
SYMBOLIC STRUGGLE IN THE DISCOURSE OF THE CEASEFIRE BETWEEN HAMAS AND ISRAEL NOVEMBER 2023

Munzila Adelawati¹, Habib Muharrom Sudarmawan², Vika Wafa Ilmi³

¹ Magister Linguistik, Fakultas Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Gadjah Mada,
Yogyakarta, INDONESIA

² Pendidikan Bahasa Arab, Fakultas Sastra, Universitas Negeri Malang, Malang,
INDONESIA

³ Magister Bahasa dan Sastra Arab, Fakultas Adab dan Ilmu Budaya, UIN Sunan
Kalijaga, Yogyakarta, INDONESIA
Email: munzilaadelawati@mail.ugm.ac.id¹

Submit: 17-03-2025 Revisi: 24-04-2025 Terbit: 31-10-2025

DOI: 10.20961/basastra.v13i2.100544

Abstract: This research examines the discourse constructed by Al Jazeera and BBC News in their coverage of the Israel-Hamas ceasefire in November 2023. Using Pierre Bourdieu's theory of symbolic battle to identify the parties that play the role of Doxa and Hethrodoxa. While the critical discourse analysis model analysis model applied in this research is Fairclough's model, data is analyzed in three steps, namely text description, process interpretation, and explanation of socio cultural practices. The findings can be summarized as follows. First, the symbolic battle in the news discourse on the news discourse on the November 2023 Israeli and Hamas ceasefire on BBC News and Al-Jazeera have two forms, namely, (a). Introduces opposing viewpoints on Hamas and Israel with different values. (b) Rejecting viewpoints on Hamas and Issrael with different Values. Second, the symbolic battle in the discourse discourse of the November 2023 Israel and Hamas ceasefire news on BBC News and Al-Jazeera use meconnaissance strategies, namely euphemization and censorship.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, Hamas, Israel, symbolic struggle, Pierre Bourdieu

PERTARUNGAN SIMBOLIK DALAM WACANA BERITA GENJATAN SENJATA HAMAS DAN ISRAEL NOVEMBER 2023

Abstrak: Konflik antara Israel dan Hamas telah menjadi polemik beberapa dekade, dengan media berperan dalam membentuk opini publik. Al-jazeera dan BBC News menjadi dua media yang aktif dalam memberitakan konflik ini. Penelitian ini menganalisis wacana yang dibangun oleh kedua media tersebut dalam pemberitaan gencatan senjata antara Israel dan Hamas pada November 2023 silam. Teori yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah pertarungan simbolik Pierre Bourdieu untuk mengidentifikasi pihak yang berperan sebagai *Doxa* dan *Heterodoxa*. Sedangkan model analisis wacana kritis yang diterapkan dalam penelitian ini adalah model milik Fairclough, yaitu data dianalisis dalam tiga langkah, yaitu deskripsi teks, interpretasi proses, dan penjelasan praktik sosial-budaya. Hasil temuan dapat dirangkum sebagai berikut. Pertama, Pertarungan simbolik dalam wacana pemberitaan tentang wacana berita gencatan senjata Israel dan Hamas November 2023 di BBC News dan Al-Jazeera memiliki dua bentuk yaitu, (a). Mengenalkan sudut pandang yang berlawanan tentang Hamas dan Israel dengan nilai yang berbeda. (b). Menolak sudut pandang tentang Hamas dan Israel dengan nilai yang berbeda. Kedua, Pertarungan simbolik dalam wacana berita gencatan senjata Israel dan Hamas November 2023 di BBC News dan Al-Jazeera menggunakan strategi *meconnaissance*, yakni eufemisasi dan sensorisasi.

Kata Kunci: analisis wacana Kritis; Hamas; Israel; pertarungan simbolik; Pierre Bourdieu

INTRODUCTION

The conflict between Palestine and Israel has garnered global attention. Information about the ongoing struggle between Palestine and Israel is accessible across various media platforms. The news that circulates among the public has sparked both support and opposition (Pratama et al., 2024). In such a situation, the media plays a crucial role in conveying information to the public. However, in the context of such a sensitive conflict, media coverage is not free from the potential influence of various factors, such as political interests, ideology, or biased perspectives (Ramadani et al., 2024: 887-888). This further intensifies the differing attitudes within society, where some support Palestine and condemn Israel's actions, while others choose to remain neutral. For example, in Indonesia, the conflict between Palestine and Israel has sparked social movements to help Palestinian victims. The social movement in Indonesia includes fundraising efforts for money, medicines, or food (Prawira et al., 2021).

A recent conflict that caught public attention was the Hamas attack on Israel from Gaza on October 7, 2023. Hamas is a Palestinian militant group seeking liberation from Israeli imperialist occupation (Basyuni et al., 2015). On the same day, Israel retaliated by bombing Gaza (Adit, 2024). The attacks from both sides resulted in a ceasefire agreement, which was finalized in November 2023.

The ceasefire between Hamas in Gaza and Israel aims to exchange hostages for a few days. Many national and international media outlets have

reported on the ceasefire, including BBC News and Al-Jazeera, which have actively covered the ceasefire situation between Hamas and Israel. Upon examining the coverage from both sides, the researcher found a striking difference in perspectives between these two major media outlets. BBC News and Al-Jazeera appear to have different views when reporting on the event. They seem to compete to portray themselves as the most reliable sources of information. In the news texts published by BBC News and Al-Jazeera, the researcher observed a symbolic struggle driven by each media outlet's desire to gain public trust as the most accurate and trustworthy source of information.

As Bourdieu suggests, to gain symbolic power, a symbolic struggle is necessary. A symbolic struggle is a form of competition for gaining power over other social actors in terms of their presence, views, reactions, and judgments (Bourdieu, 1984). This is further clarified by Wijaya and Santoso (2022: 992), who state that symbolic struggle is a non-violent competition, where language is used as a tool. The goal of symbolic struggle is to win or dominate opponents. This struggle often arises from differences in worldviews, perspectives, and values held by each social actor (Nagara, 2021).

In the context of the symbolic struggle between BBC News and Al-Jazeera in reporting on the ceasefire between Hamas and Israel, the social actors involved include individuals, groups, organizations, or even media outlets. The main goal of the symbolic struggle is to gain power to create and present a worldview that is most recognized, accepted as true, and legitimate in the eyes of the public. In

other words, the actor who wins the symbolic struggle will have the authority to define social reality and set the standards of values recognized by society.

In a symbolic struggle, there is a discourse struggle. In a struggle, there are dominant and opposing sides. The dominant discourse is called doxa, while the opposing discourse, which attempts to overthrow the dominant discourse and introduce a new one, is called heterodoxy (Latiar, 2019). In this study, doxa refers to BBC News, owned by the United Kingdom and the United States, with an argument base more aligned with the symbolic capital of the Western world. Meanwhile, heterodoxy in this study comes from Al-Jazeera, backed by the Qatari government, representing the Eastern world.

The analysis of the symbolic struggle in discourse is carried out by examining two aspects of discourse: euphemism and censorship. Euphemism is a form of symbolic struggle whose mechanism is not visible, operates subtly, unconsciously, and occurs in the subconscious. The purpose of using euphemism is to show dislike and negativity toward actions and events (Zaharnika & Nazirun, 2023: 64). On the other hand, censorship is carried out through mechanisms that expand moral honor and low morality. Euphemism can include tasks, contributions, trust, loyalty, politeness, and virtues (Jazeri, 2013). The use of euphemism and censorship is typically employed to replace words that are considered unusual in society or taboo, using alternative expressions as a way to soften the meaning (Devianti & Yasin, 2023: 62-63).

Previous research on symbolic struggles has been conducted by several researchers. For instance, Putri (2020) examined symbolic violence in the relationship between educators and students, finding that in the learning process, students are forced to follow the educators' will, a relationship that is considered normal in Indonesia's education sector. Selfiani et al. (2021) studied the symbolic struggle in the 2020 South Sulawesi local election slogans using Bourdieu's critical discourse analysis approach. Their findings showed two aspects of symbolic struggle, namely euphemism and censorship, with fourteen forms. Mangera and Simega (2017) used Bourdieu's symbolic approach to investigate euphemism as a form of symbolic violence in learning at the Christian vocational school in Makala Tana Toraja. This study found that there were nine forms of euphemism occurring during classroom learning, causing pressure on students. Jazeri (2013) researched the symbolic struggle in the discourse of special student assistance, showing that the discourse on student assistance became a symbolic struggle between the government and students.

Based on previous studies, it is evident that research on symbolic struggles has become an interesting discourse. The difference between this study and previous studies lies in the research object. This research uses international media to examine the Palestine and Hamas conflict. The aim of this study is to describe the forms of symbolic struggle in the discourse of the ceasefire news between Israel and Hamas in November 2023 and to explain the strategies involved in the symbolic struggle in the ceasefire

discourse between Israel and Hamas in November 2023.

RESEARCH METHOD

The approach of this research is qualitative descriptive, which studies the research object in its natural condition. This method is used to analyze data in the form of words with the goal of describing and interpreting the research object, which in this case is the discourse of online media reports from Al-Jazeera and BBC News (Sugiyono, 2019). The research object consists of four news headlines on the same topic: the extension of the ceasefire and the condition of Hamas and Israeli hostages after being freed. Two articles are from each media.

The first data was taken from BBC News with the headline "Israel-Hamas Truce in Gaza Extended as More Hostages Freed" (Goksedef, 2023). The corresponding discourse from Al-Jazeera is titled "Israel and Hamas agree to extend truce for seventh day" (Al-Jazeera, 2023b). The second topic discusses the condition of the freed Hamas and Israeli hostages, with BBC News reporting titled "Freed Hamas Captives tell of Fear, Squalor and Hunger" (Adams, Paul & Baker, 2023), while Al-Jazeera's counterpart article is titled "Freed Israeli Hostages tell families of ordeal in Gaza Captivity" (Al-Jazeera, 2023a).

After collecting the data, the researcher applied Pierre Bourdieu's symbolic struggle approach to understand the forms and strategies used by both media outlets. Symbolic struggle is the use of language with vested interests, such as attempts to control, dominate, and influence other groups. Therefore, every choice of words and sentence structure carries hidden meanings, which can be

explained through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Agustin, 2023).

The concept of symbolic struggle was introduced by Pierre Bourdieu, though he did not develop a specific method for analyzing discourse. Hence, this research applies Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis model, which views the relationship between discourse and social practice as dialectical, where both influence each other: social order shapes discourse, and discourse also shapes social order (Fairclough in Khotimah, 2024:48). Based on this perspective, Fairclough developed the framework for Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as an approach to understand how language is used and how it plays a role in constructing and influencing power and ideology in society.

The analysis procedure in the Critical Discourse Analysis framework according to Fairclough (1997) consists of three stages: (1) Text analysis (descriptive), (2) Processing analysis (interpretation), (3) Socio-cultural practice analysis (explanation). First, at the text analysis level (descriptive), the researcher uncovers the meaning of the text by critically analyzing the language. For example, when reading an article or listening to a speech, the researcher pays attention to word choices, sentence structure, and how paragraphs are organized.

Second, at the processing analysis level (interpretation), the focus is on the production and dissemination process of the text. For instance, an article written by a journalist and published in a major media outlet may have a different impact compared to a personal blog post. This production and distribution process is crucial because

it influences how the text is received and interpreted by the audience.

Third, at the socio-cultural practice analysis level (explanation), the researcher examines the broader social context in which the text operates. This involves understanding how the text reflects, sustains, or challenges the power structures and ideologies in society. For example, an advertising campaign might not just sell a product but also reinforce gender or class stereotypes. By understanding this social context, the researcher can see how discourse is used to construct or change public opinion and how it impacts everyday life.

By combining these three levels, critical discourse analysis helps the researcher look deeper than just the words written or spoken. The researcher can understand how language shapes and is shaped by power and ideology, providing deeper insights into the complex social dynamics surrounding the issue.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this study, the researcher found a symbolic struggle in the reporting of the ceasefire between Israel and Hamas in November 2023 on BBC News and Al-Jazeera. This struggle is evident in the choice of words used by both media outlets. BBC News tends to use words that support conservative or dominant views, known as doxa, while Al-Jazeera chooses words that reflect opposing views or attempt to overthrow the dominant perspective, which is known as heterodoxy.

For example, BBC News describes Israel's actions with terms that convey a positive or neutral tone, while Al-Jazeera tends to use words that are more critical of Israel and more

supportive of the Palestinian perspective. The researcher observed that BBC News acts as the dominant side, striving to maintain the existing mainstream view, while Al-Jazeera emerges as the challenger to this dominant view, attempting to present a different, more critical perspective on Israel's actions.

Forms of Symbolic Struggle

The symbolic struggle in the discourse of the ceasefire reporting between Israel and Hamas in November 2023 on BBC News and Al-Jazeera takes one form: (a) Introducing opposing viewpoints on Hamas and Israel with different values. (b) Rejecting viewpoints on Hamas and Israel with alternative values.

Introducing Opposing Viewpoints on Hamas and Israel with Different Values

BBC News as the doxa introduces a viewpoint on Hamas and Israel with certain values. In the news discourse titled 'Israel-Hamas Truce In Gaza Extended as More Hostages Freed' published on November 30, 2023, BBC News emphasizes that the extension of the ceasefire between Israel and Palestine was possible because Israel agreed to the ceasefire.

In this symbolic struggle, the emphasis made by BBC News reflects that their media foregrounds Israel's role as the party in control of the peace process. Indirectly, this discourse can shift public perception by portraying Israel as the initiator of the ceasefire extension in November 2023, while Hamas's role tends to be less highlighted. The following discourse is evident in the statement:

Israel's military said the temporary ceasefire was being extended "in light of the mediators' efforts to continue the process of releasing the hostages and subject to the terms of the framework". The prime minister's office subsequently confirmed the extension, saying it had received a new list of women and children hostages, though it did not specify how many names were on the list. Hamas said there was an agreement to "extend the truce for a seventh day," without giving further details. The initial truce was due to last four days but has been extended twice. When the agreement was negotiated, Israel said the pause in fighting would be extended by one day for every 10 further hostages released (Goksedef, 2023).

The discourse above presents the perspective that the extension of the ceasefire between Israel and Palestine occurred because Israel had received the latest list of female and child hostages. Therefore, Israel promised to extend the ceasefire by one day for every ten hostages released. In other words, if Israel did not want to extend the ceasefire or did not receive new names of hostages, Israel could resume attacks immediately. BBC News also seems to conceal other factors, such as international pressure or the role of third-party negotiators, which are likely to have influenced the extension of the ceasefire. In Pierre Bourdieu's symbolic struggle analysis, this type of discourse can be categorized as part of the doxa strategy, where the dominance of a particular narrative is maintained through representations that favor one side while reducing the role of the other side.

The discourse presented by BBC News regarding the ceasefire received a counter from the heterodoxa group, Al-Jazeera. Al-Jazeera introduced a new discourse stating that the extension of the ceasefire occurred due to an agreement between both parties and increasing international pressure, especially from the Qatari government

as a mediator. This discourse challenges the dominance of the more pro-Israel narrative. By emphasizing that the extension of the ceasefire was not solely Israel's decision, but the result of a mutual agreement and international intervention, particularly from Qatar. In this discourse, Al-Jazeera attempts to shape a more balanced perspective or even one that is more sympathetic to Hamas. This discourse is reflected in the following statement:

The truce between Israel and Hamas has been extended for a seventh day, sources from both sides announced just minutes before the agreement was set to expire.

Israel's military said on Thursday that the temporary pause in fighting in the Gaza Strip will continue.

In a separate statement, Hamas said an agreement has been reached to extend the temporary ceasefire, which initially began on Friday.

Qatar, which has been mediating between the two sides, said the agreement was being extended under the same terms as in the past, under which Hamas has released 10 Israeli hostages per day in exchange for 30 Palestinian prisoners (Al-jazeera, 2023b).

International pressure for such a lasting ceasefire has mounted after nearly eight weeks of Israeli bombardment and a ground campaign in Gaza (Al-jazeera, 2023b).

The discourse presented by Al-Jazeera as the heterodoxa group consists of several perspectives on the extension of the ceasefire between Israel and Palestine, including that both parties had agreed to extend the ceasefire. Qatar acted as a mediator between both sides with the provision that for every 10 hostages, 30 Palestinian prisoners would be released. Lastly, international pressure for a ceasefire between Israel and Palestine increased after Israel's bombing of Gaza. In other words, Al-

Jazeera emphasized that the ceasefire occurred due to an agreement between both parties.

The presence of this discourse from the heterodoxa group aims to negate the dominance of the doxa narrative, which tends to portray Israel as the party determining the peace. By highlighting the role of negotiations and international pressure, Al-Jazeera tries to show that the ceasefire was not solely Israel's decision but the result of broader political dynamics.

The second topic in the symbolic struggle between the two media outlets is the condition of the Hamas and Israeli hostages after being freed. First, BBC News' news discourse on November 29, 2023, with the title 'Freed Hamas Captives tell of fear, squalor and hunger,' as the doxa party, presents the perspective that freed Israeli hostages experienced psychological and physical trauma. This discourse is presented by the doxa party to reinforce a narrative more favorable to Israel. By focusing on the suffering of the hostages, BBC News constructs an image of Hamas as the party responsible for these conditions. The discourse is presented in the following statement:

Bare benches for beds in "suffocating", airless rooms. Little to no food. A child captive forced by Hamas to watch the carnage of 7 October on video. Stories emerging from those freed from Gaza - mostly through their relatives - paint a picture of weeks spent in squalor, uncertainty and fear. One hostage, Ruti Munder, 78, said she learned her son had been killed in Israel by listening to a radio used by guards. Deborah Cohen claimed her 12-year-old nephew was made to watch videos of the Hamas rampage through southern Israel. Few have spoken directly about their experiences, but those who have - either themselves or Palestinians through their families - relay a captivity that

has left a host of emotional and physical scars (Adams, Paul & Baker, 2023).

The discourse above presents the perspective that freed Israeli hostages were mistreated during their detention by Hamas, such as sleeping on empty benches, being held in suffocating rooms without air, provided with little food, and being forced to watch footage of Hamas's massacre on October 7, 2023. Only a few people directly revealed this experience. However, those who experienced it, either personally or through family members, shared their experiences, which left many emotional and physical scars.

In other words, BBC News aims to convey that psychological and physical abuse occurred to Israeli hostages during their detention by Hamas, and this abuse did not discriminate by age, even affecting children. In the symbolic struggle of the news, the narrative used by BBC News aims to maintain the dominance of a discourse that aligns with Israel's interests and shapes public opinion to be more sympathetic toward Israel.

This discourse from BBC News faced a counter-discourse from Al-Jazeera, as the heterodoxa group, which published the news titled 'Freed Israeli Hostages tell families of ordeal in Gaza Captivity.' Al-Jazeera in its discourse emphasizes that the freed Israeli prisoners were kept away from the media and their stories emerged through family filters without independent verification.

Al-Jazeera's emphasis on this point seems to present a counter-discourse challenging the dominant narrative of BBC News. Al-Jazeera highlights that the abuse committed by Hamas has not been independently verified because

after their release, the hostages were kept away from the media. Additionally, the claims of violence against the hostages did not come directly from the victims, but from family members and other sources. By focusing on this aspect, Al-Jazeera attempts to question the credibility of the information conveyed by the hostages' families and challenges the narrative portraying Hamas as the perpetrator of violence. This discourse is demonstrated in the following statement:

- a) Since the latest round of releases began on Friday, with Israel releasing some jailed in exchange, the freed captives have been kept away from the media.
- b) Their stories have come out through the filter of family members, without independent verification, offering a hint of their ordeal.
- c) Hamas, the Palestinians armed group which governs Gaza, says it has treated the captives in accordance with Islamic teachings to preserve their lives and wellbeing.
- d) One Israeli mother, Daniel Aloni, wrote to thank Hamas's armed Qassam Brigades before her release with daughter Emilia. Their story went viral in Arabic media. Daniel wrote to thank them for giving Emilia sweets and fruit and treating her daughter like a queen. "I will forever be thankful that she doesn't leave here with trauma," she wrote. "If only in this world we could truly be good friends." It was not clear whether Daniel was forced to write the letter in captivity. Attempts by news organisations to reach her or family for comment were unsuccessful (Al-jazeera, 2023a).

The discourse presented above emphasizes again that the violence committed by Hamas is merely an accusation from other sources, not the hostages themselves. Hamas even states that they treated the hostages according to Islamic teachings and ensured their well-being. Additionally, the heterodoxa group also presented a

viral story on Arab social media about an Israeli mother writing a thank-you note to the Qassam Brigades, Hamas soldiers, for treating her daughter like a queen. Although the letter has not been validated due to the media's difficulty in contacting Daniel Aloni and his daughter Emilia.

Based on the discourse presented above, it can be concluded that Al-Jazeera tries to balance the discourse by presenting an alternative perspective, suggesting that Hamas's treatment of prisoners is not entirely negative, as often portrayed by pro-Israel media. This approach shows Al-Jazeera's attempt to build a more critical narrative against the information presented by BBC News.

After analyzing the symbolic struggle between the two media outlets, it can be concluded that each media constructs discourse based on the values they hold. BBC News introduces Hamas with values of violence and terror, while Israel is positioned as the victim. In contrast, Al-Jazeera introduces Hamas with values of struggle and humanity, while Israel is portrayed with the value of being the aggressor.

Rejecting Viewpoints on Hamas and Israel with Different Values

In addition to presenting viewpoints on Hamas and Israel with certain values, the symbolic struggle in the news discourse about the ceasefire between Israel and Hamas in November 2023 on BBC News and Al-Jazeera has another form, which is rejecting the viewpoint on the ceasefire between Israel and Hamas with other values.

In the BBC News discourse titled 'Israel-Hamas Truce In Gaza Extended as More Hostages Freed'

published on November 30, 2023, the rejection discourse in the BBC News article is the rejection of a permanent ceasefire by Israel in order to fulfill promises. The doxa side presents this discourse to assert Israel's position in defending its interests. This discourse aims to build a narrative that Israel cannot accept a permanent ceasefire due to its commitment to protecting national security and fulfilling promises to its citizens. This discourse is portrayed in the following statement:

US Secretary of State Antony Blinken said the truce was "producing results" and should continue. "We have seen over the last week the very positive development of hostages coming home, being reunited with their families," he said at a meeting with Israeli President Isaac Herzog in Tel Aviv on Thursday. "It's also enabled an increase in humanitarian assistance to go to innocent civilians in Gaza who need it desperately." But on Wednesday Israel's Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, repeated earlier pledges to resume the war once the truce ends (Goksedef, 2023).

The discourse above explains that the ceasefire between Hamas and Israel led to positive developments, such as the return of hostages to their homes and the continuation of humanitarian aid for innocent civilians in Palestine. However, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu rejected a permanent ceasefire because he wanted to fulfill his promise that the war would continue once the ceasefire ended. Netanyahu's discourse does not offer any alternatives to war after the ceasefire. With this discourse, BBC News presents Israel as the party adhering firmly to security principles, while Hamas remains positioned as an unresolved threat.

Al-Jazeera provides a counter-discourse to the BBC News coverage

above. The heterodoxa side introduces a rejection of the continuation of war by emphasizing the importance of a long-term ceasefire to prevent a larger humanitarian crisis. This discourse attempts to highlight the humanitarian impact of the conflict and challenge the narrative supporting Israel's military actions. This discourse is evidenced in the following statement:

International pressure for such a lasting ceasefire has mounted after nearly eight weeks of Israeli bombardment and a ground campaign in Gaza. The Israeli attacks have killed at least 15,000 Palestinians, uprooted three-quarters of the population of 2.3 million and sparked a devastating humanitarian crisis.

Still, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu insisted on Wednesday that Israel will eventually resume its attacks on Gaza as it seeks to root out Hamas, which has ruled Gaza for 16 years (Al-jazeera, 2023b).

The discourse presented by Al-Jazeera above is the rejection of war after the ceasefire. The international community also demands a long-term ceasefire due to the large number of casualties in Gaza, especially when Israel's last attack resulted in 15,000 Palestinian civilian deaths. This triggered a humanitarian crisis and devastation. The discourse also rejects Benjamin Netanyahu's reason for fulfilling his promise to the government to continue the war. The Israeli Prime Minister's goal is to eliminate Hamas, which has been leading Gaza for 16 years.

Based on the explanation of the discourse above, Al-Jazeera builds the perspective that the continuation of the war is not solely for Israel's security, as explained by BBC News, but is related to Netanyahu's political interests, which include eliminating Hamas and Israel's ambitions towards Gaza.

Based on the perspective of rejection presented by both media outlets, BBC News builds values of security and firmness, positioning Israel as the party acting to defend its national security by rejecting a permanent ceasefire. On the other hand, Al-Jazeera builds values of humanity and resistance to aggression, emphasizing the importance of a long-term ceasefire to prevent a humanitarian crisis and criticizing the political motives behind Israel's decision to continue the war.

Symbolic Struggle Strategy

The symbolic struggle in the news discourse about Israel and Hamas in November 2023 on BBC News and Al-Jazeera uses a reconnaissance strategy in the form of euphemism and censorship. This is a form of symbolic struggle whose mechanisms are invisible, operating subtly, unconsciously, and occurring in the subconscious. On the other hand, censorship is carried out through mechanisms that expand moral honor and low morality.

Eufemisme

The strategy used in the symbolic struggle within the news discourse about Israel and Hamas in November 2023 on BBC News and Al-Jazeera is the softening of words. The researcher found the softening of words in the BBC News discourse, where softening was paired with the word 'Israel.' In BBC News' report, when mentioning Israeli detainees in Gaza, the term 'captives' or 'hostages' was used rather than 'prisoners,' which is the term BBC News used for Palestinians and Hamas.

The discourse above is reflected in the statement, 'So far, some 102 Israeli hostages have been freed, while 210 Palestinian prisoners have been released. About 140 Israelis remain in captivity.' In the ceasefire news discourse between Hamas and Israel in November 2023, the researcher found that BBC News often used positive phrasing when paired with the word 'Israel' and negative diction with the words 'Palestine' and 'Hamas.'

Next, from the doxa group in the ceasefire news discourse between Israel and Hamas, the researcher found the softening of words from Al-Jazeera, particularly with the word 'Ordeal,' which means 'trial.' Al-Jazeera did not use the words 'fear, squalor, hunger' as BBC News did, which sought to create a negative image of Hamas and Palestine. An example from Al-Jazeera's discourse is, 'Freed Israeli hostages tell families of ordeal in Gaza captivity.'

Censorship

The strategy used in the symbolic struggle within the news discourse about Israel and Hamas in November 2023 on BBC News and Al-Jazeera is the use of negative word choices. This strategy is employed by BBC News to create a negative image of Hamas.

The symbolic words paired by BBC News with the words Hamas and Palestine are 'kidnapped,' 'held in prisons,' 'prisoners,' 'launched a major cross-border attack,' 'carnage,' and 'monsters.' These words are in stark contrast with the words paired with Israel, where BBC News uses softer diction such as 'hostages,' 'temporary ceasefire,' 'fear,' 'squalor,' 'hunger,' 'suffocating,' and 'had been killed.'

The use of negative words in news discourse aims to diminish the image of an actor, and in this research, BBC News aims to tarnish the image of Palestine and Hamas.

CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis above, the researcher draws three conclusions. First, in the discourse of the ceasefire news between Israel and Hamas in November 2023, BBC News and Al-Jazeera not only convey information but also engage in efforts to shape public perception through the perspectives and values they uphold. BBC News tends to represent a more conservative or dominant view (doxa), while Al-Jazeera represents a party attempting to overthrow the dominant discourse and bring a new discourse (heterodoxa).

Second, the symbolic struggle between BBC News and Al-Jazeera is manifested in two main forms. First, by introducing their respective viewpoints on Hamas and Israel according to the values they hold. For example, BBC News emphasizes that the extension of the ceasefire is due to Israel's approval, while Al-Jazeera highlights that it occurred because of an agreement between both parties and international pressure, particularly from Qatar. Second, by rejecting or criticizing the viewpoints of the other side. For example, BBC News rejects the idea of a permanent ceasefire from Israel in order to fulfill promises, while Al-Jazeera rejects this view by demanding a long-term ceasefire to prevent a humanitarian crisis and criticizing Benjamin Netanyahu's goal of continuing the war to eliminate Hamas. In this regard, BBC News and Al-Jazeera both attempt to show the

weaknesses or inaccuracies in the narratives promoted by their competing media.

Third, the reconnaissance strategy, which includes euphemism and censorship, is used by both media outlets in reporting this ceasefire. The euphemism strategy involves the use of milder or more positive language to describe certain actions or situations, thereby reducing their negative impact. For example, BBC News uses euphemism when paired with the word 'Israel.' The BBC News discourse, when mentioning Israeli detainees in Gaza, uses the word 'captives' or 'hostages' instead of 'prisoners,' which is the term used by BBC News for Palestinians and Hamas.

The censorship strategy involves censoring or removing information that does not align with the narrative the media wants to convey. By using this strategy, both BBC News and Al-Jazeera attempt to shape public opinion in accordance with their respective agendas. For example, BBC News creates a negative image of Hamas by using negative terms such as 'kidnapped,' 'held in prisons,' 'prisoners,' 'launched a major cross-border attack,' 'carnage,' and 'monsters.'

Overall, these conclusions show that the reporting on the ceasefire between Israel and Hamas by BBC News and Al-Jazeera is not just the transmission of information but also part of a symbolic struggle to control public views and gain legitimacy as the most accurate source of information. Based on this research, it can be noted that it is important for the media to apply transparent editorial policies to avoid being caught in one-sided bias. Meanwhile, news readers also need media literacy skills, which include the

ability to recognize biased word choices, compare coverage across national and international media, and understand the political context behind it. This effort can help the public be more critical in assessing information and not easily influenced by particular framing.

REFERENCES

Adams, Paul & Baker, G. (2023). *Freed Hamas captives tell of fear, squalor and hunger*. BBC News. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-67556006>

Adit, A. (2024). *Ini 10 Momen Penting Perang Israel-Hamas, Dimulai 7 Oktober 2023*. Kompas.Com. <https://www.kompas.com/global/read/2024/04/22/191708170/ini-10-momen-penting-perang-israel-hamas-dimulai-7-oktober-2023?page=all>

Agustin, F. D. (2023). Pertarungan Simbolik di Atas Trotoar Area Pasar TP (Tugu Pahlawan) Pagi Surabaya. *Biokultur*, 12(1), 1–10. <https://ejournal.unair.ac.id/BIOKULTUR/article/download/40239/25264>

Al-jazeera. (2023a). *Freed Israeli hostages tell families of ordeal in Gaza captivity*. Al-JAZEERA. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/11/29/freed-israeli-hostages-tell-families-of-ordeal-in-gaza-captivity>

Al-jazeera. (2023b). *Israel and Hamas agree to extend truce for seventh day*. Al-JAZEERA. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/11/30/israel-and-hamas-agree-to-extend-truce-for-seventh-day>

Basyuni, M. M., Abdullah, I., Sangidu, & Setyawati, S. M. (2015). Ideologi HAMAS gerakan Perlawan Islam. *Jurnal CMES*, VIII(1), 103. <https://jurnal.uns.ac.id/cmes/article/view/11632/>

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Harvard University Press.

Deviyanti, L., & Yasin, M.F. (2023). Eufemisme dalam Wacana Berita Kekerasan Seksual pada Portal Berita Daring Kanalkalimantan.com. *Jurnal Locana*, 6(2), 58-66. doi:10.20527/jlc.v6i2.159.

Fairclough, N. (1997). *Discourse and Social Change*. Polity Press.

Goksedef, E. (2023). *Israel-Hamas truce in Gaza extended as more hostages freed*. BBC News. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-67571742>

Jazeri, M. (2013). Pertarungan Simbolik Dalam Wacana Bantuan Khusus Mahasiswa. *Litera*, 8(1). <https://doi.org/10.21831/ltr.v8i1.1200>

Khotimah, K. (2024). Wacana Kritis Norman Fairclough Berita Media Massa Daring: Jepang Buang Limbah Nuklir. *Prasasti: Journal of Linguistic*, 9(1), 46-60. <https://doi.org/10.20961/prasasti.v9i1.80878>

Latiar, H. (2019). Penerapan Logika Berpikir Pierre Bourdieu Bagi Pustakawan. *Jurnal Pustaka Budaya*, 6(2), 50–54. <https://doi.org/10.31849/pb.v6i2.3175>

Mangera, E., & Simega, B. (2017). Eufemisasi Sebagai Bentuk Kekerasan Simbolik Pada Pembelajaran Di Smk Kristen Makale Tana Toraja. *PERSPEKTIF: Jurnal Pengembangan* ..., 02, 208–217.

<https://journal.unismuh.ac.id/index.php/Perspektif/article/view/1283>
<https://journal.unismuh.ac.id/index.php/Perspektif/article/download/1283/1171>

Nagara, G. (2021). Peran Kapital pada Media Sosial: Pertarungan Kuasa Wacana Tri Rismaharini di Twitter dengan Analisis Jaringan Sosial. *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi*, 8(1), 64. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jps.v8i1.68244>

Pratama, Y., Suryasuciramdhana, A., Saputra, I. B., & Pamungkas, D. S. (2024). Analisis Opini Publik Terhadap Konflik Palestina dan Israel. *Journal Innovation In Education*, 2(2), 238–244. <https://doi.org/10.59841/inoved.v2i2.1276>

Prawira, I., Irawan, R. E., & Karen, K. (2021). Objektivitas Tiga Media Siber Indonesia: Studi Konten Berita Konflik Israel-Palestina. *JWP (Jurnal Wacana Politik)*, 6(2), 95. <https://doi.org/10.24198/jwp.v6i2.35073>

Putri, R. O. (2020). Kekerasan Simbolik (Studi Relasi Pendidikan Dan Peserta Didik). *FITRAH: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman*, 5(1), 55–82. <https://doi.org/10.24952/fitrah.v5i1.1332>

Ramadani, M.S., Kurniawan, K., & Fuadin, A. (2024). Menguak Bias Media dalam Pemberitaan Konflik Israel-Palestina: Sebuah Analisis Konten Kritis. *Jurnal Onoma: Pendidikan, Bahasa dan Sastra*, 10(1), 887–905. <https://doi.org/10.30605/onoma.v10i1.3392>

Selfiani, S., Maman, M., & Usman, U. (2021). Pertarungan Simbolik Dalam Slogan Pilkada Sulawesi Selatan Tahun 2020: Suatu Tinjauan Analisis Wacana Kritis Pierre Bourdieu. *Fon: Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia*, 17(2), 146–158. <https://doi.org/10.25134/fon.v17i2.4430>

Sugiyono. (2019). *Metode penelitian Kuantitatif, kualitatif, dan RnD* (2nd ed.). ALFABETA. <https://inlislite.uin-suska.ac.id/opac/detail-opac?id=27688>

Wijaya, A.K., & Santoso, A. (2022). The Symbolic War in The Discourse on The Extension of The Community Activities Restrictions Enforcement (CARE). *JoLLA: Journal of Language, Literature, and Arts*, 2(7), 990–1004. <https://doi.org/10.17977/um064v2i72022p990-1004>

Zaharnika, R.F.A, & Nazirun. (2023). Eufemisme dalam Wacana Berita Online Riau *Pos.com*. *J-LELC: Journal of Language Education, Linguistics, and Culture*, 3(1), 63–72. <https://doi.org/10.25299/j-lelc.2023.12095>