) and October 7th (counteroffensive in Gaza, kidnapped, massacred, civilians, trauma and heartbreak of Jewish families).

Terrorism and violence regarding the October 7th attack is the main theme associated with Hamas.

In this regard, one of the pro-Israel pieces blamed Palestinians for the long conflicts with Israel. The author stated that Israel unilaterally evicted its Jewish settlers from Gaza in 2005 and left the Palestinians to rule themselves. "Palestinian Authority would take charge. Instead, Gazans elected Hamas, an Islamist militant group committed to the destruction of Israel".

A piece considered neutral also uses a specific discourse to blame Palestinians for the difficulty in achieving peace accords, the author says: "Palestine Liberation Organisation chairman Yasser Arafat, was never willing to give up the Palestinians' 'right of return' and risk his status as a 'freedom fighter' for his people."

The language used in these examples not only connect Palestinians with terrorist activities but also display the population as demanding and not engaged in peace. The authors do not, for example, consider that maybe Israel should make some concessions in order to achieve an agreement.

Finally, the Irish Independent showed an imbalance in sources of quotations in its pieces. Israelis' views on the war are displayed on seven occasions (being the only source in two pieces), while Palestinians were quoted only twice.

A guest contributor addresses the circumstances of this reality by declaring that in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem: "[...] we had struggled to get Palestinian views on Israel's war in Gaza [...] most saying they feared the consequences of an 'incitement' law which could mean they'd be detained and disappear into the Israeli legal system."

Palestinians' civilians and journalists besieged in Gaza have been vocal on social media about the reality in the Strip. Institutions like the UN have released multiple statements regarding the safety of their aid workers in Gaza. Maybe the possibility of having these people as sources should be more explored by the media.

Table 10: Types of quotations from Irish Independent

Type of quotation	Frequency
No quotes	15
No quotes from Israel/Palestine	11
Quotes from Israel/Palestine	2
Quotes from Israel only	2
Quotes from Israel and other sources (Not Palestine)	3

4.5 Discussion

When comparing the four examples of media, it was possible to recognize some patterns that exist in the Irish and Brazilian newspapers.

Overall, the opinion pieces considered neutral, as expected, do not commit to one side. In those samples there is a balance and focus on diplomacy and peace prospects.

For both Irish and Brazilians examples, the pieces displaying a pro-Israel tone had complete focus on Israel. These pieces barely mention Palestine or Gaza, but when they did the word clusters (in English and in Portuguese) mostly associated with these terms were linked to the notion of violence, terrorism and the destruction of the Jewish State.

The category "Human Rights" contrasts immensely with that due to its focus on the human side, not discriminating against Israeli or Palestinians. These pieces saw all people affected by the war as equal. While the main focus was on the ongoing humanitarian crisis in Gaza, due to its dimension, length of time and imminent consequences, the "Human Rights" pieces also recognized the brutality of Hamas' attack and the need to free the hostages.

In all four samples, it was noted that the term "state terrorism" is never applied to Israel's aggression in Gaza, despite "terrorism" being often related to Palestinians. Impregnated with Orientalist notions, this discourse takes responsibility away from Israel, on account of it representing the West, while drawing attention to the hostile Palestinians, who are, after all, Arabs.

Likewise, similar in all newspapers was the distribution of sources from quotes. Considering the 45 pieces from Brazil that had quotations and the 42 from Ireland, the international voices (diplomats, foreign politicians and UN representatives) stand out as main sources for both. Followed by Israel, quoted in 48,9% of Brazilian pieces and 28.6% of Irish. That percentage includes pieces that had quotes from Israel only in addition to pieces that had quotes from Israel and other sources, but not Palestinians.

Palestinians were allowed space in 4.4% of Brazilian articles and 9.5% in Irish (including pieces with quotes from Palestinians and other sources [but no Israelis] and pieces with only Palestinians quotes).

As discussed previously in the Literature Review, the Israeli government established itself as the first and most accurate source of information regarding the conflict. In addition is the fact that Israel prohibited international media from entering Gaza. That means it is harder for journalists to have access to information and even when they do, the Israeli government challenges its veracity by connecting the sources with Hamas.

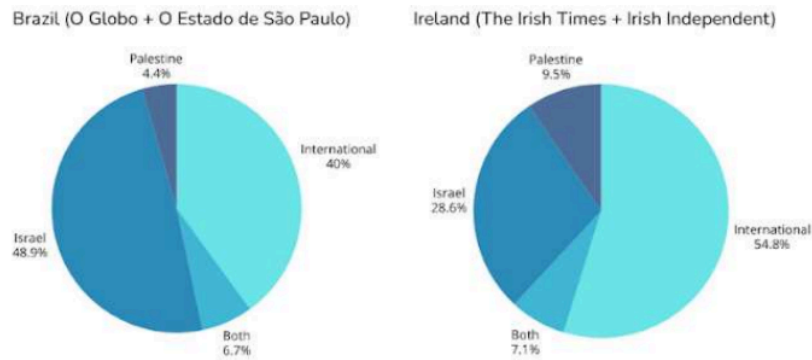


Figure 1: Types of quotations used in the Irish and Brazilians newspapers

The content of the pieces in each category was fairly similar amongst the four newspapers, however the general tone of the outlets diverged between Ireland and Brazil.

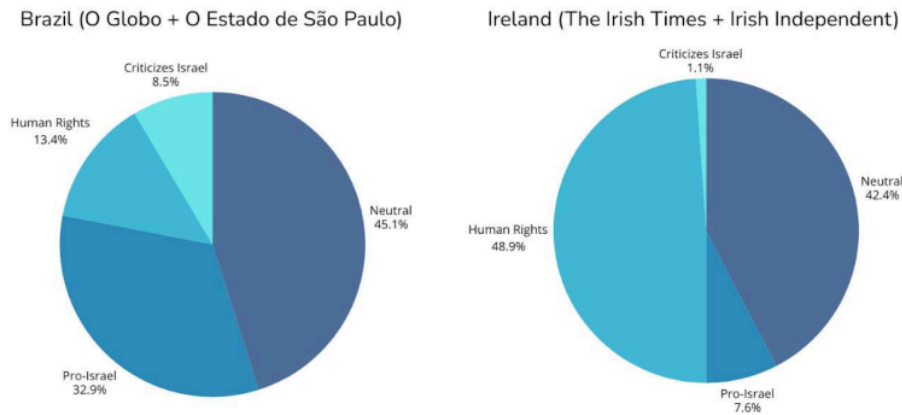


Figure 2: General position from Brazilians and Irish newspapers

By aggregating the samples by nationality, it was possible to clearly identify that the majority of pieces in both countries have a neutral tone, 45.1% out of 82 pieces from Brazil and 42.4% out of 92 pieces from Ireland.

Despite the prominent neutrality, Brazil tends to slant towards the Israeli side (32% of the opinion pieces) and Ireland has a deeper focus in the Human Rights (48.9% of the pieces) subcontext of the conflict.

Considering each newspaper individually and disregarding the neutral articles: 52,5% of The Irish Times' opinion pieces and 42,4% of Irish Independent's were categorized as Human Rights, whereas 32,7% of O Estado de São Paulo's and 33% of O Globo's were pro-Israel.

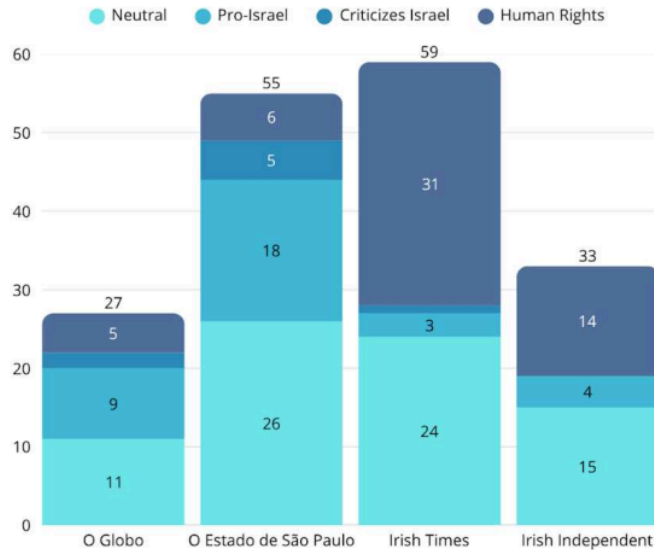


Figure 3: Main tones from each analysed newspaper

The word clusters and expressions most associated with Palestine/Palestinians, Israel/Israeli and Hamas highlight the power behind words and how language can be used to the most diverse kinds of discourses.

Although Israel was greatly connected to themes of militarism in all four examples, the Brazilian newspapers were often capable of using these terms without evoking the connection with violence and occupation. O Globo e O Estado de São Paulo linked these terminologies, instead, to the notion of security and self-defence.

The Brazilian media presented an extensive lack of context in its pieces, treating the facts as new developments of a recent issue and ignoring that the conflict between Israel and Palestine is, in fact, as old as Israel's existence.

In addition, even when O Globo and Estadão demonstrated a position more focused on the Palestinians in Gaza, there was often the display of data and numbers of fatalities without clear explanation. If the violence is being described without naming the victims and holding the

perpetrators accountable, then the information is being only partially presented. One could argue that the piece loses its importance if it is not giving the complete information, as the greatest part of the audience cannot complete the gaps alone. There is a need to be clearer and more explicit when naming victims and executioners in Brazil's media.

There is a large contrast between the examples of media from Ireland and Brazil analysed in this study. Regarding the coverage of the Israeli war in Gaza, on one hand, the two Brazilian samples presented cautious efforts to be neutral. *O Globo* and *Estadão* opinion pieces displayed information hesitantly, maybe fearing repercussions.

On the other hand, Irish media pieces were rather straightforward. In general, the examples analysed were categorical and directly approached the humanitarian crisis while naming victims and violence perpetrators. The *Irish Times* and *Irish Independent* acknowledge the October 7th attack, Hamas' brutality and the inflicted societal trauma, they did not, however, use the event to justify the "humanitarian cataclysm" happening in Gaza.

Considering these two different approaches, this study attaches weight to the historical and political knowledge of Irish and Brazilian societies as it is undeniable that colonialism and imperialism are deeply rooted in the Israel-Palestine conflict.

This research understands that the media in Ireland and Brazil are a reflection of its own societies.

As explained previously in the Literature Review chapter, a European colonial force (Portugal) conquered and colonized Brazil in the past. Independence was proclaimed in 1822, perhaps so long ago that the memories of the colonization struggles disappeared from peoples' memories.

Due to the military dictatorship in Brazil (a more recent event that started in 1964 and prevailed for 21 years, until 1985), maybe its society should be more aware of imperialism consequences. However, there is still an extensive discussion that divides the society about that period. It is not widely acknowledged, for example, that in behalf of its interest in controlling Latin America, the United States armed and supported the Brazilian right-wing military dictatorship, or that Israel provided armament to the army.

The general vision of Brazil's society is strongly based on Eurocentric notions and heavily influenced by the United States, which means the Brazilian perspective is charged with Orientalism when it comes to subjects regarding the Middle East.

On the other hand, Ireland's society is still deeply connected with issues such as colonialism and imperialism.

The War of Independence, the apex of centuries of conflict between Ireland and England, started in 1919 and ended in 1921. The peace treaty that ended the War created the Irish Free

State but also resulted in the partition of Ireland. In addition, further violence was endured by Irish society during “The Troubles”, from 1969 to 1998.

Taking those facts into account, it is possible to comprehend the reason why the fight against colonialism is so present in Irish society, as Irish people still notice the consequences of it. Considering the Israel-Palestine conflict, the Irish can easily recognize familiarities between what is happening in the Middle East and their own experience under British rule.

There is some unfamiliarity in Brazil to the Israel-Palestine topic and the aggressive images of violence explored by the media only inflate the negative feeling towards the region. In general, there is not a connection between the Brazilian audience and the Arabs, because they are the “Others” who are always in war and only know violence. When the Middle East is portrayed in the media, Brazilians do not have political or historical context. There is only the presentation of the *now*, which strengthens the Orientalism perspective, since the audience can see violence but not understand *why* or *how*. As stressed multiple times in the Findings part of this chapter, context should be given.

The Irish nation in general understands the context of the ongoing war and that leads to an acquaintance with the Palestinian struggle. In Brazil, in addition to the physical distance, the scarcity of explanation and background information in relation to the Israel-Palestine conflict provokes a preponderant lack of knowledge between Brazilians and, consequently, limits connection to the subject. In conclusion, in this contrasting analysis the media acts as a mirror by reflecting the behaviour of its society.

Chapter Five: Conclusions

During the process of researching and writing this study, the humanitarian crisis in Gaza worsened and the death toll of civilians only increased.

The ongoing Israel's assault on Gaza started in October 2023, in response to the Hamas' attack that killed around 1,200 people in Israel on October 7th 2023.

By July 2025, at least 60,000 Palestinians have been killed in Gaza. 18,500 were children, according to The Washington Post¹⁴. Entire neighbourhoods in the Gaza Strip were reduced to rubble¹⁵ by Israeli attacks. Entire families have been killed, erased from the world. Palestinians are dying from malnutrition due to the man-made famine¹⁶ in Gaza.

The humanitarian catastrophe is unfolding in front of the world's eyes. On social media Palestinians share their struggle to survive.

At this point, the debate should not be about who is right or who deserves what. The focus should be in ending the humanitarian crisis, the collective punishment and genocide in Gaza.

With that being said, this study had the main goal of analysing and comprehending how the Irish and Brazilian media portray Israel and Palestine in the context of the ongoing war in Gaza. The discussions previously presented in this study revealed that the initial hypothesis was accurate when it suggested that media outlets' opinion pieces typically gravitate more towards one side in detriment of the other.

The research showed that both Irish and Brazilian newspapers' have many neutral pieces. In spite of that, it was possible to identify that the Brazilians' newspapers (O Globo and O Estado de São Paulo) tend to display a pro-Israel stance. These newspapers' authors used language to promote discourses that related Palestinians and Hamas, without distinguishing civilians. There were plenty of pieces presenting Israeli perspectives on the war, an extensive use of colourful and emotive language to describe the Hamas' attack on October 7th, and abundant justifications for the subsequent Israeli assault on Gaza.

Fewer were the pieces explaining the severity and urgency of the humanitarian crisis in Gaza.

The Irish newspapers' exhibit the despair of a civilian population trapped and attacked. The Irish Times and Irish Independent showed a fair balance when exploring the subject. The authors, in general, declared to be against Hamas' terrorist actions and to be sympathetic to the Israeli trauma, but also reminded that one atrocity cannot be used to justify another.

¹⁴ In: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/interactive/2025/israel-gaza-war-children-death-toll/>

¹⁵ In: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2025/aug/05/wasteland-rubble-dust-graves-how-gaza-looks-from-the-sky>

¹⁶ In: <https://news.un.org/en/story/2025/07/1165517>

The need for more Palestinian voices in the media stood out in all four newspapers. The study identified that Palestinians hardly ever speak for themselves in the media. Nevertheless, Israel is one of the main sources of information.

By showing the similarities and contrasts between the Irish and Brazilian coverage of the Israel-Palestine conflict, this study was able to reflect on the media role and power of language. It discussed how the media opposes to demands for cease-fire, based on human rights and international law, by blaming the victims and validating violence.

Finally, the Irish media stands as an example of human journalism. The foundation for most of the Irish Times and Irish Independent's pieces were human rights, crucial notions of humanity that should be applied to all people.

5.1 Ethical Issues and Challenges

In the absence of interviews, volunteers or any kind of outsider participation, most of the typical ethical dilemmas (such as confidentiality, consent, right to withdraw and anonymity) are not relevant and do not apply to this study.

Nevertheless, this research strove to ensure a respectful representation of the portrayed subject. The necessity and importance of conducting a transparent and high-quality research was acknowledged in the making of this study.

The author does not have any personal ties to the Israel-Palestine conflict. The best of their capacity was applied to present academic rigor, however it is important to highlight that the subjected is an emotional and challenging issue with far reaching implications (imposed famine, genocide and potential regional war, for example) and every human being brings their own bias and personal experiences to discussions.

The main potential challenge identified before the beginning of this study was time management. Initially the period to be analysed would be a 12 month time frame, which in hindsight perhaps could have provided deeper findings. There was, however, an extensive amount of material produced in that time frame, making the analysis impractical considering the time available for the research. Time was, indeed, the main issue. For that reason, the research was limited to a six month time frame.

There were complications considering the databases available for the material collection. The only web archive that had all four newspapers was Nexis Uni, but it did not provide specific filters and search options that would be needed to speed up this portion of the study. Since the newspapers use different categories to sort out their articles, there was not a filter for "opinion pieces", for example. Considering that, the total of 735 articles had to be manually categorized,

which definitely slowed the study down. In addition, creating the Microsoft Excel dataset proved to be extremely time consuming.

The steps of collecting, organizing and analysing the articles were done in a four-week period.

There are still areas of research that remain unexplored. Further research should be undertaken in the future regarding prominent elements. Two examples are: the lack of Palestinian voices; and how terms associated with violence and negative connotations can be used to emphasize points of views.

This study is not absolute and unailing as it was done manually by one single person and considered subjective elements such as discourse and language. However, the findings and discussions presented here are definitely relevant to the journalistic field, they can provide valuable insights regarding the persuasive power of the media and the patterns of normalization of stereotypes and prejudices in media outlets.

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Appendices:

Appendix A: Excel spreadsheet with the initial sample from O Globo.

Tr	Titulo	Coluna 1	Published Date	Tr	Author	Word Count
	'Desinvestimento' é bandeira antiga e de eficácia questionada	Factual Report	01/04/2024			759
	'Foi como ver pessoas pulando do world trade center'	Interview	05/11/2023		Juliana Causin	1334
	'Objetivo de israel é empurrar palestinos para o egito'	Interview	10/12/2023		Thayz Guimarães	1317
	'Proporções bíblicas': 1,2 milhão fugiram de casa	Factual Report	23/10/2023			837
	A guerra contra as crianças	Opinion	06/11/2023		Fernando Gabeira (columnist)	636
	Antissemitismo 2.0	Opinion	30/10/2023		Demétrio Magnoli (columnist)	675
	Após 4 tentativas, conselho de segurança aprova resolução	Factual Report	16/11/2023			868
	Biden alerta para 'bombardeio indiscriminado' de gaza e pe	Factual Report	13/12/2023			761
	Blinken: 'já morreram palestinos demais'	Factual Report	11/11/2023			789
	Consciência do mundo num hospital em gaza	Opinion	20/11/2023		Fernando Gabeira (columnist)	622
	Dar uma remota chance à paz	Opinion	23/10/2023		Fernando Gabeira (columnist)	673
	Distâncias	Opinion	17/03/2024		Dorrit Harazim (columnist)	710
	Drama humanitário	Opinion	12/11/2023		Merval Pereira (columnist)	652
	Durante visita de biden, israel concorda em autorizar ajuda	Factual Report	19/10/2023			913
	É antissemitismo sim, Gleisi	Op-Ed	07/01/2024		Bruno Bimbi (Guest)	726
	É o Hamas, e não Israel, que apoia Hitler	Op-Ed	17/03/2024		Ben-Dror Yemini (Guest)	634
	E se Israel perder a guerra?	Op-Ed	26/11/2023		André Lajst (Guest)	663
	Egito teme que ofensiva cause êxodo para o Sinai	Factual Report	13/12/2023			884
	Escrita a serviço da empatia	Interview	15/11/2023			995
	Fracasso militar ou resposta calibrada de Teerã?	Not Related	15/04/2024			1018
	Guerra divide base de Biden e universidades dos EUA	Factual Report	01/12/2023			1069
	Há três meses sob bombardeios, Gaza tem corpos em casa	Factual Report	08/01/2024			946
	Haia existe	Opinion	14/01/2024		Dorrit Harazim (columnist)	794
	Haverá papoulas?	Opinion	12/11/2023		Dorrit Harazim (columnist)	806

Appendix B: Excel spreadsheet with the initial sample from The Irish Times.

Data Base THE IRISH TIMES					
Title	Type of material	Published Date	Author	Word Count	
A kind word can work wonders	Not Related	30/12/2023	Michael Commane	651	
A modified two-state solution could work	Opinion	11/11/2023		808	
A shadow over the living and the dead; The personal revea	Not Related	07/10/2023	Colum McCann	922	
A single-state solution may be only viable option left; Abjer	Op-Ed	25/10/2023	Niall Holohan (Guest)	963	
A UN agency in Gaza is in crisis. Palestinians may pay the	Report	02/02/2024		1025	
A world distracted by a burning Palestine suits Putin's purp	Opinion	06/12/2023	Kathy Sheridan	954	
Anti-Semitism harks back to my ancestors' experience in li	Op-Ed	18/05/2024	Rachel Moisselle (Guest)	1155	
Appreciate the good things, otherwise darkness wins	Opinion	23/01/2024		640	
As ever, civilians will suffer most in Israel-Hamas war	Opinion	13/10/2023	Diarmaid Ferriter	855	
As Israel pursues strategic victory in Gaza, postwar aims c	Report	12/12/2023	Mark Weiss	1121	
Ask Ukrainians about the value of Irish 'solidarity'	Not Related	24/05/2024	Gerard Howlin	906	
Back-channel diplomacy that led to recognition of Palestin	Report	25/05/2024	Jack Horgan-Jones	1872	
Basketballers in difficult position on Israel, says Byrne	Not Related	07/02/2024	Gordon Manning	601	
Battle for final seat could end with small party making a br	Not Related	01/06/2024		606	
Better 'driver behaviour' behind drop in detections, says M	Not Related	19/10/2023	Conor Gallagher	626	
Biden reputation for decency now seems hollow	Opinion	20/12/2023	Michael McDowell	804	
Border clashes prompt fear of regional conflict	Report	13/10/2023	Raya Jalabi	1280	
Britain should not fear 'an honest approach' to past sins, s	Report	15/04/2024		1032	
Cancelling an award for a Palestinian writer is absurd	Op-Ed	20/10/2023	Megan Nolan	1060	
Chanting incendiary slogans is pointless	Opinion	18/05/2024		880	
Children being slaughtered in Gaza are nobody's enemy	Opinion	27/10/2023	Justine McCarthy	1094	
China's reluctance to side with Israel is shared throughout	Not Related	11/10/2023	Denis Staunton	624	
Coalition must do more to meet its Gaza obligations	Op-Ed	25/03/2024	Eamonn Meehan (Guest) Gerry Liston (Guest)	847	
Comission ups its scrutiny of Palestinian aid	Report	23/11/2023	Naomi O'Leary	835	

Appendix C: Results from the categorizing process of the initial samples.

Table 1: Initial Sample

Title	Reports	Opinion	Guest Contributors	Analysis	Interviews	Unrelated	TOTAL
O Globo (print/online)	232	17	10	-	12	54	325
O Estado de São Paulo	16	19	36	-	1	13	85
The Irish Times	68	35	24	10	-	70	207
Irish Independent	60	10	23	4	-	21	118
TOTAL:	376	81	93	14	13	158	735

Appendix D: Excel spreadsheet including only the opinion pieces written by columnist and guest contributors from O Estado de São Paulo.

T1 Title	Type of material	Publis head date	Author	Wor # of Colu	Words to describe Israel/terrore	Words to describe Palestine/Palestinese	Words to describe Hamas	Passive voice	Source	Main topic	Observations
As terríveis lições do ataque a Israel	Op-Ed	15/10/2023	The Economist	1079	Tropas Combatente Superintendência Poder de fogo Serviço de inteligência Espionagem Domínio militar Ocupar	Civis Aproximações por soberania Quedas Combatentes Fatah Palestina enfraquecidos Resistência Palestina Freqüência Palestinas	Ataque sangrento Associações Massacre Sequentes	NO QUOTES	Post war	NEUTRAL	
A guerra em Gaza e as chances de paz	Op-Ed	25/05/2024	Fareed Zakaria (W)	771	Situação sombria Ocupação	Morte Vídeos desproporcionais Autoridade Palestina Estado Palestino		ONLY ISRAEL	Post war	ISRAEL	
A guerra em Israel e a falência da ONU	Opinion	06/11/2023	Roberto Liviano	888	Drama político Civis indefesos Droixa e paz Direito de autodefesa	Civis vulneráveis Povo palestino não é o Hamas	Ataque Destruição Terroristas Matarjar judeus Antissemitismo Sequentes Estiuro Tortura	NO QUOTES	United Nations	NEUTRAL	
A guerra tem bem mais do que dois lados	Op-Ed	26/11/2023	Thomas Friedman	2394	Extrema direita sionista Racionalização Etnocídio	Esquerda pró-palestina Civis palestinos Partilha da Palestina	Ataque Terrorismo Associações Destruição	BOTH	The coexistence of israel and	NEUTRAL	
A paz impreviável	Opinion	26/11/2023	Luiz Sérgio Henriq	839	Democracia Direito à terra	Extremistas palestinos		NO QUOTES	Peace prospects	NEUTRAL	
A política democrática desafia a traução	Opinion	22/10/2023	Luiz Sérgio Henriq	845	Holocausto	Nalita Estado Palestino		NO QUOTES	Democracy and peace prospe	NEUTRAL	
A questão palestina	Opinion	13/02/2024	Rubens Barbosa	858	Segurança Colunas Violência	Estado Palestino Desembarazado Autoridade Palestina	Belfens ISIS Houllits Terrorum	NO QUOTES	Peace prospects	NEUTRAL	
A ressurreição e o poder	Opinion	01/03/2024	Flávio Tavares	824	Ações militares Bombardios população civil War against terrorism	População civil	Terrorum	NO QUOTES	Accusations of racism and th	ISRAEL	
Atalantes jogam o jogo mais perigoso do Oriente	Op-Ed	29/10/2023	The Economist	1457	Ofensiva israelita terrível Antissemitismo Sionismo antissemitismo perseguições de judeus minoria discriminada autodeterminação Nacionalismo hostilidade contra judeus direito de existência estado para discurso de ódio contra judeus	Sukrimento is		NO ISRAEL NOR P.	Middle East diplomacy	NEUTRAL	

Appendix E: Excel spreadsheet including only the opinion pieces written by columnist and guest contributors from the Irish Independent.

T1 Title	Type of material	Publis head date	Author	Wor # of Colu	Words to describe Israel/terrore	Words to describe Palestine/Palestinese	Words to describe Hamas	Passive voice	Source	Main topic	Observations
A picture was worth a thousand words	Op-Ed	21/10/2023	Liam Kennedy	1056	Graphic pictures		Attack	NO ISRAEL NOR P.	Imagery usage	NEUTRAL	
A war of competitive furies equal only s	Opinion	17/10/2023	John Downing	909	Retaliatory bombardment of Gas Reprisals Security Eliminate Hamas	Palestinian prisiones Detent Hamas Left (Israel) wip away	Terrorist Opening the door to suffering Inflicting loss and damage Hostages Military	NO ISRAEL NOR P.	Diplomacy	NEUTRAL	
Ceasefire is not a fantasy - here's how it	Op-Ed	09/11/2023	Shadi Hamid	843	Doesn't deliberately aim to kill ci Defint intentionally target Security needs Bombardment Civilians (Oct 7th) Forces Blockage Boycott Apartheid Genocide Pursue its campaign against Pa Offensive	Mourn their dead Palestinian Authority Hamas members and their far Factions Armed groups Right to exist Palestinian State	Hostages	NO QUOTES	Cease-fire	NEUTRAL	
Escalation of Palestinian solidarity cam	Op-Ed	16/05/2024	László Mohárf	671		Palestinian liberation Decolonise Palestine Killing of Palestinians	Attacks	NO QUOTES	Student activism	PALESTINE	
Gaza protests by US students are a	Op-Ed	08/05/2024	Max Burt	838	Animus against Israel Violence perpetrated against for Alleged israel atrocities Counteroffense in Gaza	Palestinian rights Dispossession Ethnic cleansing "From the river to the sea"	Brutal tactics Seizing hostages Perpetrating sexual violence Murder Stealing international aid Tumults Missiles Human shields Massacre of civilians Group of animals	NO ISRAEL NOR P.	Student activism	ISRAEL	
How do you reinvent a politics of settle	Op-Ed	14/10/2023	Marc Champio	977	Defence Forces Settlers Destruction of Israel	Terrorist attacks carried out by Rule themselves Gazans elected Hamas Palestinians rights and demar	Attack War on Israel Wreaked havoc Terrorist organisation Military	NOT PALESTINE	Future of the war	ISRAEL	
I'm Jewish, and I have reported on war	Op-Ed	11/04/2024	Peter Mass	1243	Forces Genocide Bombs Shoots civilians Blocks food and Sloughined Righteous response to Oct 7th	British-controlled Palestine Civilians Killed Rights Refugees	Attack Fighters War crimes Massacred Brutal crimes Hostages	NO QUOTES	Jewish view of the conflict	PALESTINE	
Ireland is eager to lead the push for Pal	Op-Ed	11/04/2024	Declan Power	684	Under attack from the PLO	State of Palestine Recognize Palestine Independent Homeland Palestine Liberation Organisat	Terror attack Bloody mayhem	NO QUOTES	Ireland's recognition of Palest	NEUTRAL	
Ireland's bold move could be first step	Op-Ed	23/05/2024	Declan Power	807	Security Settlements	Recognition Statehood Territory Carnage in Gaza "From the river to the sea" is at Home it traps women and othe	Voted in to power in Gaza Brutal acts of terror	NO QUOTES	Ireland's recognition of Palest	NEUTRAL	

Appendix F: Data extracted from the analysis of O Globo.

O Globo's stance

Category	Neutral	Pro-Israel	Criticizes Israel	Human Rights
Opinion	8	4	2	3
Guest Contributors	3	5	-	2
Total	11	9	2	5

Types of quotations from O Globo

Type of quotation	Frequency
No quotes	10
No quotes from Israel/Palestine	8
Quotes from Israel/Palestine	2
Quotes from Israel only	2
Quotes from Israel and other sources (Not Palestine)	5

Main topics from O Globo

Main topics	Occurrence
Antisemitism	4
Peace Prospects	4
Genocide accusations	4
Israeli vision of the conflict	4
Israel's Government	2
Post war	2
United Nations	2
Children protection	1
Humanitarian Aid	1

Main topics	Occurrence
Foreigners in Gaza	1
Hamas	1
Palestinian vision of the conflict	1

Word clusters/expressions and themes mostly associated with Israel in O Globo

Theme	Word clusters / Expressions
Holocaust/Persecution	Holocaust Antisemitism Persecution of Jews Protect Jews
Military/Conflict	Troops Military Soldiers Infantry Offensive Army Slaughter Destruction War
Occupation/Colonisation	Racism Ethnocentrism Invasion Blockage Unnecessary/Disproportionate force Mass arrests Collective punishment Belligerent Policies Occupation Settlers/Settlements Dehumanization of Palestinians Genocide Supremacist Bombarding Violations
Israel's Rights	Right to exist

	Self-determination Protect citizens Right of defence
Democracy/Peace	Peace process/offers Truce Freedom Democracy
October 7th 2023	Trauma Revenge Hostages Massacred Victims

Word clusters/expressions and themes mostly associated with Palestine in O Globo

Theme	Word clusters / Expressions
Statehood/Rights	Palestinian State Free State Palestinian Authority Resistance Liberation Human Rights Independence Freedom
Gaza	Occupation Apartheid Blockage Restrictions Civilians Victims Hostages Refugees Brutalized Displaced Trauma Suffering Cornered Humanitarian crisis Famine

	Dehumanization Massacre Nakba Expulsion Tragedy Humanitarian violations
Violence/Terrorism	"From the river to the sea" Accomplice Palestinian terrorists from Hamas Palestinian terrorist groups Hamas Palestinian militia Terrorism
Peace agreements	Rejected the offer Did not accepted Far-left wing

Word clusters/expressions and themes mostly associated with Hamas in O Globo

Theme	Word clusters / Expressions
Violence/Terrorism	Terrorism/Terrorists Attacks Invasion Kidnap Murders Torture Execution Atrocities Cruelty Threat Heinous Annihilation Barbarism Massacre Pogrom
Connections	Islamic State Al-Qaeda Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood

Structure

Underground tunnels
Military fortress
Human shields
Dictatorship

Appendix G: Data extracted from the analysis of O Estado de São Paulo.

O Estado de São Paulo's stance

Category	Neutral	Pro-Israel	Criticizes Israel	Human Rights
Opinion	7	8	-	4
Guest Contributors	19	10	5	2
Total	26	18	5	6

Main topics from O Estado de São Paulo

Main topics	Occurrence
Diplomacy	10
Peace Prospects	8
War context	8
Israeli Government	8
Post war	6
War against terrorism	4
Antisemitism	3
Hamas	2
Humanitarian crisis	2
United Nations	1
Zionism	1
Public opinion	1
Child protection	1

Types of quotations from O Estado de São Paulo

Type of quotation	Frequency
No quotes	27
No quotes from Israel/Palestine	10
Quotes from Israel/Palestine	1
Quotes from Israel only	5
Quotes from Palestine only	2
Quotes from Israel and other sources (Not Palestine)	10

Word clusters/expressions and themes mostly associated with Israel in O Estado de São Paulo

Theme	Word clusters / Expressions
Military/War	Troops Army Military Forces Soldiers Operation War Attacks Invasion Bombing Retaliation Counterattack Intelligence
War against terrorism	Destruction of Hamas Overthrow Hamas Eradicate Hamas Kill Hamas' leadership Combating Hamas Punish Hamas War on terrorism
Gaza/Palestinians	Civilians in Gaza Israeli prisons for Palestinians Demilitarize Gaza

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Blockage in Gaza Civilians Hostages
Occupation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Settlers Settlements Occupation Colonialism Occupied territories Expansion Annexing
October 7th 2023	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Civilians Hostages Deaths Murder of youth Children murdered Israeli corpses Revenge Trauma Response Fear Massacre Bloodiest day
Israel's existence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Right of self-defence Right to the land Right of existence Democracy Self-determination Zionism Antisemitism Nationalism Jews Free world Defence Protect its citizens Peace agreements Partnerships Public opinion against Israel Hatred against Israel Anti-Israel feeling The most stigmatized people on Earth Holy Nation

Blessed people
Ancestral land

Word clusters/expressions and themes mostly associated with Palestine in O Estado de São Paulo

Theme	Word clusters / Expressions
Statehood	Palestinian Authority Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) Palestinian State Representation Leadership Weakened Palestinian Question Resistance Self-determination Independence Rejection to the Partition Plan Right to exist
Humanitarian crisis	Civilians Vulnerable Deaths Refugees Suffering Trauma Victims Misery Children Genocide Ethnic cleansing Human rights Caught in the cross-fire
Territory	Nakba Stolen land Ancestral land Native people Partition of Palestine Colonization Isolated Right to the land Expulsion

Terrorism	Palestinian Islamic Mafia Moderate Palestinians Palestinian Factions Extremist Palestinian groups Militants Palestinian militias Palestinian terrorists Hezbollah support Palestinian attack Palestinians that killed Israelis Human shields Anti-Jewish feeling "From the river to the sea"
Hamas	Tools of a terrorist organization Displayed to attract sympathy Hamas and Palestinians are not the same thing Hamas victims Hamas' accomplices

Word clusters/expressions and themes mostly associated with Hamas in O Estado de São Paulo

Theme	Word clusters / Expressions
Violence	Attacks Invasion Conflict War Incursion Aggression Massacre Atrocities Murderers Rape Torture Brutality War crime Savage Kidnap Hostages Barbarism Destruction Madness

Terrorism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Terrorist Extremists Terrorist Islamic group Hezbollah Houthis ISIS Muslim Brotherhood Iran Taliban Al-Qaeda Jihad Islami Palestinian mafia Enemies of Palestinians Doha, Qatar Death cult
Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rockets Missile Armament Arsenal Underground tunnels Military structure Human shields
Palestinians	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Human shields Do not represent Palestine Do not represent Palestinians' interests

Appendix H: Data extracted from the analysis of The Irish Times.

The Irish Times' stance

Category	Neutral	Pro-Israel	Criticizes Israel	Human Rights
Opinion	18	1	-	16
Guest Contributors	6	2	1	15
Total	24	3	1	31

Types of quotations from The Irish Times

Type of quotation	Frequency
No quotes	35
No quotes from Israel/Palestine	12
Quotes from Israel/Palestine	1
Quotes from Israel only	5
Quotes from Palestine only	2
Quotes from Israel and other sources (Not Palestine)	2
Quotes from Palestine and other sources (Not Israel)	2

Main topics from The Irish Times

Main topics	Occurrence
Diplomacy	9
Context of the war	8
Public Opinion	6
Human Rights	5
Peace Prospects	4

Main topics	Occurrence
Post war	4
Ireland's government	4
Antisemitism	3
Palestinian point of view	3
Civilians	3
Israeli point of view	2
Boycott	2
Double Standards	1
Northern Ireland peace agreement	1
Religion	1
Children protection	1
Genocide accusations	1
Terrorism	1

Word clusters/expressions and themes mostly associated with Israel in The Irish Times

Theme	Word clusters / Expressions
Military	Soldiers Army Security Troops Onslaught Defence Forces Military
Occupation	Colonial forces Right-wing settlers Zionists Illegal settlements Annexation Siege

	Control Violation of international law Violation of territorial integrity
Violence against Palestinians	Bombardment Attack Airstrikes Missile strike Explosion Indiscriminate mass killings Killing campaign Destroyed by Israel Devastation in Gaza Ethnic cleansing Genocide War crimes Crimes against the humanity Brutalise Palestinians Apartheid Oppression Dehumanization Denying human rights Imprisoned Palestinians Children killed Manmade famine Starvation Deprivation Collective punishment Forced expulsion Mass murder Demonising Palestinians
October 7th 2023	Massacre Butchery Torture Pogroms Abominable Brutal Hostages Children massacred Killed Israelis Bloodletting Trauma Grief and fury

	Revenge
The Israeli State	Holocaust Jewish ancestral homeland Jewish control of Israel Zionism Right to exist Right to self-defence Right to retaliate Law of Return Supporting Hamas Defeat Hamas

Word clusters/expressions and themes mostly associated with Palestine in The Irish Times

Theme	Word clusters / Expressions
Statehood	Palestinian Question Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) Recognition of Palestine Palestinian Authority Partition of Palestine Right of return Independent State Palestinians rights Imposed statelessness Self-determination
Victims of violence	Prisoners Genocide Massacres Atrocities against Palestinians Ethnic cleansing Collective punishment Suffering Children killed Slaughter Innocent humans Trauma Starvation Mass graves Famine Wounded Trapped in Gaza

	Children snatched from Gaza Children beaten broken Children dying in droves Civilians killed
Occupation	Occupied Palestinian Territories Occupation Dispossession Colonisation Expropriation of Palestinian territories Siege Open-air prison Forced out Attacks by settlers Israeli military rule in Palestine Brutal military occupation
Palestinian People	Radicalized Homeless Refugees Displaced Rights Criminalisation of Palestinian speech Persecution of Palestinian people Palestinian resistance

Word clusters/expressions and themes mostly associated with Hamas in The Irish Times

Theme	Word clusters / Expressions
Violence	Attack Assault Hostages Murderers Massacre Slaughter Killed Abduction Kidnap Brutal Barbaric Heinous Horrific Cruelty

	Repugnant Savagery Sadistic Bloody events Unjustifiable attacks
Terrorism	Terrorists Terrorism Muslim Brotherhood Armed Islamist group Hezbollah Houthi Genocidal Extreme Islamist organisation Militants Gunmen Tunnels in Gaza Threat

Appendix I: Data extracted from the analysis of the Irish Independent.

Irish Independent's stance

Category	Neutral	Pro-Israel	Criticizes Israel	Human Rights
Opinion	6	-	-	4
Guest Contributors	9	4	-	10
Total	15	4	-	14

Types of quotations from Irish Independent

Type of quotation	Frequency
No quotes	15
No quotes from Israel/Palestine	11
Quotes from Israel/Palestine	2
Quotes from Israel only	2
Quotes from Israel and other sources (Not Palestine)	3

Main topics from Irish Independent

Main topics	Occurrence
Diplomacy	4
Student activism	4
Public opinion	4
Ireland's recognition of Palestine	3
Peace Prospects	3
Historical context	3
Irish in Israel	2
Civilians	2
Antisemitism	2

Main topics	Occurrence
Post war	1
Jewish perspective	1
Genocide accusations	1
Humanitarian aid	1
Children protection	1

Word clusters/expressions and themes mostly associated with Israel in the Irish Independent

Theme	Word clusters / Expressions
Military/Security	Security Forces Military Doesn't deliberately aim to kill civilians Didn't intentionally target Rockets Iron Dome Troops Security forces Danger to Israel Facing down a terrorist organisation
October 7th 2023	Response Fight back Counteroffensive in Gaza Massacred Killed Kidnapped Civilians Hostages Heartbreak of Jewish families Trauma Rape Mutilation
Violence against Palestinians	Bombardment War against Palestinians Siege Blockade

	Invasion Causing greater humanitarian catastrophe Settlers Displacement Starving Gaza Systematically target aid workers Apartheid Annex territory Campaign against Palestinians
Israeli State	Erasure of the Israeli State Antisemitism Alleged Israeli atrocities Animus against Israel Biblical land of Israel Ancient Land Holocaust
Diplomacy	Cease funding Impunity Whitewashing Economic sanctions against Israel Boycott Hold Israel accountable

Word clusters/expressions and themes mostly associated with Palestine in the Irish Independent

Theme	Word clusters / Expressions
Statehood	Palestinian Authority Palestinian State Rights Self-determination Self-governance Territorial integrity Same right as Jewish citizens Recognition Independence
Terrorism	Hamas Other Palestinian armed groups Palestinian Factions "From the river to the sea" Widespread Palestinian support for a terrorist organisation

Territory	Division of Palestine Lands stolen Colonisation Forced migration British-controlled Palestine Homeland Expelled en masse Displacement Forced out Expulsion
Victims	Killed Civilians Carnage Punishment Journalists killed Death toll Denied dignity Humanitarian cataclysm Refugees Suffering Genocide Carnage in Gaza

Word clusters/expressions and themes mostly associated with Hamas in the Irish Independent

Theme	Word clusters / Expressions
Violence	Attack Hostages War crimes Killed Kidnapped Massacre Brutal Rape Torture Savagery Atrocities Inflicting loss and damage Wreaked havoc Bloody mayhem Barbaric

	Inhumane Cruelty Cannot be justified Jew hatred Antisemitism
Structure	Military Fighters Terror organisation Rockets Network of tunnels Human shields Extremists Islamist militant faction Group of animals Seized control