PALACKÝ UNIVERSITY OLOMOUC

UNIVERSITY OF CLERMONT AUVERGNE

UNIVERSITY OF PAVIA

MASTER THESIS

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Supervisor: Lucie Macková

GLODEP 2020

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The Representation of Refugees in the Media

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis entitled "Representation of Refugees in the Media" has been composed solely by myself as a prerequisite for the completion of my Master of International Development and it has not been submitted for any other degree. This thesis is the product of my own work except where indicated otherwise throughout the thesis by reference or acknowledgement.

Pavia, 03/06/2020   Mallak M.A. Ali

UNIVERZITA PALACKÉHO V OLOMOUCI
Přírodovědecká fakulta
Akademický rok: 2019/2020

ZADÁNÍ DIPLOMOVÉ PRÁCE
(projektu, uměleckého díla, uměleckého výkonu)

Jméno a příjmení:	**Mallak M.A. ALI**
Osobní číslo:	**R180543**
Studijní program:	**N1301 Geography**
Studijní obor:	**International Development Studies**
Téma práce:	**Representation of refugees in the media**
Zadávající katedra:	**Katedra rozvojových a environmentálních studií**

Zásady pro vypracování

This thesis explores whether the representation of refugees in media outlets as being vulnerable and weak is counterproductive and disempowering. This thesis will include analysis of media publications to explore further how refugees are portrayed and referred to, and then through field data collection we will investigate how the refugees themselves feel about this particular representation and how it affects not only them individually but their community as a whole. The target group of this study will be refugees from the Levant region of the Middle East, particularly Syrian and Palestinian refugees.

Rozsah pracovní zprávy:
Rozsah grafických prací:
Forma zpracování diplomové práce: **tištěná**
Jazyk zpracování: **Angličtina**

Seznam doporučené literatury:

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Datum zadání diplomové práce: **3. února 2020**
Termín odevzdání diplomové práce: **22. května 2020**

L.S.

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doc. RNDr. Martin Kubala, Ph.D.   **doc. RNDr. Pavel Nováček, CSc.**
děkan   vedoucí katedry

V Olomouci dne 3. února 2020

Acknowledgements

Abstract

This thesis aimed to uncover the visual representational practices used by the media to represent the Palestinian refugees to their audience. Mainly focusing on their representation under the event of the defunding of the UNRWA by the US in three different international newspapers, and by drawing upon different qualitative frameworks for analysis mainly Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Visual Analysis, this thesis has concluded that there are three recurring themes under which Palestinian refugees are represented: as a *female*, as a *crowd* and as a *person in need of aid*. By delving into the origins of these themes of representation it was found that they reflect the need for specific humanitarian interventions. Many of these interventions aim to accelerate achieving certain development goals, such as the MDGs or their successors the SDGs among others. Since Palestinian refugees are prime targets of humanitarian intervention and international aid since their displacement in 1948, they are viewed as the ideal target group to achieve these goals. Hence, Palestinian refugees are visually portrayed as *in need* of the standardized and generic humanitarian interventions which target them.

Keywords: visual representation, media representation, Palestinian refugees, Critical Discourse Analysis, Critical Visual Analysis, UNRWA funding cuts

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1. Introduction

"Sharbat Gula". Does this name sound unfamiliar? "Afghani girl with piercing green eyes on the 1985 cover of National Geographic". This might ring a bell instead.

Steve McCurry's career as a journalist took off after this photograph of Afghani girl Sharbat Gula which he took in 1984 graced the June 1985 cover of National Geographic. His photograph has been described as "one of the most iconic images in the 20th century" (Cunning, 2018, para. 1) and "the most recognized photograph" (Battersby, 2010, para. 1) and both of them, Steve and Sharbat, gained wide international recognition since then. However, it cannot be said that they got an equal recognition, and by pointing out inequality it is not quantity which is in question. Steve McCurry since then has been celebrated as a renowned, adventurous and brave photojournalist, who risks his life crossing borders of war-torn countries to deliver raw photographs of the people affected by war. Meanwhile, Sharbat Gula came to be known as "Afghan Girl", a mere aftermath of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, a refugee in Pakistan, where the original National Geographic story did not care to mention her name, nor her personal story. The headline that accompanied her photograph "Haunted eyes tell of an Afghan refugee's fear" became her identity for the rest of her life (Battersby, 2010; Northrup, 2019).

Sharbat Gula is not the only one who was treated as a mute victim, as simply another number in a long list of people who crossed the border away from their country of origin to seek refuge in another country to flee war and terror. As a matter of fact, the period post the second World War was fertile ground for the systematic construction of refugee identities, in which the emergence and expansion of means through which representation can occur (such as the media) and the masses of refugees, which the war resulted in, played a role (Mannik, 2012). It has become a regular occurrence; more often than not we see a face without a name nor a background, there is no regard to its individual experiences, and it is assumed that it is homogenous with every other being who also became a refugee.

Malkki's research paper "Speechless Emissaries" (1996) discussed this in detail, and to quote her on one particular photo she was referring to regarding refugees fleeing Burundi:

Women clothed in colorful cotton wraps, children in ragged T-shirts and shorts, walking barefoot out of Burundi – had just become generic refugees and generic Africans in whose societies tribal violence periodically flares up. It was as if this was all the context that might be required. (Malkki, 1996, p. 389)

It is as if the refugee crisis is reduced to something as superficial as this; *yet* another woman and child in a dreadful condition fleeing violence.

This thesis entitled "Representation of Refugees in the Media" is interested in probing the *visual* representation of refugees in the media, to explore how the media is responsible for perpetuating certain representations of the likes of Sharbat, particularly focusing on refugees of Palestinian origin. The process in which this had to be done had to go through changes; initially these representations were to be explored through the eyes of the refugees themselves, through fieldwork in a refugee camp which would consist of participant observation and semi-structured and unstructured interviews. However, the time period in which this thesis had to be drafted, finalized and submitted was interrupted by a series of unfortunate events; primarily international travel and local movements restrictions due to the COVID-19 outbreak. This thesis then diverged to explore the different representations of refugees in the media by drawing upon different frameworks for analysis, mainly Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Critical Visual Analysis (CVA).

The problem that this thesis aims to tackle is how media often operates and produces its discourse in a way that would live up to the audience's expectation of what the discourse should be, through specific representations. In return, the expectation of the audience is rooted in a greater social structure that exists and evolves as a result of dynamics of power and struggle which have always been channeled through a mode, media being one of them. This as a result creates a cycle, one in which manifestations of the social structure are conveyed through these modes, thus initiating these expectations, and continuously feeding into them, which maintains their presence. The persistence of this cycle in the long run ingrains those specific representations in the societies as identities and ideologies.

In light of a recent event, that is the US funding cuts to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees (UNRWA), the interest in Palestinian refugees has increased and, hence, so did the media coverage on them, and with that come different forms of

representation which stem from and contribute to the discourse on Palestinian refugees. In this era of multimodality, the uses of visual images in representations play an important role in communicating identities of the groups being represented and should not go unnoticed.

The scope of this thesis revolves around exploring how the discourse on Palestinian refugees contributes to the construction of their modern identity through analyzing different themes of visual representation under this specific event of UNRWA funding cuts.

In order to address the problem and answer the research questions and uncover the discursive processes and meanings behind the specific visual representations, a combination of different frameworks was needed. Drawing upon previous research that was done, it was evident that CDA would be a *good* but not *ideal* approach to achieve satisfactory results. In order to compose a better approach, CVA had to be used. However, and unlike CDA, CVA is rather recent in development and not widely used in the academia yet. Hence, using CVA alongside CDA, particularly the Fairclough method, would offset the shortcomings of both when attempting to analyze the visual representations beyond the corporeal layer. This thesis will particularly follow the approach to CVA which aims to provide a narration to events through the visual content on them in the news, which is called the Discursive Narrative Analysis (DNA) which makes it the analytical framework of this thesis. Similar to the Fairclough model, this approach analyzes three layers to photos at a visual discourse level, a discursive practice level and a social practice analysis level in sort of a pyramid-shaped approach which starts at a micro-level representation to uncover macro-level explanations of these representations.

Figure 1. *Summary of the frameworks used in this thesis*
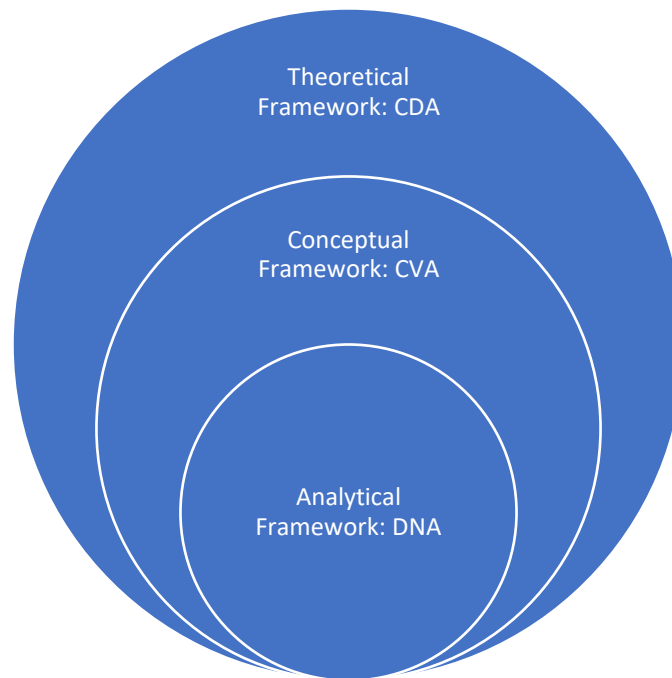
1.1 The Palestinian Refugees and the Withdrawal of US Funding to the UNRWA

This thesis is particularly interested in the representational practices surrounding refugees of Palestinian origin, and how their images which circulate in the media contribute to the shaping of their identity in the long run.

In the beginning of 2015, the Palestinian refugees were numbered at 5,246,954 under the mandate of both the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) and the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR) (UNRWA, 2015b; UNHCR, 2014).[1] These numbers are an accumulation of two major waves of displacement that the Palestinians have undergone. The first wave occurred in 1948 as a result of the Palestinian-Israeli war (what Palestinians call the *Nakba*) which marked the official beginning of the 72-year-old conflict between both parties. The second wave of displacement was a result of the Six-Day war between Israel and other Arab states in 1967.

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[1] The disaggregated numbers of refugees were 5,149,742 under the mandate of the UNRWA and 97,212 under the mandate of the UNHCR. The UNRWA operates in the Levant: Jordan, Lebanon, Syria in addition to the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The UNHCR attends to Palestinian refugees who are in host countries which do not fall within the UNRWA's operation areas such as Egypt (UNHCR, 2007).

In order to attend to those Palestinians displaced by war, the UNRWA was created to provide them with temporary support and relief (Bocco, 2009), its main service areas are health and education which jointly made up 73 per cent of the agency's 2020 core budget (UNRWA, n.d.). The creation of the UNRWA marked what Bisharat (1997) referred to as the *institutionalization* of the Palestinian refugee; The Palestinian refugees were issued a refugee identity card in an unprecedented occurrence, an identity card which is still in use up to this day as the UNRWA went from just a temporary fixture to a permanent establishment, which still continues to attend to Palestinian refugees four generations later. This is in part related to the UNRWA's definition of Palestinian refugees which extends beyond those who had firsthand experience of displacement to reach their descendants. Ever since its creation, the UNRWA and the way it functions and its relationship with Palestinians has received a lot of attention.

The UNRWA has been accused on multiple occasions of being too intertwined in Palestinian affairs which go beyond those of Palestinian refugees that it was created for, which includes but is not restricted to efforts into the creation of an independent Palestinian state (Bocco, 2009). Additionally, Schaefer and Phillips (2015) criticized the UNRWA's definition of refugees which includes multiple generations of Palestinians as feeding into the Palestinian refugee crisis and prolonging it, thus calling on the US government to reconsider its stance towards the agency.

In August 2018, and under the administration of US president Donald Trump, the US Department of State issued a statement declaring that it will suspend its funding to the UNRWA. This followed a series of threats to cut aid to UNRWA and gradual reduction of its funding. The Department of State justified these cuts by referring to the UNRWA as "irreversibly flawed" and criticized the agency's method of counting their refugees, as it was believed that their numbers should be reduced to only those of the first generation of Palestinians who had to directly face displacement. As UNRWA's budget is funded through contributions of donor states, the agency found itself in a deep financial crisis as the US pre-funding cuts represented the agency's largest single-country contributor. These cuts have had inevitable economic, social and political repercussions (DeYoung et al., 2018; Harris and Gladstone, 2018; Irfan, 2019).

Under the funding cuts to the UNRWA, and due to the fact that Palestinians are institutionally represented by the UNRWA, the Palestinians are at risk of losing their *de facto* governmental

representation, which would only exacerbate their status of statelessness. Additionally, they might lose access to the basic services that are provided to them through the UNRWA, mainly education and health. The repercussions of the cuts are not only exclusive to the refugees, but they also affect Palestinians as a whole; UNRWA is a key employer of Palestinians in the region in which it operates. Most of them are employed as teachers and principals for the schools, and nurses and doctors for the clinics and hospitals run by the UNRWA, thus these funding cuts endanger their livelihoods (Irfan, 2019; Fiddian-Qasimiyeh, 2018). Although there have been attempts at restoring the terminated funds, through an increase in the donations from the other contributors mainly European countries and Arab Gulf states, the UNRWA continues to struggle financially.

1.2 The Research Aim and the Research Questions

To the best of knowledge, and up until this thesis was submitted, there was no previous literature uncovered which:

1. Focuses on the discourse on Palestinian refugees as an entity separate from the Palestinians as a collective,
2. Has been written in recent times and in light of recent events, such as the defunding of the UNRWA,
3. Explores solely the visual representation

This thesis thus aims to contribute to the greater body of knowledge on the discourse on refugees in general and that of Palestinian refugees in specific. On that note, the **main research question** has been developed:

- o How have Palestinian refugees been visually represented in the media within the period of the US funding cuts to the UNRWA?

Due to the likely possibility of uncovering multiple themes/patterns which Palestinian refugees are represented under, the following sub-questions have been developed to distinguish and further explore the origin of these variations:

- o What are the recurring patterns in the visual representation of Palestinian refugees?
- o What are factors contributing to the creation and development of these representations?

The first of the two abovementioned sub-questions will aim to present the findings at the corporeal level of the visual image. The second sub-question aims to delve beyond the corporeal level to explore the production process and the societal structure behind these images, for which CDA and CVA were employed.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

This section will provide an overview of how this thesis is structured. In this first chapter, an introduction to the event on which the analysis is going to be performed and the different parties involved was introduced. Additionally, the problem of the thesis was discussed followed by the research question and sub-questions.

Chapter 2 discusses some works of literature which are of relevance and which helped formulate the research question and sub-questions by assisting in identifying a gap in the literature. There are three sections in this chapter: the first one will discuss the discourse on refugees in general and the implications this discourse has on constructing an international refugee identity. The second section will explore works of literature which deal with the role of the visual representation of the refugees and its different classifications. The third and last section will look at works of literature which are specific to the Palestinians and their refugee population in the media.

Chapter 3 is the frameworks and methodology chapter. It discusses the different frameworks (theoretical, conceptual, analytical) which are utilized in this thesis and the justification for using them. It then moves on to present the research design – the target group, data selection and collection and how the analysis will be carried out. The last section of this chapter will list the limitations of this thesis.

Chapter 4 will present the empirical findings of the data analysis procedure. This chapter is divided into three sections, where the first section discusses the findings at the visual description level and the second section discusses the visual interpretation and the social context explanation. The third section, final remarks and discussion, will discuss some additional points while concluding and providing additional interpretation.

The final chapter, chapter 5, is the conclusions chapter. It will give a brief recap of the main points discussed in this thesis, before ending with recommendations for future research.

2. Review of the Literature

This chapter will present the main works of literature which helped formulate the research questions in three sections. The first section will explore the definition of the refugee, a number of stereotypes surrounding refugeehood and the implications of such stereotypes on the refugee identity. The second section will discuss the visual image as a means of refugee representation and the ways in which it evolved and was classified, and how these visual representations are in a way a manifestation of the stereotypical identities highlighted in the first section. The third and last section will speak of the specific representations of the target refugee population of this thesis, the Palestinians.

2.1 The Archetypal Refugee: An Alien to Their Political, Social and Historical Background

The question "who is a refugee" does not have a simple nor a uniform answer, it differs depending in the binoculars the party attempting to answer this question sees matters through in addition to their relationship with the refugees themselves. That is, the definition differs depending on whether it is being documented for journalistic purposes, legal purposes or any other obvious or underlying purposes. However, there is a general trend which could be observed in official definitions by different parties. A lot of these definitions tend to focus on the aspect of territoriality; an individual is often considered a refugee if they are no longer within the confines of their own state. This can be observed in even the most wide-spread and perpetually reliable definitions such as that of the Geneva Convention, which defines a refugee as:

> Any person … owning to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is *outside his country of nationality* …, or who not having a nationality and being *outside the country of his former habitual residence* as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. (UN General Assembly, 1951, p. 152)

This focus on political borders entails that the refugee will remain a refugee until their return to their country of origin, or their naturalization in their host country.

Conceptualization of who a refugee is does not merely yield a definition, and is not something to be overlooked, especially in the context of humanitarian intervention. There are often

consequences to conceptualization that refugees and the greater communities from which they hail have to deal with for the major part of their lives. This mostly stems from conceptualization practices which try to define what a refugee *should* be like, as opposed to what they actually represent.

There has been a strong consensus in the international community of who a refugee is, how they should behave, their financial and social status, basically who is a *bad* refugee and who is a *good* refugee. This consensus has become so concrete, it has become almost like a template which each refugee should fit into, and whoever does not, their refugee status is questioned. This was observed in research done by Liisa Malkki (1996) concerning Hutu refugees in Tanzania, where local leaders were taken aback by how well-off the refugees that they were hosting within their borders were, and particularly referred to how some of them were doing better than the locals themselves as something absurd. This is a result of what was described as the dehistoricization and depoliticization of the refugee; they are processes in which the refugees do not participate in the manifestation of their identities, they are not given the chance to narrate their circumstances from their personal historical and political experiences, and are simply takers of another constructed identity that was shaped by whoever holds the upper hand in the power dynamics in the humanitarian and international discourse on refugees. These refugees get homogenized as a result and treated as mere numbers with little to no regard to their personal experiences and/or their experiences were only channeled through parties working for them, and interpreted however those parties see fit (Malkki, 1996; Rajaram, 2002).

> The practice of privileged person speaking of or on behalf of less privileged persons has actually resulted (in many cases) in increasing or reinforcing the oppression of the groups spoken for. (Alcoff, 1991, p.7)

There is a number of views when it comes to the reason for constructing a particular image of a refugee. Dominantly, the complex political and social realities of refugee communities naturally complicated the job of organizations, thus these realities are often dismissed as being "too messy" and "unreliable" (Malkki, 1996). Therefore, recurring words such as "victims", "helpless" and "voiceless" are often used to describe the refugees, which more often than not imply that these refugees are in need of help and unable to obtain this help themselves. Therefore, it should be provided to them from outside their communities. This is where the role of organizations that work for refugees is established as *crucial* to their survival. These

organizations do not operate in isolation from the social space which rendered refugees a monolith that constitutes a global moral imperative. Due to that we often see a one-size fits all programs targeted at refugees from different backgrounds and circumstances without any regard to who they were before their displacement. These programs are almost solely built on constantly giving aid to these refugee communities, where they are merely passive recipients of this aid. This has been observed to be antagonizing and disempowering, and creates an evident power dynamic in which refugees, as a result of constantly depending on the aid being given to them, feel indebted to the institutions responsible of soliciting and distributing this aid to them which is what renders them "helpless"(Harrell-Bond, 2002).

2.2 The Visual Image and Its Contribution to the Construction of the Archetypal Refugee

"Wounds speak louder than words" is a salient phrase that Malkki (1996, p. 384) used to describe the prominent role of that the visual image plays in imprinting certain notions on refugees in the audience's mind. This role of the visual image is not to be overlooked, especially with multimodality appearing in all aspects of today's world. Visual images are being abundantly used to convey certain meanings in media, particularly in a simpler, more convenient and more concise manner than the traditionally used verbal text. It is safe to say that in a number of instances, the impact of the visual image can even outweigh that of a political speech (Wright, 2002; Van Leeuwan, 2004).

The visual images of refugees are not mere color on canvas, and seldom do they reflect the real circumstances of their participants, but often they reflect the producing institutions' prediction of what their audience expects to see. In light of that, there has been a number of classifications of different patterns of representation which could be observed in visual images of refugees. Wright (2002) observed patterns in refugee representation deeply rooted in Christian iconography, which were classified based on "old testament" and "new testament" representations, comparing photographs of refugees with imagery similar to those that depict the expulsion from the garden of Eden or Madonna and her child. This representation is said to be one that producers know will resonate with "western" audience which can easily identify the reference and empathize with it. Johnson (2011), on the other hand, was able to identify patterns of representation along a timeline of six decades. This representation began with the global "north" and "south" divisions becoming increasingly observable, in what was referred

to as the "racialization" stage of representational patterns. Following that, the "victimization" of the refugee was recognized as another stage, one where the images of refugees as brave individuals fending for themselves shifted to mute victims with no autonomy of their own and in need of assistance. In recent times, the current stage has been referred to as the "feminization" of the refugee, where the visual images of refugees circulating have been predominantly those of women and mothers, who are fighting for their and their children's survival. Another pattern of representation is one that is not exclusive to a specific time period, but was rather persistent for as long as the visual image of the refugee existed; the visual image of the refugees in crowds, as "floods" of humans, in a visual manifestation of what referred to in the earlier section as the dehistorization of the refugee (Bleiker et al, 2013; Malkki, 1996). Szörényi (2006) identified another recurring pattern in the visual representation of refugees, which is the recurring photos of refugees carrying aid given to them by international organizations. This form of representation instigates the idea that the refugees are continuously in need of aid as they are unable to provide for themselves.

There have been several instances in which the visual images of refugees did not conform to the stereotypes that the aforementioned patterns of representation helped create. This was noted mainly in visual images with individualistic representation (Szörényi, 2006). Additionally, Mannik (2012) noticed this non-conformation to stereotypes in photographs which were not produced for public use, photographs taken by the refugees themselves. This further adds to the point made earlier, in which visual representations hardly convey the realities they live in and only aim to adhere to the expectations on what a refugee has been established to be. However, channels in which they can represent their own selves are not always available to the refugees, for they are always dismissed as being "voiceless" and unable to speak for themselves, their accounts are not viewed to be too credible (Malkki, 1996). Solomon-Godeau (as cited in Szörényi, 2006) framed the effects of unavailability of these channel as:

> Dominant social relations are inevitably both reproduced and reinforced in the act of imagining those who do not have access to the means of representation themselves (p.28)

The effects of some of these visual representations are contested. They might be framed in a way which will trigger sympathy and compassion with the refugees. However, these representations were observed to be counterproductive. They stir fear and they set up the refugees to be a threat and ignite anti-refugee sentiments (Bleiker et al, 2013; White, 2019).

2.3 Palestinian Identity and Representation: Archetypal or Nonconformist?

In the case of Palestinians, representations have differed based on the historical period and the event they are being represented in the context of. The Palestinian identity as we know it started being shaped after the events of 1948, which entailed the creation of the state of Israel on Palestinian land. Simultaneously, this resulted in the displacement of over 700,000 Palestinians, creating one of the longest perpetual refugee crises in modern history, as up to this day they are not able to actualize their right of return.

The reason as to why these events have triggered the development of the Palestinian identity of today is deeply rooted in identity politics; identities often rise or are emphasized when they are challenged or undermined. In an acclaimed ethnic conflict such as the one which the Palestinian refugees are a byproduct of, it all boils down to which of the opposing ethnicities will triumph (Abulof, 2014; Bisharat, 1997). For this reason, the question of "who is a refugee" has a pronounced sense of complexity in the Palestinian context.

The implications of this were evident in media representation. Kamalipour (1995) discussed how images of Palestinians established in US media in the 1940s remained for the most part uniform up until the First Intifada [2]. This representation of Palestinians prior to the First Intifada (or lack thereof) was in the overlooking of the Palestinian identity. The word "Palestinian" was rarely used and they were often referred to as "Arabs" in reference to their broader identity, which permits their absorption into any of their fellow Arabs' countries, as opposed to their specific national identity as Palestinians, which ties them to the disputed land. The burial of the Palestinian identity did not just occur by not acknowledging their Palestinian-ness, but also by not showing a "face" to the Palestinians; Liebes and Kampf (2009) spoke of Palestinian representation in Israeli media during the First Intifada, and although it resulted in less casualties on the Israeli side in comparison with the Second Intifada [3], the "human faces" of Palestinians were hardly shown in media, and they were merely referenced for their violence. However, when compared to the Second Intifada, the media coverage started presenting a wide

[2] The first intifada is the name given to the period between 1987 and 1991 in which there was a series of Palestinian uprisings against the Israeli occupation (Peters and Newman, 2013).
[3] The second intifada is another period of sustained uprisings and armed conflict between Palestinians and Israelis between 2000 and 2005 (Peters and Newman, 2013).

variety of Palestinian "faces" beyond labels of terrorism and shed the light on their lives under Israeli military rule as *victims* of it.

Although a trend of humanizing Palestinians can be observed after the First Intifada, Terry and Mendenhall (1974) argue that this humanization was already underway as early as 1973. Their study of several US newspapers has showed that the term "Palestinian" in US media in the year 1973 has increased by 600 per cent in comparison with the six years preceding it collectively. However, this increased representation was not necessarily in positive light, as a big part of it was to put them on the spot as violent and aggressive in relation to their armed activities.

The aforementioned studies often discussed the representation of Palestinians in media as a collective and there was rarely a focus on representations of the refugee Palestinians separately, or they were briefly mentioned. Their mention was predominantly pertaining to their representation in a sympathy-triggering manner. On other occasions, they were presented in crowds and repetitively referred to as voiceless in the absence of leaders who speak for them, which additionally conforms to the greater representational patterns of refugees over the world (Kamalipour, 1995; Terry and Mendenhall; 1974). This representation of Palestinian refugees as voiceless has definitely impeded the development of their identity in one way or the other, as "voice" has a pronounced importance in Palestinian history since it has been for the most part been built through the oral accounts of Palestinians themselves (El-Nimr, 1993).[4]

Therefore, and based on the literature evidence, it is clear that there is a certain international consensus on the identity of refugees which shapes their lives as long as they continue to live in exile. Moreover, the visual representation of refugees especially in the media feeds into these constructed identities by not challenging the stereotypes and continuing to portray them in synergy with the stereotypes, as it is what their audience has come to know the refugees as and thus they aim to live up to the audience's expectations. In the case of the target group of this thesis, the Palestinian refugees, some general representational patterns of the greater Palestinian population which they hail from were drawn upon, as the literature on the representation of refugees alone is scarce and not sufficient to yield conclusive evidence as to how their representation aligns (or not) with the general representations on refugees around the globe.

[4] On the oral history and the Palestinian question, see works of Gluck (2008; 2012).

In light of what has been discussed in this chapter, there is clearly a dearth of empirical studies on the representation of Palestinian refugees in the media and none which focus on visual representation especially in recent times, for this reason, the research gap has been identified as such.

3.   The Analysis Frameworks and Research Methodology

In the previous chapter, this thesis drew upon various works of literature which discuss aspects related to the way in which the identity of the refugee evolves and the role which the visuals play in facilitating this process. The visual image has, for as long as it has existed, been an essential and an effective tool for media to capture the attention of its audience, and more importantly, it has been a tool of communicating ideologies and constructing beliefs. This is what lies at the core of this thesis; to study not only visual representation but also the particular processes and structures which drive the *choice* behind the selection of particular images.

This chapter will walk the reader through the approach which will assist in answering the research questions. The first section will present the frameworks of analysis, with the first subsection presenting the theoretical framework which is CDA and discussing it in the context of media in particular. The second subsection will discuss how CDA accounted for multimodality (being something common in media) and the need for a more specific framework to analyze different modes in discourse, particularly visuals, since it is the focus of this thesis, and CVA will be proposed as a more specific conceptual framework to analyze visuals. This second section will present studies which have employed CDA in their analysis of topics similar to that of this thesis, while also presenting criticism of CDA to explore both sides. The rest of this chapter will deal with the research design; the third section will present the target group and some of its specificities, and then it will move on to the technical aspects of data selection and collection. The fourth section is going discuss how the collected data is going to be sectioned, analyzed and presented in the findings, before ending this chapter with a fifth section that will discuss the limitations of this thesis.

3.1 The Frameworks of Analysis

In order to arrive at satisfactory findings, which would help provide appropriate answers to the research questions, different frameworks were drawn upon. This section will discuss these frameworks and how they intertwine. The first subsection will present the theoretical framework, CDA. The second subsection will present the need for other frameworks alongside CDA to account for multimodality beyond verbal text, as this thesis aims to analyze visual representation.

3.1.1   The Theoretical Framework: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

It is rather difficult to adequately describe what Discourse Analysis resembles in just one single definition, as there is no standardized way to go about or proceed with it. Perhaps the best way to begin is to understand what "discourse" is and what it represents. A concise way to frame it is "an interrelated set of texts, and the practices of their production, dissemination and reception, that brings an object into being" (Parker as cited in Phillips and Hardy, 2002, p. 3). Nonetheless, discourse also has different meanings depending on the mode it is being conveyed through; as this thesis aims to explore visual discourse within media it could be intriguing to present the definition of discourse in media by O'Keeffe (2010). The author described it as being an "interaction through a broadcast platform which can be either spoken or written, it is oriented at a non-present audience which cannot make instantaneous responses to the producer(s) of the discourse, and it is not ad hoc or spontaneous" (O'Keeffe, 2010, p. 441). However, compartmentalizing discourse and attempting to normatively define it in isolation of the *relations* surrounding is not the way to go about it, as these relations make discourse as we know it what it is (Fairclough, 2013). This is where CDA comes in.

An approach to analysis is said to be *critical* when it is "critical of the present social order" (Billig, 2003, p.38). Thus, it aims to probe the *relations* that discourse has within its own discipline, in addition to cross-disciplinary relations (Fairclough, 2013). One particular type of relations that CDA is concerned with is power relations. Power relations are present mainly in public discourse, where it is possible for the more powerful to exercise their power through control over the less powerful. Particularly, this power is often abused in order to control beliefs and actions thus the discourse of the powerful dominates (Van Dijk, 1993). However, it is not to be only looked at in negative light. Although discourse, being intrinsically tied with power and dominance, can be observed in negative conduct, such as acts of restricting, censoring and preventing, relations of power and dominance can be observed in positive conduct as well, such as pushing forward notions of acceptance and inclusivity (Foucault, 1970). For instance, the discourse on homosexuality has managed to normalize their inclusion in several other modern-day discourses.

To analyze the relationships surrounding discourse, Fairclough (1989) developed a three-dimensional model for CDA, which aims to analyze discourse at three different levels. With those being *text analysis*, *processing analysis* and *social analysis*, with each of these levels of

analysis being described as the description, interpretation and explanation levels, respectively, as illustrated in figure 2. This model by Fairclough will be the particular approach to CDA which will be taken in this thesis.

Figure 2. *An illustration of Fairclough's three dimensions of CDA*
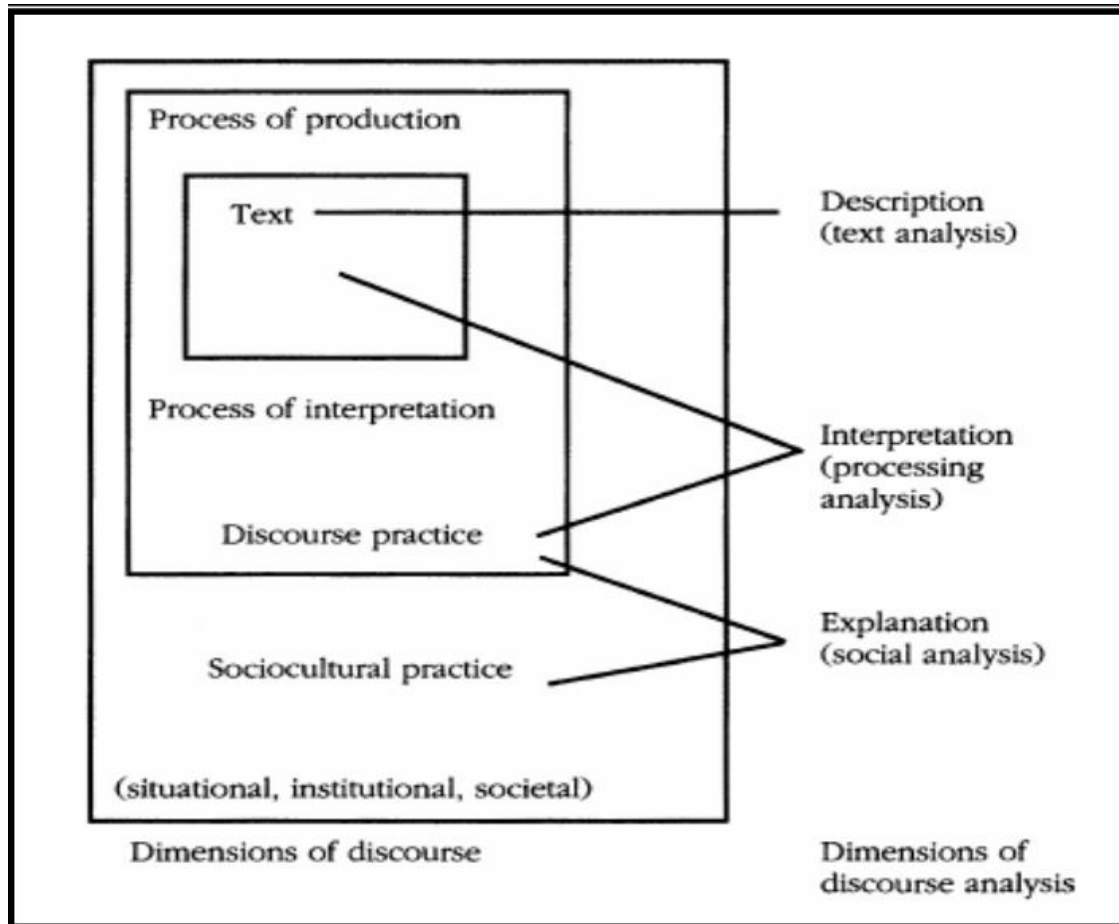
Source: Fairclough (as cited in Waller, 2006)

3.1.2   The Conceptual and Analytical frameworks: CDA and Multimodality

To unearth the different ways in which Palestinian refugees are visually represented beyond the corporeal layer of the image, there is a need for an approach which will delve into the ways in which different elements of visuals, whether they are animate or inanimate objects or even events, are objectified and presented to the audience.

Fairclough (1989) said that in CDA text is not necessarily only verbal, he described text to be any "formal feature" of the content. However, for the most part, many of the works guiding CDA continued to focus on the verbal features and often failed to account for multimodality regardless of its significance in this era (Van Leeuwen, 2004). Multimodality in discourse

could be described as "discourses which involve more than one mode of semiosis" with mode being "the channel (auditory, visual or tactile) through which semiotic activity takes place" (O'Halloran as cited in Wang, 2014, p. 264)

After Wang (2014) discussed the Critical Multimodal Discourse Analysis field as being nascent and not sufficiently developed to have an academic identity, he took it upon himself to develop a framework that would guide those who are keen on going beyond the linguistic aspects of the text. The following framework of CVA was derived (Figure 3):

Figure 3. *The framework of Critical Visual Analysis*
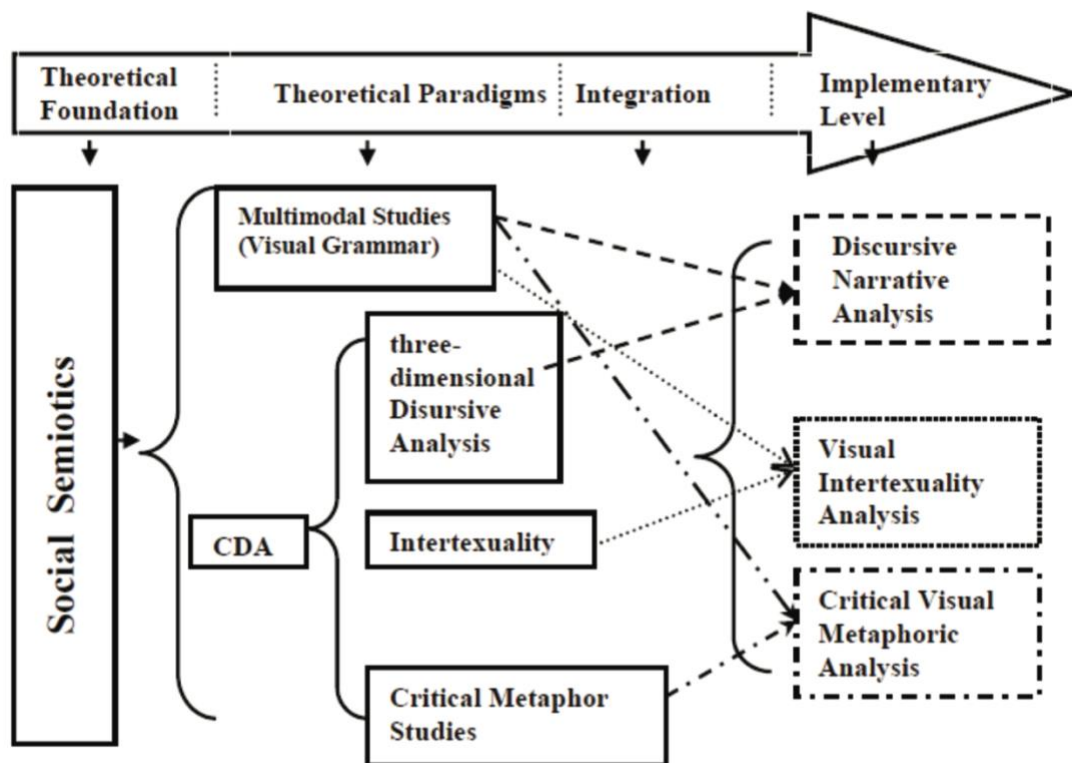
Source: Wang (2014)

This thesis is mostly concerned with being able to proceed with an analytical procedure at the level of implementation. At the implementary level, this framework distinguishes between three classifications in which the analysis could proceed based on different types of representational techniques in visual images. The Discursive Narrative Analysis is related to events and how the pictures which are used in relation to those events and narrate the "social-time-place" of the event in the news. Visual Intertextuality Analysis is related to "borrowed

pictures or synthesized photographs from other sources in their representation or incorporated different genres of representation into their content" (Wang, 2014, p. 267). While Critical Visual Metaphoric Analysis is related to pictures which are applied to other pictures in which it is not applicable in reality, in the same way in which linguistic metaphors function.

The analytical framework that will be utilized in this thesis draws upon the *Discursive Narrative Analysis* (DNA). It is the most fitting given that the defunding of the UNRWA is an event, and the photos accompanying news articles aim to narrate it.

In the Discursive Narrative Analysis, Wang (2014) created a simulation of the three-dimensional model developed by Fairclough, which pertains specifically to photos. Similar to that of Fairclough, Wang's model has three levels of description, interpretation and explanation as illustrated in figure 4.

Figure 4. *A model for discursive narrative analysis.*
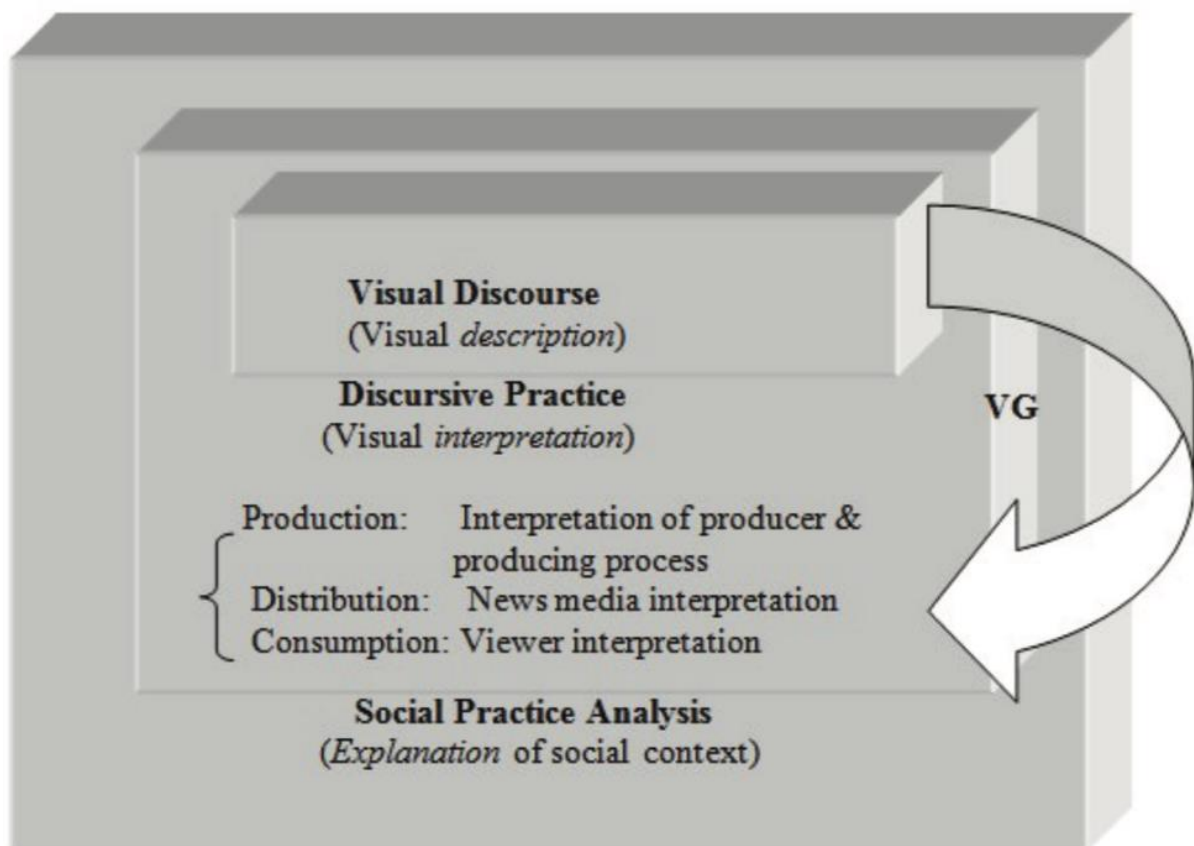
Source: Wang (2014)

The visual description level aims to draw upon three features of the photos – a *representational*, an *interactive* and a *compositional* one. The representational structure of the picture is "visual processes which fulfil narrative and conceptual functions in the picture" (Wang, 2014, p. 270), with these processes being an action process, a reactional process, a speech process and a symbolic process. The interactive meaning and the compositional systems, on the other hand, are concerned with "interpersonal side of visual communication" and "the way in which the picture is composed" (Wang, 2014, p. 270), respectively. The scope of this thesis includes only the representational features of the photos.

3.2 CDA in Media – Between Approval and Critique

This section aims to present some works of literature which have discussed refugee representation in media, particularly in newspapers, to show that satisfactory findings could be achieved by employing CDA. Achieving satisfactory findings does not however imply the absence of shortcomings. Therefore, in order to account for different points of view on CDA, some of the criticism surrounding it will also be discussed.

Newspapers' representation of refugees has always been an area of interest to discourse analysts in different regions of the world, to uncover how this representation varies from one country to the other or even between different regions within the same country. Cooper et al. (2017) used CDA to explore this representation at a national level versus a regional level in Australia, to unveil that at a national level refugees were often portrayed in a more negative light in comparison with the regional level which portrayed refugees in a more positive and individualistic manner. Bradimore and Bauder (2012) delved more into the construction aspect of refugees' identity that media plays a role in. By employing discourse analysis, the authors analyzed how several Canadian newspapers portray Tamil refugees, mainly how through the discourse in newspapers these refugees were constructed as "dangerous" individuals, a threat to security.

Moving on to another part of the world, KhosraviNik (2009; 2010) explored these representations in British media in two different studies in which CDA was used in both. One of the studies aimed to unveil the different ways in which British newspapers present refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants (RASIM) between 1996 and 2006 while the other study explored and compared their representation under two different events, the Balkan conflict of

1999 and the British general elections of 2005. Both of these studies concluded that although diversity in political standpoints might cause different newspapers to utilize different modes to communicate meaning to their audience, they still end up portraying RASIM in similar light.

On the other hand, CDA as a method of analysis has been showered with criticism, mainly pertaining to the way in which it selects and analyzes its data. There have been numerous points of views which criticize the degree of arbitrariness in which the sources selected for analysis are chosen, in addition to their limited quantity, which does not make a case for representativeness. Moreover, criticism pertaining to the analytical aspects have claimed that a lot of the models within CDA often yield ambiguous results (Sriwimon & Zilli, 2017). It has also been noted that CDA has a shaky theoretical foundation and is not built on sturdy grounds, which makes any findings yielded in light of it questionable (Breeze, 2011).

3.3 Data
3.3.1 Target Group

The target group (i.e. the ones whose representation this thesis is concerned with) is Palestinian refugees. Since their representation is to be studied in relation to the UNRWA and its funding cuts, the focus is going to be the Palestinian refugees who benefit from the services of the UNRWA in the countries/locations it operates in, with those being the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria (UNHCR, 2007). The real issue, however, with choosing Palestinian refugees who benefit from UNRWA as a target group was how to narrow it down further, particularly whether to focus only on Palestinian refugees who have continuously lived in the UNRWA refugee camps since their displacement or to also include those who have managed to move out of these camps and establish a life away from them. Malkki (1996) made a contrast between both and has pointed out how the "social status of being a refugee had a very pronounced salience in the camp refugees' life-worlds, while in town it generally did not" (p. 379). Therefore, as tempting it is to just narrow down the target group to only those who reside within the confines of the UNRWA refugee camps, that would not take into account the specificities of the Palestinian refugee population. After over 70 years of displacement, less than 30 per cent continue to reside in the UNRWA administrated refugee camps (Bocco, 2009), and thus it is difficult to make the distinction between them in terms of the representations in photos. Hence, the Palestinian refugees whose representation is in

question in this thesis refer to Palestinian refugees under the UNRWA administration regardless whether their place of residence is a camp or not.

3.3.2   Data Selection and Collection

One way to counteract some of the criticism highlighted earlier is by utilizing systematic procedures to select and collect data. Therefore, this thesis is going to employ the Corpus Construction method developed by Bauer and Aarts (2000), which allows for a systematic sampling of sources for analysis based on their relevance to the research question in qualitative research.

One critical point that is drawn upon in Corpus Construction that, like in most qualitative sampling methods, the aim is not obtaining a sample that will result in generalization. Instead, the main aim is to uncover as many variations of the phenomenon in question as can be uncovered given the scope of the study. On that note, an attempt to unveil different variations should proceed in the following manner: "(1) to select preliminarily, (2) to analyze this variety, (3) to extend the corpus of data until no additional variety can be detected." (Bauer & Aarts, 2000, p. 31)

In the selection process, and in order to achieve consistent and comparable results, Bauer and Aarts (2000) give three suggestions which could assist in this process. The first suggestion is the *relevance* of the selected materials. The sources need to have one theme/focus and additionally they should be gathered from one point of view. Therefore, to cover only one point of view, only newspapers are going to be referred to for material out of the available forms of media. In addition, for this particular thesis, and given that the research question is concerned with how Palestinian refugees are represented in light of funding cuts to the UNRWA, only newspaper articles which focus on the UNRWA funding cuts (thus have this topic in their headline) will be targeted. Therefore, all articles which mention the funding cuts in the text body only and where it is not the main theme have been eliminated. Next suggestion is concerned with the *homogeneity* of the material collected. The material needs to be consistent with its contents. Naturally, since this thesis is analyzing visuals any articles which do not contain photos have also been eliminated. The final suggestion is about the *synchronicity* of the material. That means that the material selected for the corpus need to be occurring within what the authors referred to as "the normal cycle of change" and they gave an example of a

study that might be concerned with changes in the fashion trends, an industry where new trends emerge on a yearly basis and thus one year would be its the natural cycle. As this thesis is concerned only with representation of the Palestinian refugees in light of one event, that is the defunding of the UNRWA under the Trump administration, the material collected will only be within the presidential cycle of Donald Trump.

Saturation is reached when the three steps of selecting, analyzing, selecting are no longer yielding additional variations. To achieve that, Bauer and Aarts (2000) proposed two dimensions within any given social space. One dimension is known strata or functions and the other dimension is unknown representations. By typifying the known and unknown dimensions, differences within the social space would be revealed.

 Since the "population" to choose material from amongst is newspapers, there are numerous strata/functions related to newspapers such as: date of establishment, circulation, ownership, etc. The initial strata/ functions of choice were the region in which they publish. Based on that, The New York Times and The Guardian were the choices. As little variations in representations were detected between these two newspapers, an additional stratum/function, which is language of publishing, was selected, and from there Al-Akhbar newspaper was added. Other attempts to add more strata/functions has yielded no variations and thus saturation has been achieved with the choice of these three newspapers. [5] [6]

Three main variations of representations of the target group were discovered as a result. A summary of this procedure with the representations, in addition to the selected photos from articles can be found in the following table:

[5] The different regions of publishing chosen to advice this selection were North America, Europe and The Middle East.
[6] The different languages of publishing chosen to advice this selection were English and Arabic.

Table 1. *The classification of photos in articles under their respective newspaper based on the themes uncovered in Corpus Construction.* [7] [8] [9]

Representations	Trump Administration Funding Cut to UNRWA		
	The New York Times	The Guardian	Al-Akhbar
The Palestinian refugees as a *female*	PHOTO 1. "White House Urged to Restore Aid to U.N. Palestinian Refugee Agency" PHOTO 2. "Trump Administration's Move to Cut Aid to Palestinian Refugees is Denounced"	PHOTO 6. "US Confirms End to Funding for UN Palestinian Refugees" PHOTO 7. "'We Need More Food, Not Less': US Cuts Leave Palestinian Refugees in Crisis"	PHOTO 10. "The Project of Killing the UNRWA: A Continuous Uprooting of the Palestinians" [10] PHOTO 11. "The Plan of Liquidating the UNRWA is Underway in Jerusalem" [11] PHOTO 12. "Israel Applauds the US Decision: UNRWA's Survival Perpetuates the Refugee Issue" [12]
The Palestinian refugees as a *crowd*	PHOTO 3. "US to End Funding to U.N. Agency that Helps Palestinian Refugees" PHOTO 1. "White House Urged to Restore Aid to U.N. Palestinian Refugee Agency" PHOTO 2. "Trump Administration's Move to Cut Aid to Palestinian Refugees is Denounced"	PHOTO 6. "US Confirms End to Funding for UN Palestinian Refugees"	

[7] Some of the pictures in articles were classified along more than one theme of representation as they fit into multiple.

[8] Each of the selected pictures were given a number based on their order in this table with the headline of their respective articles in parenthesis.

[9] All the pictures listed in the table, in addition to the caption which was accompanying them can be found in Appendix 1 of this thesis.

[10] The headline in the original language of publishing (Arabic) is "مشروع قتل الأونروا: استكمال اقتلاع الفلسطينيين".

[11] The headline in the original language of publishing (Arabic) is "خطة تصفية الأونروا دخلت حيز التنفيذ في القدس"

[12] The headline in the original language of publishing (Arabic) is "ترحيب إسرائيلي بالقرار الأمريكي: بقاء الأونروا يخلد قضية اللاجئين".

| The Palestinian refugees as a *person in need of aid* | PHOTO 4. "U.S. Withholds $65 Million From U.N. Relief Agency for Palestinians"

PHOTO 5. "What Is UNRWA and What Would It Mean if Trump Cuts Its Funding?" | PHOTO 8. "One million Face Hunger in Gaza After US Cut to Palestine Aid"

PHOTO 9. "Trump cuts jeopardise lives of millions of Palestinian refugees, UN warns" | PHOTO 12. "Israel Applauds the US Decision: UNRWA's Survival Perpetuates the Refugee Issue" |

Through Corpus Construction, the three main themes of representation were:

o The Palestinian Refugees as a *female*: photos of a female figure, whether it is a female adult or a female child.

o The Palestinian Refugees as a *crowd*: photos of Palestinian refugees huddled in groups of 10 persons or more.

o The Palestinian Refugees as a *person in need of aid*: photos of Palestinian refugees in the action of receiving material aid (mainly food sacks).

Any of the photos in articles which did not fit into one of these themes were dismissed. This has added up to 12 photos in the articles from the different sources of choice, as summarized in the table.

3.4 Data Analysis

The data analysis procedure is going to be divided according to the different themes of representation uncovered, as the analysis of each of these representations might yield its own findings and thus this separation makes sense in terms of the logical structure.

Proceeding from there, the pictures corresponding to each theme of representation will be analyzed using Discursive Narrative Analysis which was advanced by Wang (2014). Therefore, each photo will go through the three levels – visual *description*, visual *interpretation* and *explanation* of the social context. At the visual description level, the scope of this thesis only includes elaboration on the representational structure. The representational structure aims to describe the four different processes in pictures as follows:

1. Action process: it aims to give a description of the actions the subjects perform towards objects in the photo(s)

2. Reactional process: it aims to give a description of actions of seeing, gazing, glancing, viewing or even reading. In other words, actions related to sight.

3. Speech process: it aims to give a description of speech-giving, talking, or conversing in the photo(s)

4. Symbolic process: while it does not describe actions per se, it aims to point out how certain elements within the photo(s) have a specific cultural significance which can aid in reinforcing local themes within the photo(s) or global themes.

These different processes serve different functions. They can either serve a narrative function, where they solely narrate what is happening in relation to the event that they are occurring within, or they can serve an emotive function, which means that they create a social bond between the audience and participants in the photo. For the interpretation and explanation levels, elements from Fairclough's model were mainly drawn upon.

The findings of the analysis will be presented in three sections. The first section is going to present the findings at the visual description level in manner similar to that of the analysis procedure, in which each representational theme's empirical findings will be presented in its own respective subsection. The second section on the other hand will present the findings at the visual interpretation and the explanation of the social context levels. The third section will list some final remarks and give a brief summary of what was mentioned in the findings chapter before discussing interpretations of the findings.

3.5   Limitations

As in most qualitative research, it is difficult to say that the findings of this thesis could be used for generalization. However, it has been pointed out earlier in the data selection and collection that generalization is not the aim, but the aim is rather to show different varieties of a phenomena. With that being said, the selection of only three newspapers and 12 photos from articles can be considered to be another limitation. Although, through the selection of different strata, different unknown representations were revealed, that does not rule out the possibility of uncovering additional unknown representation if more strata were added. However, constraints related to the time and scope of this thesis did not permit that.

The critique of CDA, as discussed in section 3.2 of this chapter, poses another limitation. Although there was an attempt to address some of the critique through using more rigorous and

systematic methods of data selection and collection in section 3.3.2, there is still a sizable portion of academics who believe CDA to be nuanced and not completely reliable.

Another limitation is related to the framework of CVA being recent in development. As a result, the conceptual and analytical frameworks employed in an attempt to answer the research question might lack rigor and remain for the most part *exploratory*. Additionally, this explains why this thesis did not present a variety of studies in section 3.2 of this chapter which use either CVA or DNA as frameworks in similar research, and instead presented more general studies which employed CDA to study similar topics (i.e. refugee representation in media).

Considering the choice of newspapers which publish in two different languages, Arabic and English, the author of this thesis took it upon herself to translate the content in Arabic to English (being the language of this thesis) where needed. This was done to her best ability as a person fluent in both of these languages. However, this poses a limitation as she does not have neither academic nor professional training in translation.

Finally, and given the nature of CDA, the analyst (the author of this thesis in this case) is well intertwined with these same discourses they are attempting to analyze. Hence, they are not immune to being affected by the same constructions which are conveyed through discourse despite being actively self-conscious to the possibility of that happening (Fairclough, 1989). Or as Liu (2015) put it, "since language is socially constructed and never static, the researcher is not immune to the process and product of these constructions." (p. 27). Hence, the findings of this thesis are only limited to that of its author.

4. Findings

The previous chapter presented and described the different theoretical, conceptual and analytical frameworks which will be used to perform the analysis, in addition to elements related to the research design such as the target group and the systematic data selection and collection method. This chapter aims to present the empirical findings of the analysis performed using the different frameworks for analysis in three sections: the first section will present the findings at the visual description level based on the different representational themes uncovered in section 3.3.2. The second section will present the findings at the Visual Interpretation and Social Practice Explanation levels which help shed the light on the discursive (re)production practices and explain the social structure behind the photos. The third section, final remarks and discussion, will present some additional points which are of relevance and wrap up the chapter with a summary of what has been discussed so far in the.

The third section, 4.3, was named "final remarks *and* discussion" because the discussion aspect will be reflected in a summary of what was already discussed throughout this chapter followed by some additional elaboration on the findings. Because of the nature of CDA and CVA, the interpretation and explanation processes are an intrinsic part of the empirical analysis and have been included as part of the findings as a result.

4.1 Visual Description
4.1.1 The Palestinian Refugees as a Female

This theme of representation has been the most recurring in the material examined. With a total of seven out of the twelve photos selected conforming to this representation. This theme of representation was devised through noticing a repetitive pattern of enclosing photos of female figures, mainly schoolgirls, as the cover photos to articles which discuss the defunding of the UNRWA under the Trump administration and how that affects the Palestinian refugees benefiting from the agency's goods and services. The details of each specific photo grouped under this theme of representation are presented in table 2 below.

Table 2. *Representation of important meaning-making participants under the Palestinian refugees as a female representational theme*

Photo		PHOTO 1	PHOTO 2	PHOTO 6	PHOTO 7	PHOTO 10	PHOTO 11	PHOTO 12
Representational Structure	**Action Process**	Girls grasping onto railing	Girls standing in a line	Girls walking Girls holding hands			Girl walking out of tunnel	Girls walking
	Reactional Process	Girls glancing in different directions	Girls glancing in different directions	Girls glancing in different directions	Woman at a protest glancing sideways	Girls glancing upwards at the school's sign	Girl glancing sideways	Girls glancing in different directions
	Speech Process							Girls having a conversation
	Symbolic Process	School uniform	School uniform Wall art/ Graffiti	School uniform	Stencil on the wall	School uniform	School uniform	School uniform

Captions which were used to describe the photos in articles and personal observation of these seven photos were used to assist in the description of different processes demonstrated in the table. In most of these photos there were action processes, reactional process and symbolic processes observed, with the exception of PHOTO 12 which had an additional speech/conversational process.

The action processes, which were mostly in the context of a school, whether it was walking in and out of school or lined up in front and inside of it. These processes aim to show how these photos narrate the day-to-day activities of the Palestinian refugees' lives under the UNRWA and thus how these activities might be impeded with the funding cuts to the UNRWA being underway. And in accordance with what was mentioned in the target group subsection in the third chapter, there is nothing that signifies whether these activities are taking place in an UNRWA administrated refugee camp or outside of one, as it is quite challenging to make that distinction. In addition to the narrative function that the greater part of these action processes shows, there exists an emotive function to some of these action processes, particularly in PHOTO 6 where two schoolgirls are holding each other's hands while walking. Emotive functions serve to loop in the audience and engage them "in a social relationship with the participants" (Wang, 2014, p. 273). The picture of the two schoolgirls holding hands communicates friendship, admiration and amicability, which creates an empathetic connection between the audience and these schoolgirls.

The reactional processes were pretty much uniform across all the photos under this representation, as all the participants in the photos seem to be looking in different directions, with their gazes not fixed on a particular phenomenon or object, exactly how people in a natural setting who are going about their lives generally are. However, the description in the table above regarding the direction of their gaze is in relation to another participant in these photos besides the female refugees, which is the photographer. The intuitive human reaction to being photographed is to fix gazes on the camera, this sense of awareness to being photographed is absent in these photos. These reactional processes serve a narrative function, as they try to illustrate further how the Palestinian refugees go about their everyday lives even in the absence of a photographer. Unlike the rest of the photos, PHOTO 10 shows two school girls standing in front of a school where one of them is fixing her gaze at the sign which has the United Nation's (UN) initials and the other girl is fixing her gaze at the other sign in the photo which shows the name of the school following the UNRWA logo and initials. It would be a stretch to say that this act is spontaneous or coincidental and could be most likely requested by the person taking the photo. This reactional process has an emotive function, which allows the audience to sympathize with the schoolgirls and their relationship to what appears to be their school and their need for an education.

In relation to symbolic process, both school uniforms and wall art/graffiti and stencils were characterized as being cultural symbols. Two things, which often seem rather trivial, have a pronounced significance in the Palestinian context. The stripped uniform that is required of Palestinian schoolgirls has remained unchanged for decades and has been present in a lot of photos of girls in protests and clashes with the Israeli army. Additionally, this particular blue and white stripped uniform is specific to primary and middle school girls (grades 1 through 8) as opposed to a green and white stripped uniform which is specific to high school girls (grades 9 and above). Through this it is possible to tell that in the photos selected, all of the girls are relatively younger in age as the uniform in all of the photos is blue and white.[13] On the other hand, wall art/graffiti has been a consistent form of peaceful resistance amongst Palestinian refugees (Li & Prasad, 2018). These two elements serve to present a political theme within the pictures in relation to the wall art/graffiti and social theme in relation to the school uniforms.

4.1.2 The Palestinian Refugees as a Crowd

This theme of representation comprises the photos which include cluster(s) of big number of refugees in a public setting. As three out of the four photos which fall under this theme of representation have been already discussed in the previous subsection, the focus will mainly be to describe the representational structure of PHOTO 3 using personal observation and with the help of the caption accompanying the photo.

Table 3. *Representation of important meaning-making participants under the Palestinian refugees as a crowd representational theme*

Photo			PHOTO 1	PHOTO 2	PHOTO 3	PHOTO 6
Representational Structure	**Action Process**		Girls grasping onto railing	Girls standing in a line	People standing in line	Girls walking Girls holding hands
	Reactional Process		Girls glancing in different directions	Girls glancing in different directions	People glancing in different directions	Girls glancing in different directions

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[13] This account is based on the personal experience of the author of the thesis as she has attended schools under the Palestinian education system and was required to adhere to their rules on uniforms.

			Rubble/ Destruction	School uniform
Speech Process				
Symbolic Process	School uniform	School uniform Wall art/ Graffiti		

There were all types of processes (action, reactional, symbolic) observed in PHOTO 3, except for a speech one. The action process was described as "people standing in line", as it is concise and matches the official caption given to the photo in its respective article. However, it is difficult to see a structured line, since as far as the eye can see there is what seems to be a single cluster of unenumerable persons. This action process has both narrative and emotive functions. It is narrative in the way it portrays all these people lined up to collect food supplies in a refugee camp amidst the rubble and destruction, while it is emotive in the way it stirs up emotions of sympathy and/or fear amongst the audience. It can create a relationship of sympathy towards the refugees as people having to endure harsh circumstances just to be able to eat. Meanwhile, it can also create a relationship of fear, and trigger concerns as to how can any country or region take all these people in and how they are to be provided for. In other words, they might pose a threat to whoever is to provide for and take in this enormous group of refugees.

The reactional process in this theme is similar to the one observed in the previous subsection. It is related to the relationship between the refugees and the photographer as participants of these photos, and their awareness of the actions of one another. Once again, these photos show the awareness of the photographer to the actions of the refugees in their element, while on the other hand, the unawareness of the refugees to the action of the photographer who is taking their photo.

4.1.3 The Palestinian Refugees as a Person in Need of Aid

This third and last theme of representation showed recurring photos of Palestinian refugees whose needs are manifested through the sacks and the packages of food provided by the

UNRWA. With the exception of PHOTO 12, all of the photos listed in table 4 are unique to this theme.

Table 4. *Representation of important meaning-making participants under the Palestinian refugees as a person in need of aid representational theme*

photo		PHOTO 4	PHOTO 5	PHOTO 8	PHOTO 9	PHOTO 12
Representational Structure	**Action Process**	Man handling a food aid package	Men handling food aid packages/ sacks	Man handling food aid packages/ sacks	Man handling food sacks Man walking	Girls walking
	Reactional Process	Man glancing sideways	Men glancing in different directions	Man glancing sideways	Men glancing sideways	Girls glancing in different directions
	Speech Process					Girls having a conversation
	Symbolic Process	Rugged, soiled clothing	Rugged, soiled clothing		Rugged, soiled clothing	School uniform

Action, reactional and symbolic processes made up the representational structure for the most part, as none of PHOTO 4, 5, 8 or 9 had any speech processes.

The action processes which make up these photos were somewhat uniform across all the photos under this theme of representation. They were of men in particular, who are handling packages and/or sacks of food aid provided by the UNRWA. Interestingly, and in addition to the fact that all of the participants of the photos who are actively handling food packages are men, all

of them seem to be dressed in rugged and dusty clothing, and PHOTO 5 shows the men barefoot while doing what appears to be hard labor. In contrast, in PHOTO 12 the food sacks are not part of the action process particularly, but they are, however, the center of the photo while the girls walking and conversing with each other are out of focus. These action processes serve to narrate the lives of Palestinian refugees, who depend on the UNRWA for food. Furthermore, these action processes serve an emotive function in the sense that they allow the audience to sympathize with the Palestinian refugee in dusty clothing doing hard work who *could* be affected by the funding cuts to the UNRWA.

The observation of the reactional process in relation the photographer continues also in this theme of representation. All the participants of the photos being photographed seem unaware or unbothered by the photographer.

4.2 Visual Interpretation and Social Practice Explanation

The thoroughness in which the previous section of this chapter discussed the details of the photos is necessary to see why the producers intended for these details, and hence the function they serve, to be there.

4.2.1 Visual Interpretation

The visual interpretation level aims to analyze the *production*, *distribution* and *consumption* phases that go behind the production or reproduction of the photos in the news.

First, in the *production* phase it is important to distinguish between two different producers who are involved – the photographer and the author of the article. The photographer *produced* these photos while the author of the article *reproduced* them.

In the production of an article, the specific order of elements is of particular significance. All the pictures analyzed in this thesis were cover photos of their respective articles, they are the first thing that the author of the article wants the audience to see. That is not coincidental, it is the way newspapers produce and package their news to deliver them to their audience, as more often than not the elements which are newsworthy are placed first and elements become of less importance the further down the article they are situated, and hence get backgrounded in relation to the elements that preceded them. Intriguingly, some of the articles which the photos

were taken from included other photos further along the text but none of them fit in any of the themes of representation uncovered during the data selection section of this thesis. Those included a photo of US president Donald Trump, or a photo of schoolboys (which also further prove how the producer of the article is focused on reproducing photos of mostly schoolgirls).

The symbolic functions of some elements of the photos pointed out earlier hint at greater contextual factors. The wall art on a school building, stencils or rubble and destruction give a cue to the greater setting in which all of this is occurring within, the setting of a perpetual conflict and war. Meanwhile, the school uniform or the soiled clothing as symbols hints at a more specific contextual factor, one in which there is a threat to education or food supply in light of the UNRWA's funding cuts. Inclusion of these elements during (re)production which serve a symbolic function serves to reinforce the general theme of the funding cuts to UNRWA *amidst* the decades-long conflict. These aspects are often deliberately highlighted during the production of the photos on the part of the photographer.

The *distribution* phase is said to deal with the ways in which the photos (re)produced prompt the audience to accept the identities/ideologies encrypted by the (re)producers in these photos. The way in which this could happen can be explained by drawing upon the social connections some elements in the photos ignite between the audience and the Palestinian refugees. The choice of taking or choosing certain photos is based on elements which are capable of creating such sorts of social connections. Whether it is two young schoolgirls linking hands, an elderly woman having to stand in a protest or men collecting food to feed their families and themselves, these processes all work, in their own efficient way, to capture the attention of the audience and allow it to sympathize and/or empathize with the Palestinian refugee, as opposed to presenting photos which lack an animate participant (e.g. presenting a picture of an empty UNRWA administrated school).

What happens during the *production* phase from choosing certain structures of articles or certain symbolic processes, and the intention in which certain photos were (re)produced for their specific connection-triggering action and reactional processes during the *distribution* phase predispose the audience to accept, and in the long run internalize the specific identity of the Palestinian refugees that these photos exude. This process of acceptance and internalization, which is often unconsciously done, is what happens in the *consumption* phase.

4.2.2 Social Practice Explanation

The social practice explanation level deals with modes in which the identity of the weak and vulnerable Palestinian refugee represented in the photos through figures of schoolgirls or men yearning for food is normalized and how it has become commonsensical. This is where the aforementioned relations of power, which CDA probes, come in – how the more powerful discourses dominate multiple different discourses or how they intertwine.

The first representational theme, that of representing Palestinian refugees in female figures is actually not that uncommon in visual representations of refugee communities. One particular discourse being influenced and produced in light of another discourse is what is referred to as *interdiscursivity*. Here, the humanitarian discourse has been influenced by the decades old feminist discourse on gender equality and the need for gender mainstreaming to become a horizontal policy. In 1985 in particular, the UN organized their third world conference on women in Nairobi in Kenya, where they fully endorsed gender mainstreaming in their policies. The final report of the conference specifically stated: "women should be an integral part of the process of defining aims and shaping development" (UN, 1986, p. 30). Since then, gender mainstreaming in the humanitarian sphere has been present in full force, and culminated in global development goals, specifically Millennium Development Goal (MDG) number 3 and Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) number 5, which aim to create more gender equality. As a result, there has been an increase in the number of programs within the humanitarian sphere that have targeted women and girls since then, and the UNRWA is no exception.[14] This has coincided with what Johnson (2011) referred to as the "feminization" of the refugee, where female figures are used to justify the need for the humanitarian interventions which target them. Thus, in the case of Palestinian refugees the weaponization of female figures as being amongst the most affected by the funding cuts to the UNRWA is required to build a case as to why these funding cuts need to resume or just to condemn these cuts, as the discontinuity of programs targeting women undermines gender mainstreaming efforts in the humanitarian sphere. This weaponization initiated a norm of using photos of females, which with its continuation and increase, as the feminist discourse only got more powerful over the years, has made it the public's expectation in the long run. For this reason, photographers and authors of articles

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[14] One of the UNRWA's main projects targeting women during the same time period of Trump's incumbency is titled "Building Safety: Mainstreaming GBV interventions in Emergency Preparedness Prevention and Response.

continue to produce and reproduce the photos of female figures to comply with what their audience, who is a part of the greater public which has predetermined expectations on refugees, expects to see.

In order to unpeel the layers of the second representational theme of refugees pressed against one another in crowds, it is worthwhile to delve more into the notions of dehistorization and depoliticization of the refugee which were briefly touched upon in section 2.1. In dehistorization and depoliticization of the refugees, the historical and political experiences lived by the refugees are not synonymous with the historical and political experiences resembled in humanitarian intervention, in order to justify the need for it. The personal experiences of the refugees themselves are often downplayed into something that the humanitarian sphere believes to be sufficiently convenient and uncomplicated to carry forward standardized humanitarian interventions targeting the refugees as opposed to individualistic interventions. This practice has pushed forward the notions of refugees as *one unit* representing people in need of intervention, as being a global moral imperative. As a result, in one unit of refugees the person in the photos amidst the flood of others is believed to be a clone of the person standing next to him or meters away, thus the refugees are *homogenized*. Homogenization of the refugee has led to the possibility of using stories, experiences and photos of other refugees in lieu of those belonging to the actual refugees in question thinking they are qualified to act as perfect substitutes. This is evident in PHOTO 3 in particular.

PHOTO 3 was interestingly taken before Trump's presidency started. This photo was taken in 2014 in the Yarmouk[15] Palestinian refugee camp near the city of Damascus in Syria at the height of the Syrian Civil War, when the camp was under siege and was facing a series of shortages in food and other supplies. The scene in this image shows the refugees lined up to collect food and other supplies through the routinely distributions by the UNRWA in an attempt to alleviate the effects of this shortage. However, the producer of the article saw it fit to use this photo years later, to portray what might occur in light of the funding cuts to the UNRWA, overlooking the particularities of the two different contexts, it is assumed that the Palestinian refugees' experience is uniform over time and under different circumstances.

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[15] The UNRWA considers Yarmouk to be an unofficial refugee camp, meaning that it was not set up by the agency but was rather set up by the governments of the countries hosting Palestinian refugees. The Palestinian refugees in unofficial refugee camps still enjoy access to benefits provided by UNRWA except for a few services which the host governments are providing, mainly solid waste management (UNRWA, 2020).

The origins of the third representational theme could be traced back to events which occurred after the second World War. In the period following World War II, the US launched their Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act, which was the beginning of what we have come to know as "food aid" (Barrett and Maxwell, 2007). Since then, a plethora of food aid programs were initiated, which naturally came with their own set of controversies and criticism surrounding their effectiveness amongst other concerns. In 2000, MDGs were launched with the very first one from a set of 8, MDG number 1, focusing on halving the rates of global hunger. This has turned food security into a benchmark, something that resources need to be redirected at achieving. In achieving that goal, food aid has been viewed as a "quick" relief, despite all its cons, something that will assist in rapidly getting to the target and thus it has become a persistent form of aid within the humanitarian sphere. Food aid has become an oversimplified solution within that sphere, or what has been precisely referred to as functional simplification and the subsequent functional closure, which have been described as:

> the demarcation of an operational domain, within which the complexity of the world is reconstructed as a simplified set of causal or instrumental relations… and the construction of a protective cocoon that is placed around the selected causal sequence or processes to safeguard the undesired interference and ensure their recurrent unfolding (Kallinikos as cited in Abdelnour and Saeed, 2014, p. 148).

To push forward the need for the simplified solution of food aid and overshadow its cons, the justification had to be that the beneficiaries are indeed benefiting from it. For this reason, the photos of refugees as recipients of aid are essential to draw the audience's attention to the role of the humanitarian sphere as a food provider. It has become rather common to portray the refugees worldwide as receivers of food assistance that it was also applied to the production and reproduction of photos of Palestinian refugees, as yet another tool to achieve global development goals, despite their specific contextual factors and individuality, as it is what would appease to the audience's predetermined image of what a refugee in general should look like. This image is fixed due to the long withstanding tradition of portraying the refugees as beneficiaries of food aid in the media as dictated by the humanitarian discourse. This undue emphasis on food assistance in the context of Palestinian refugees gives a deluded and oversimplified idea as to how the funding cuts to UNRWA will actually affect Palestinian refugees. The representational practices under this theme simplifies the work of the UNRWA

and reduces it to make it as if providing food to the Palestinian refugees is a major part of their work. However, in reality in the UNRWA's 2016 – 2017 planned budget, only 8.7 percent was to be allocated to their relief and social services program, which is what food assistance makes up only a portion of, while the greater percentage of their budget was allocated to health and education (UNRWA, 2015a).

4.3   Final Remarks and Discussion

It is important to note that the reason the specific reactional processes pointed out in relation to the photos shed the light on the issue of consent. The role of a photographer as an active participant, and not merely a producer, in photos is often overlooked. However, it is important to be taken into consideration to explore the relationship between them and the subjects they are photographing. The reason that the subjects being photographed seem to be nonchalant or unbothered by the presence of the photographer is most probably because they are not aware that they are being photographed. On the other hand, it is difficult to say the same about the photographer, as they are not just a passerby or captured these photos coincidentally. As a matter of fact, it seems rather planned as the photographer appears to be well-acquainted with his subjects and their daily whereabouts. In the case of schoolgirls for instance, the photographer always managed to capture them outside of class, walking to or from school, at recess; perhaps they intended for it to be that way and planned accordingly, as aiming for photos inside the classrooms will entail asking for permission from the school administration or even the parents which would complicate their job. Although this is something related to the production phase of the photo, it does not particularly aid in the understanding of the construct identities of the refugees. However, it raises questions on the moral issues behind photographing people, and particularly minors, without consent in a space such as a refugee camp that is meant to provide a safe haven to those subjected to conflict, war, or any other event that has forced them to leave their homes.[16]

Another point is in reference to the homogenization of the refugee which was described in relation to the second representational theme. The effects of refugee homogenization are not exclusive to photos of big groups. Although it is more pronounced and self-descriptive in

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[16] This remains something within the scope of CDA as it probes the power dynamics and the sense of superiority that the photographer feels in similar situations that permit him to take non-consensual pictures, but it extends beyond the scope of this thesis and remains a general observation for the time being.

photos of big groups of people, it can still be also observed in photos of individuals through the way in which they are being referred to in the accompanying text. An example is in PHOTO 7 under the first representational theme. The official caption of the photo chosen by the author of the article described this woman as an elderly female protestor in the Gaza Strip, with no mention of her name or whether she is in fact of a refugee background or not. Although the article goes on tell the tale of a woman of old age, called Khadija Hijjo, and her journey of refugeehood, it has not been made evident that this is her in the photo and the caption certainly does not aid in understanding that either. Khadija Hijjo is not only faceless, but she is perhaps given a face of another woman who would fit the description of female and elderly.

An interesting point to be added is the lack of speech process in eleven out of twelve of the photos. Although the presence of a certain process serves a function, the *absence* of certain processes should be seen as serving a function also. The lack of a speech process reinforces the notion of voiceless-ness that is often attached to refugees. Although in the discourse on refugees it has been tied to photos of relatively big groups, it is possible to be observed in photos of individuals or smaller groups.

To conclude what has been presented in this chapter, there were three recurring themes of representation on Palestinian refugees under the event of US funding cuts to the UNRWA – the Palestinian refugees as a female, the Palestinian refugees as a crowd and the Palestinian refugees as a person in need of aid. The findings on each theme of representation can be summarized as follows:

1. The Palestinian refugee as a female: at the visual description level, the overwhelming majority of photos under this theme of representation were showing schoolgirls who go to UNRWA administrated schools, and these photos were narrating their routine activity of going to school thus serving a narrative function. However, these photos also serve an emotive function as they aim to create a sympathetic connection on the audience's part towards the participants in the photos, by hinting at what these girls might lose as a result of the funding cuts to the UNRWA – their access to these schools and education. At the social practice explanation level, this representation stems from an interdiscursive process, one which the feminist discourse on gender mainstreaming overpowered the general humanitarian discourse. This has thus paved the way for the adoption of a number of policies targeting women and girls, and which has reflected in programs provided by the UNRWA. Hence, there is a need to depict the Palestinian

refugee as a female to justify the need for such programs. This is what was referred to as the "feminization" of the refugee.

2. The Palestinian refugee as a crowd: at the visual description level, this theme included a number of photos in which the Palestinian refugees are in relatively large groups (10 persons or more). This is a common practice in refugee representation rooted in a dehistoricization/depoliticization process within the humanitarian sphere which does not take individualistic experiences into account when deciding on humanitarian interventions, as they are often rendered too complicated. Hence, standardized interventions are often the ones adopted.

3. The Palestinian refugee as a person in need of aid: at the visual description level, the majority of the photos under this theme depicted Palestinian refugees handling/collecting food assistance. Again, serving a narrative function and an emotive function which triggers sympathy on the audience's part. At the social practice explanation level, this representation stems from the greater humanitarian discourse where a long "tradition" of giving food aid was established and continued for years as a means of achieving global goals on hunger reduction.

It is evident through these representations that the discourse on Palestinian refugees is influenced by the existing broader humanitarian discourse, which creates subjects that justify to the public in the international community the need for specific interventions. Many of these interventions aim to accelerate achieving certain development goals, such as the MDGs or their successors the SDGs among others. Since Palestinian refugees are prime targets of humanitarian intervention and international aid since their displacement in 1948, as the UNRWA receives a lot of donations from numerous developed countries, they are viewed as the ideal target group to achieve these goals. Hence, Palestinian refugees are portrayed as in need of the standardized and generic humanitarian interventions which target them. Portraying them as being in need has implications which seem rather counterproductive to the work of humanitarian organizations, especially as it shows that these needs of theirs are fulfilled through humanitarian assistance, implying that they are often unable to provide for themselves. That depicts the Palestinian refugees as weak and helpless which is as a result disempowering as observed in other refugee communities in studies mentioned in section 2.1. This oversimplification of the work of the UNRWA as being in line with global humanitarian intervention schemes overlooks other crucial ways in which Palestinians benefit from the

agency. Mainly, how the UNRWA for many Palestinians constitutes their only institutional representation, therefore if it is dismantled this representation could be jeopardized.

As these representations of Palestinian refugees were obtained from newspaper articles, this might additionally render media outlets as implicit in the creation and perpetuation of this image of Palestinian refugees as weak and vulnerable beings, rather than challenging it. They prioritize appeasing to their audience, who became accustomed to these representations as this particular humanitarian discourse became normalized over the years.

It is also evident that the discourse on refugees in general is also influenced by the broader humanitarian discourse, as a lot of these patterns in the general discourse on refugees as discussed briefly in the second chapter align with the discourse on Palestinian refugees. Similarities between both the general discourse on refugees and the discourse on Palestinian refugees can be observed in representation of refugees as groups, females and recipients of food aid. This illustrates how the homogenization process can occur not just within one group of refugees of the same origin, as observed in PHOTO 3 and PHOTO 7, but it can happen across different groups of refugees from different parts of the world with no consideration to the specific sociopolitical conditions that create different experiences for different groups of refugees. All refugees are viewed in the same light and are automatically assumed to have the same experiences, and perhaps the same fate. In addition, certain aspects of these representations of Palestinian refugees align with the limited literature uncovered on their representation in verbal text in section 2.3 by Kamalipour (1995) and Terry and Mendhall (1974), in which they are portrayed as voiceless and objects of sympathy. However, the significance of this thesis in particular is that it adds to the body of knowledge on Palestinian refugees a clear categorization of the different distinct themes of visual representation and goes a step further by exploring where these representations began.

It is additionally important to discuss what does this all mean for the identity of Palestinian refugees, and what the implications of such visual representations are. The continuity of representing Palestinian refugees as objects of humanitarian intervention and perpetuating the idea that they are weak and helpless in the long run as a result, would affect not only their identity as refugees but the broader Palestinian identity. A certain particularity concerning the Palestinian identity is that the refugee ideology and culture lies at its core and contributed to the formation of a major portion of the Palestinian collective history, as a great percentage of

the Palestinian population continue to live in exodus away from their homeland. It is thus difficult to make a distinction between the Palestinian identity and the identity of their refugee population, as it was put "refugee ideology dominated Palestinian culture. In other words, the idea of the temporal prevailed" (Ghanayem as cited in Gertz & Khleifi, 2008, p. 2). Therefore, in the case of Palestinians, being the embodiment of weakness and helplessness undermines their autonomy and jeopardizes their nationalistic aspirations of having an independent state of their own, as these notions deem them unqualified to run a future Palestinian state.

5. Conclusion

After the previous chapter presented the findings that aim to answer the research questions presented in section 1.2, this final chapter aims to conclude the main points that the reader could take away from this thesis. This thesis aimed to uncover the visual representational practices used by the media to represent the Palestinian refugees to their audience, and to explore recurring themes in this visual representation and where do these representations stem from to fill the gap in the literature on Palestinian refugees as there is a dearth of works of literature on their representation, whether it is visual or verbal.

The choice of media sources and visual images was done by utilizing the Corpus Construction sampling method, which is a systematic sampling method which assists in the selection and collection of relevant sources for analysis in qualitative research where the aim is not generalization but rather revealing as many different varieties of a phenomenon as possible given the limitations and the scope of the research. This has resulted in the selection of three international newspapers: American newspaper the New York Times, British newspaper the Guardian and Lebanese newspaper Al-Akhbar, from which 12 different photos were selected. To analyze these photos, three different frameworks were used: CDA as the theoretical framework – particularly following Fairclough's three-dimensional model which aims to analyze text at the description, interpretation and explanation levels, CVA as the conceptual framework and DNA, which stems from CVA, as the analytical framework. The need for different frameworks is justified by the shortcomings of each of these frameworks individually; CDA, in addition to many critiques on its rigorousness and reliability, was mostly developed around the verbal textual aspects, especially at the *description* level, whereas CVA remains recent in development and does not elaborate a lot on the *interpretation* and *explanation* levels. DNA is one of three different analytical methods within CVA which pertains to pictures in news and thus was selected given that the media sources being analyzed in this thesis are newspapers.

Corpus Construction unveiled three recurring themes under which Palestinian refugees are represented: as a *female*, as a *crowd* and as *a person in need of aid*. The combination of different frameworks for analysis has assisted in analyzing these different themes of representation to achieve satisfactory results. By exploring the photos under each theme, some corporeal elements were noticed to have been deliberately used by the producers and the

reproducers of these photos with the aim that they would stir the audience's emotions and create a social connection between the audience and the Palestinian refugees in the photos. Moreover, some of these elements assist in reinforcing the context of conflict and oppression which these refugees live within. These elements will predispose the audience to accept and normalize this particular image of the Palestinian refugees.

By delving deeper into the history and origin of these different themes of representation, it was concluded that they are rooted in a tradition within the humanitarian sphere which sets up the refugees to be portrayed as objects of humanitarian interventions who are in need and actually benefitting from these interventions. Setting them up in this manner showcases to the audience why these interventions must continue. These interventions however are often generic and standardized, as they are easy ways to contribute to achieving global development goals, and thus can be found recurring in different refugee communities. These interventions have an amplified importance in the context of Palestinian refugees as they have been prime targets of humanitarian intervention and international aid since their displacement in 1948. Since a lot of funding is already directed at them, they are an ideal refugee population to achieve these global development goals through with minimal effort.

This tradition within the humanitarian sphere of setting up the refugees as ideal beneficiaries of humanitarian intervention and aid is a long withstanding one and could be also observed when comparing the findings of this thesis with the representation of other refugee communities in studies drawn upon in chapter 2. These representations, whether in the context of Palestinian refugee communities or other refugee communities, trigger questions regarding the implicitness of the media in perpetuating these images of the refugees which often render them weak and undermines their autonomy and their right to self-determination in the long run.

This conclusion of the thesis reestablishes the importance of the visual image in the normalized discourse on refugees as was established in section 2.2. However, there remains a dearth of methods to approach and analyze visual images and visual representational practices. Thus, more academic research needs to be done to allow visual analysis to have a stronger and a more distinct academic identity. Particularly, developing more rigorous approaches which allow the analysis of visual semiosis in visual content as an entity separate from the verbal text that often accompanies it, especially in the news.

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Appendix A: The Photos Used for Analysis

This appendix includes the 12 photos used for the analysis. Under each photo there is the label given to it in the thesis, the newspaper it is taken from and the name of the article it was obtained from.

PHOTO 1. *"White House Urged to Restore Aid to U.N. Palestinian Refugee Agency"*

Note. Retrieved from the New York Times article by Gladstone (2018)

PHOTO 2. *"Trump Administration's Move to Cut Aid to Palestinian Refugees is Denounced"*

Note. Retrieved from the New York Times article by Wong (2018a)

PHOTO 3. *"US to End Funding to U.N. Agency that Helps Palestinian Refugees"*

Note. Retrieved from the New York Times article by Wong (2018b)

PHOTO 4. *"U.S. Withholds $65 Million From U.N. Relief Agency for Palestinians"*

Note. Retrieved from the New York Times article by Harris and Gladstone (2018)

PHOTO 5. *"What Is UNRWA and What Would It Mean if Trump Cuts Its Funding?"*

Note. Retrieved from the New York Times article by Specia (2018)

PHOTO 6. *"US Confirms End to Funding for UN Palestinian Refugees"*

Note. Retrieved from the Guardian article by Beaumont and Holmes (2018)

PHOTO 7. *"'We Need More Food, Not Less': US Cuts Leave Palestinian Refugees in Crisis"*

Note. Retrieved from the Guardian article by Macintyre (2018)

PHOTO 8. *"One million Face Hunger in Gaza After US Cut to Palestine Aid"*

Note. Retrieved from the Guardian article by Rankin (2019)

PHOTO 9. *"Trump cuts jeopardise lives of millions of Palestinian refugees, UN warns"*

Note. Retrieved from the Guardian article by Beaumont (2018)

PHOTO 10. *"The Project of Killing the UNRWA: A Continuous Uprooting of the Palestinians"*

Note. Retrieved from the Al-Akhbar article by Sharara (2019)

PHOTO 11. *"The Plan of Liquidating the UNRWA is Underway in Jerusalem"*

Note. Retrieved from the Al-Akhbar article by Aqel (2018)

PHOTO 12. *"Israel Applauds the US Decision: UNRWA's Survival Perpetuates the Refugee Issue"*

Note. Retrieved from the Israel Applauds the US Decision (2018)