

**Framing Resistance in Hamas's Military Media: Mobilization Strategies and Discursive Narratives During the Gaza War (2023–2025)**

<https://doi.org/10.56529/isr.v4i2.518>

**Mohammedwesam Amer**

Gaza University, Palestine

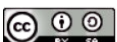
University of Cambridge, England

wesaam.amer@gmail.com

**Abstract**

This study analyzes the strategic use of military media by Hamas during the Gaza War (2023–2025), focusing on the discursive construction of resistance and mobilization. Amid large-scale destruction and civilian casualties, media emerged as a central arena for ideological contestation. Drawing on speeches and statements by Abū 'Ubayda, spokesperson for the 'Izz al-Dīn al-Qassām Brigades, this research examines how Hamas crafted narratives to justify military actions, legitimize its political position, and mobilize support across local and transnational contexts. Using Teun A. van Dijk's socio-cognitive model of Critical Discourse Analysis, the study investigates the interplay between discourse, ideology, and collective memory. Through purposive and stratified sampling of textual and audiovisual materials from official Telegram channels, the analysis identifies key discursive strategies—lexical framing, religious symbolism, and emotional appeals—that represent the conflict as a divinely sanctioned struggle against occupation. At the macro level, themes of martyrdom, heroism, and ideological polarization dominate, while micro-level elements such as evaluative language and binary referential strategies reinforce in-group/out-group distinctions. Visual media further embed ideological content through symbolic imagery and narrative sequencing. The findings demonstrate how Hamas's military media functioned as an ideological apparatus, shaping collective identity, sustaining morale, and mobilizing resistance within a hybrid media system.

**Keywords:** Hamas, Military Media, Israel, Gaza War, Discourse, Abū 'Ubayda



## Introduction

The Gaza War (2023-2025) commenced on October 7, 2023, following a large-scale Hamas-led attack on Israel. The humanitarian toll is staggering; as of March 2025, over (Ochaopt, 2025) Palestinians have been confirmed killed, more than 110,000 injured, and thousands more are missing. Confirming casualties in such chaotic conditions is extremely challenging, as it requires specific personal details and evidence, which are difficult to obtain in a war zone. Thus, the actual number of casualties may be far higher than the official count, with one report citing that people had been killed (Al Jazeera, 2023). Israel is deliberately attacking critical infrastructure. Reports indicate that 92% of homes and 95% of schools have been destroyed or damaged, and the healthcare system is on the brink of collapse. The United Nations has highlighted the dire conditions, noting that nearly 70% of those killed are women and children (Graham-Harrison, 2025). Amidst this backdrop, media has come to play an increasingly significant role (Amer, 2025, Forthcoming). The proliferation of digital platforms has transformed the communicative environment of conflict, creating what scholars describe as a "hybrid media system" characterized by the constant flow of information across various media forms (Chadwick, 2017).

In the complex media landscape, Hamas has strategically developed its military media apparatus to disseminate narratives of resistance and steadfastness. Central to this effort is Abū 'Ubayda, the spokesperson for Hamas's military wing, who has become a prominent figure and icon in articulating the movement's messaging. Through coordinated media campaigns that include video statements, social media posts, and other digital content, Hamas aims to bolster morale within Gaza and influence international public opinion. The movement's media materials often integrate ideological, cultural, and emotional appeals, employing terms such as "*Ummah*" (the global Muslim community), "resistance," and "steadfastness" (*Sumud*) to frame its actions within a broader narrative of struggle and legitimacy. These discursive strategies serve to justify military actions, including the initial attack on October 7, 2023, and to mobilize support locally and globally.

This study uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine how Hamas's military media strategically constructs narratives that legitimize resistance, assert moral authority, and foster collective identity during the Gaza War. It

focuses on how Hamas framed and justified the events of October 7, 2023, through a discourse centered on resistance and steadfastness. The analysis highlights Hamas's deliberate lexical choices aimed at mobilizing support, asserting political legitimacy within the Palestinian community, and influencing international opinion. Key concepts such as the *Ummah* and resistance to Israeli occupation are embedded in the rhetoric, blending ideological, cultural, and emotional appeals. The study also explores how the structure and content of Hamas's media shape audience perceptions and contribute to political and social mobilization. The paper first contextualizes Hamas's military media and Abū 'Ubayda's role in the conflict, then applies van Dijk's socio-cognitive model to analyze how discourse, cognition, and media circulation intersect to frame resistance, legitimize violence, and mobilize identity through language and visuals.

### **Hamas and its Military Media Department: A Socio-Political Context**

Founded in 1987 as an offshoot of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas, the Islamic Resistance Movement, emerged within a complex socio-political and digital environment in Palestine (Abu-Amr, 1993; Frisch, 2010). Since its inception, the movement has been shaped by major historical events, including the First Intifada (1987–1993), the Second Intifada (2000–2005), and successive wars in Gaza (2008–2009, 2012, 2014, 2021). A major turning point for Hamas came in 2006 when it won a majority in the Palestinian Legislative Council elections (Hroub, 2006). Divisions between Hamas and the Palestinian Authority (PA, Fatah) culminated in Hamas's takeover of the Gaza Strip in 2007, followed by Israel imposing a strict blockade over Gaza's land, air, and sea access points (Migdalovitz, 2010). Despite these obstacles, Hamas succeeded in establishing a functioning administrative authority over Gaza prior to instituting a government.

Despite numerous challenges, including internal political fragmentation, governance pressures, international isolation, and military confrontation with Israel, Hamas has developed an extensive communication strategy. Al-Aqsa TV has served as a primary outlet for broadcasting Hamas's narratives, supplemented by campaigns on social media platforms (before account suspensions), mobile applications, as well as traditional media. Hamas leverages

hashtags and multilingual messaging to challenge Israeli narratives and maintain international visibility. Hamas's military media in Gaza has emerged as a strategic response to Israeli narratives (Amer, 2023, 2024), aiming to foreground the Palestinian resistance and document military operations.

After the 2007 political split with Fatah, Hamas prioritized rebuilding its media infrastructure, notably through the Al-Aqsa network. It focused on countering Palestinian Authority claims and showcased Hamas's military capabilities. During the 2008–2009 war, Al-Aqsa TV became a central media platform for Hamas, facing regular signal jamming and cyberattacks. Recognizing the need for unified communication, Hamas established a system wherein a single spokesperson represented the resistance during periods of military escalation to maintain message discipline, prevent contradictory narratives, and project unity and control to both internal and external audiences. Following the "Al-Aqsa Flood" operation in October 2023, Hamas's military media focused heavily on explaining operational principles, rallying local and international support, exposing Israeli actions against civilians, and highlighting Gaza's humanitarian plight (Hamas Media Office, 2024). Hamas effectively utilized visual media to challenge and often surpass Israel's highly advanced media apparatus, which enjoys significant Western support. By emphasizing humanitarian narratives, particularly during hostage exchanges, Hamas gained sympathy from Palestinian, Arab, Israeli, and international audiences (Amer, 2025, forthcoming). Hamas's military wing plays a critical role in reshaping the organization's image through strategic media releases, emphasizing humane treatment of captives and Palestinian resilience.

Hamas institutionalized its military media under the 'Izz al-Dīn al-Qassām Brigades, creating the Military Media Department or "*al-'I'lām al-'Askari*". This department manages official websites, social media platforms, and the production of various media materials, including short films, infographics, military statements, and press conferences. It also documents martyrdoms<sup>1</sup> and maintains statistics related to military operations. The Military Media Department seeks to portray the Palestinian resistance positively at local, regional, and international levels, reinforce the narrative of Palestinian defiance

---

<sup>1</sup> Martyrdom refers to the voluntary sacrifice of one's life for a religious, political, or ideological cause. In militant discourse, it functions as a symbolic resource that sacralises struggle, legitimizes resistance, and mobilizes collective identity.

against Israeli occupation, and conduct psychological warfare to undermine Israeli morale while uplifting Palestinian supporters.

During the ongoing Gaza War (2023-2025), Hamas's military media teams have captured frontline footage using body-mounted cameras to produce visceral portrayals of clashes with Israeli forces. These visuals, aimed at demoralizing Israeli soldiers and civilians, became central to Hamas's communication strategy. Key outputs include footage of military engagements, press statements from the spokesperson Abū 'Ubayda, and documentation of Israeli casualties. Hamas extended its military media strategy to digital platforms, strictly controlling messaging and ensuring reports highlighted civilian suffering under Israeli aggression. The shift towards a more resistant media stance—defined here as media communication explicitly designed to frame conflict as a just struggle, legitimize armed resistance, and construct an oppositional identity against occupation—became evident after October 7, 2023, when Hamas's armed wing took over from the political leadership in shaping public narratives, utilizing both traditional and digital media to construct and disseminate this resistance-oriented discourse (Amer, 2025, Forthcoming).

### **Abū 'Ubayda: The Face of Hamas's Military Media**

Hamas's military media department has centralized its campaigns through a single official spokesperson, known as Abū 'Ubayda. Nicknamed "The Masked Man" (*Al-Mulatham*), Abū 'Ubayda serves as the official face of Hamas's military wing, the 'Izz al-Dīn al-Qassām Brigades. Beyond operational security, his masked identity carries important symbolic weight: it evokes a collective and anonymous resistance figure, placing him with a broader tradition of Palestinian "*mulatham*" fighters whose concealed faces represent unity, sacrifice, and defiance against occupation. Abū 'Ubayda is a pseudonym, representing a deliberately hidden persona whose true identity remains unknown even to many within Hamas's political and military leadership. His distinctive charisma, powerful rhetoric, and resolute presence have made him a key figure in shaping Hamas's military media narrative during the ongoing war. For instance, his repeated declarations warning Israel that "every hour you hesitate will cost you" demonstrate his ability to convey strength and certainty, amplifying his influence

far beyond Palestinian and Arab audiences, even penetrating Israeli society as a symbol of resistance and resilience.

Abū ‘Ubayda gained public attention for his appearances during past key moments of the Israel-Palestine conflict, such as the capture of Gilad Shalit in 2006, Shalit’s release in exchange for 1,000 Palestinian prisoners in 2011, the 2014 war, and the capture of Israeli soldier Shaul Aron in 2014 (Al Jazeera, 2011). During Israel’s wars on Gaza, Abū ‘Ubayda has appeared only in pre-recorded videos, typically either brief updates (under 2 minutes) or extended addresses (over 10 minutes), or audio statements, which have been widely disseminated through traditional media and satellite channels, particularly Qatar’s Al Jazeera, as well as through social media platforms. These include a Telegram channel bearing his name, other channels affiliated with the Qassām Brigades under the same branding, and multiple Hamas pages across various social platforms (Amer, 2025, Forthcoming). Branding functions as a strategic tool to create a consistent identity that legitimizes Hamas’s resistance and unifies supporters. Symbols like Abū ‘Ubayda’s masked persona and recurring imagery reinforce this cohesive narrative, embedding ideological messages across digital platforms. His appearances in traditional media include press conferences or briefings. Abū ‘Ubayda has made multiple appearances during different stages of the current war in Gaza, particularly during the early months before the Israeli ground invasion. His media presence decreased once Israeli forces invaded Palestinian cities in the Gaza Strip. Notably, key appearances included statements on the second day of the war (October 8), on day 100, and on day 200 of the conflict.

Abū ‘Ubayda typically appears wearing a red Palestinian keffiyeh covering his entire face, garbed in a military uniform. Qur’anic verses are often visible in the background. Outside of wartime or during periods of de-escalation, he maintains the same guise but is usually surrounded by a group of masked Qassam Brigades members also wearing red keffiyehs and standard military uniforms. Abū ‘Ubayda’s use of formal Arabic (*fuṣḥā*) aligns with common practice in official press briefings across Palestine and the broader Arab world, where Modern Standard Arabic is typically employed for its wide intelligibility and rhetorical authority. However, what distinguishes Abū ‘Ubayda’s delivery is not merely the use of formal Arabic, but the performative intensity—marked by controlled vocal modulation, elevated grammar, and emotive cadence—which amplifies the message’s affective and ideological resonance. This stylistic execution positions

his statements not only as informational but also as symbolic acts of resistance and leadership.

At its core, Abū ‘Ubayda’s speeches spotlight the actions of the Palestinian resistance, particularly Hamas, and reflect the movement’s perspectives on war, especially from a military viewpoint. As his speeches represent the vision of Hamas’s military apparatus, they are characterized by several key elements summarized as follows: 1) Clarifying Hamas’s goals and motives for launching the October 7 attack; 2) Boosting the morale of Qassām fighters to encourage them to continue fighting the Israeli army and 3) Raising awareness among Palestinian, Arab, and international audiences about Israel’s attempts to displace and annihilate the population of the Gaza Strip. Israel has undertaken intensive efforts to uncover Abū ‘Ubayda’s identity. In a video posted on the platform X (formerly Twitter), Israeli army spokesperson Avichay Adraee claimed that Abū ‘Ubayda is Ḥudhayfa Sāmīr ‘Abd Allāh al-Kahlūt and shared an alleged photo of him (Adraee, 2023). The *Yedioth Ahronoth* newspaper claimed that Abū ‘Ubayda earned a master’s degree from the College of Fundamentals of Religion at the Islamic University of Gaza in 2013 (Al-Arab, 2023).

Abū ‘Ubayda has arguably become one of the most influential and inspirational figures in the military media landscape of Hamas’s armed wing. This underscores the critical importance Hamas places on military media as an essential component in bolstering its resistance operations against Israel and in challenging and countering Israeli narratives. Hamas understands that the war extends beyond the battlefield. It is also a battle of narratives, messaging and influence over both internal and external audiences. In short, Abū ‘Ubayda has come to represent a powerful voice reflecting the views of the Qassam Brigades and the broader Palestinian resistance in defending the Palestinian cause and enhancing global awareness of their suffering and struggle. This narrative battle is being closely monitored by Israel, which fears losing control over the information war and the international legitimacy that comes with it. Abū ‘Ubayda’s media presence thus not only advances Hamas’s messaging but also challenges Israel’s dominance in shaping public perceptions of the conflict.

### **Conceptualizations: CDA, Discourse and Ideology**

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) serves as both a theoretical orientation and a methodological tool for analyzing the operation of discourse within social, political, and cultural domains. Through the analysis of discourse, CDA seeks to uncover the mechanisms by which language legitimates authority and constructs hegemonic social norms. The foundational principles of CDA emphasize the analysis of discourse as a site of power struggle, conceptualizing language not as a neutral medium but as a social practice that constructs and maintains power relations. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) assert that CDA is inherently concerned with social problems, particularly those involving inequality, dominance, and exclusion. One illustrative example lies in media discourse, which often engages in binary oppositions such as "us" versus "them," thus reinforcing exclusionary ideologies and marginalizing certain social groups (Dijk, 2005). CDA also explores the production, dissemination, and reception of discourse and examines how these processes shape public perception and societal practices (Wodak, 2001).

Beyond mere textual analysis, CDA considers the broader sociocultural and institutional contexts in which discourse is embedded. Fairclough (1995) underscores that ideologies are not simply textual artifacts but are woven into the very fabric of institutional practices and social structures. Scholars such as Fairclough and van Dijk emphasize that discourse is both reflective and constitutive of social reality. Van Dijk's model of the "ideological square" demonstrates how discourses tend to positively frame in-groups while negatively portraying out-groups, thereby reinforcing group-based ideologies. CDA conceptualizes discourse as a form of social practice, one that actively shapes identities, relationships, and systems of knowledge (Wodak, 2009). Fairclough (2013) and Richardson (2007) suggest that language is instrumental in constructing social meaning, with discourse acting as a vehicle through which hierarchical structures are reproduced or contested.

Discourse, in this framework, is understood as a contextually-situated social process encompassing interconnected systems of meanings, symbols, and representations. According to Burr (2015), discourse functions as a lens through which reality is socially constructed, shaped, and interpreted. Media discourse is particularly influential in this regard, as it embeds normative assumptions about



what is significant and how the world should be understood (Schudson, 1995). As Fairclough and Wodak (1997) argue, all discourse is ideologically-charged and historically-situated, playing a crucial role in shaping social identities, knowledge systems, and institutional practices. Dijk (2005) conceptualizes discourse as a communicative event embedded within specific social situations, wherein participants assume various roles and engage in structured interactions. This perspective is reinforced by framing discourse as both a text and a process, encompassing not only linguistic structures but also the conditions of production and interpretation (see Van Hulst et al., 2025). Wodak and Meyer (2015) argue that discourse is always historically contextualized, with present communicative acts connecting to past and future discourses. This historical dimension is crucial in understanding the discursive construction of national identities and collective memory (Wodak, 2009).

Ideology occupies a central place within the CDA framework. It refers to systems of belief that serve to justify, sustain, or challenge existing power relations. These belief systems are often naturalized through discourse, becoming ingrained in social consciousness and guiding both behavior and thought processes (Freedon, 2003; T. A. Van Dijk, 1995). Ideology operates at multiple levels of language, from lexical choices to syntactic structures, revealing how seemingly neutral language can be ideologically saturated (Fowler, 1991).

Competing media narratives frequently reflect underlying ideological tensions, positioning discourse as a site of ideological contestation. T. A. Van Dijk (1995) posits that ideologies exert indirect influence over the cognition of individuals within a group, subtly shaping their interpretations and actions by prevailing discourses. Fairclough (1995) cautions against the assumption that ideologies can be directly extracted from texts, noting that textual interpretation is subjective and contingent upon the reader's ideological positioning. He suggests that ideologies are more effectively understood as products of broader discursive practices. When discursive representations become naturalized and accepted as "common sense," they exert their greatest ideological influence. Carvalho (2000) contends that ideology provides the basis for fundamental political stances, such as positions on governance and the role of the state. Media discourse is shaped by these ideological frameworks, often subtly, through linguistic strategies that reflect and reinforce social power dynamics (Carver & Hyvärinen, 1997).

Ideological discourse can also be mobilized to justify acts of violence, particularly in the context of religious extremism. Extremist groups often employ religious narratives to frame their actions as divinely-ordained obligations. For instance, some radical interpretations of the Islamic concept of *jihād* portray it as a holy war, despite the broader theological emphasis on peace (Juergensmeyer, 2000). Such interpretations reveal how ideological constructions of religion can serve to legitimize violence under the guise of spiritual duty. Extremist ideologies, whether political or religious, tend to exhibit a shared set of characteristics. These include binary constructions of good and evil, utopian aspirations, intolerance of dissenting views, and the endorsement of violence to achieve ideological ends. Such ideologies often rely on distorted representations of reality and the demonization of opponents, promoting collective identities that override individual rights (Smelser, 2007). These features highlight the role of discourse in shaping radical worldviews and enabling their translation into social and political action.

This study situates the analysis of Hamas's military media discourse on resistance during the Gaza War (2023–2025) within the theoretical nexus of CDA, discourse, and ideology. These three concepts are deeply interrelated and collectively form the foundation for examining how language operates as a tool of power, persuasion, and ideological dissemination during times of conflict. CDA provides the critical framework through which discourse can be unpacked to reveal the ideological assumptions embedded within linguistic choices. Drawing on theorists such as Fairclough and Van Dijk, the study views discourse not as a neutral communicative act but as a socially and politically charged practice that reflects and reproduces power structures.

In the case of Hamas, the discourse of resistance is not limited to military rhetoric but constitutes a broader ideological project. The ideological nature of language, emphasized by scholars like (Fowler & Kress, 2018), means that every linguistic element in Hamas's media discourse, from word choice to narrative framing, can serve to sustain or challenge dominant ideologies. Van Dijk's cognitive approach further supports this analysis by explaining how ideologies are internalized through discourse, shaping group identities and public perceptions. Thus, Hamas's media output can be seen as not only reflecting its ideological stance

but also actively shaping cognitive models and social attitudes toward resistance. In essence, this interrelation between CDA, discourse, and ideology is key to achieving the study's objective: to critically uncover the ideological underpinnings and discursive strategies through which Hamas's military media constructs its resistance narrative, thereby offering insights into how language functions as a medium of power and sociopolitical influence during conflict.

### **Methodological and Analytical Frameworks: Sampling and Analyzing Strategies**

This study centers on the speeches and public statements delivered by Hamas's military spokesperson, Abū 'Ubayda, following the outbreak of the Gaza War on October 7, 2023. The data corpus comprises both textual and audiovisual materials sourced from Hamas's official Telegram channels and affiliated media outlets. Emphasis is placed on content that directly reflects Hamas's strategic messaging, particularly video clips of formal addresses by Abū 'Ubayda. To ensure authenticity and relevance, the study employs purposive sampling, focusing exclusively on materials produced between October 2023 and April 2024 that pertain explicitly to the Gaza War (2023-2025). Where the volume of material is substantial, stratified purposive sampling is used to organize content into three categories—speeches, military operations, and war commentary—ensuring a balanced and representative selection across themes.

This study employs Teun A. van Dijk's socio-cognitive model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as its core analytical framework. T. A. Van Dijk's (2015) model conceptualizes discourse, cognition, and society as interrelated domains, emphasizing that the production and interpretation of discourse are shaped both by social structures—such as power relations, group identity, and conflict dynamics—and by internal cognitive processes, including ideologies, mental models, and collective memory (T. A. Van Dijk, 2015). The analysis is structured across three interconnected layers:

#### **1. Discourse Layer: Power, Identity, and Polarization**

At the textual and discursive level, this layer examines how Hamas's military media constructs narratives of resistance, legitimacy, and national identity during the Gaza War. Drawing from van Dijk's emphasis on the role of language

in constructing social realities, this analysis focuses on how formal media outputs—especially speeches by Abū ‘Ubayda—frame the war as a legitimate and defensive response to Israeli aggression. The discourse positions Hamas not as a terrorist group but as a national liberation movement. A defining feature of this narrative is its polarizing structure, creating a binary between an in-group (Palestinians and resistance fighters) and an out-group (Israel and its allies). This dichotomy functions rhetorically and ideologically: it consolidates collective identity, justifies armed struggle, and portrays Palestinians as noble victims and Israelis as colonial oppressors. Resistance is framed as existential, divinely sanctioned, and morally imperative. Lexical choices are central to this strategy. The use of ideologically charged terms—“martyrdom,” “occupation,” “aggression,” and “dignity”—serves to legitimize Hamas’s position while delegitimizing opposing narratives. These themes are reinforced across formats such as videos, speeches, and social media content, which repeatedly evoke sacrifice, liberation, and divine duty. Intertextual references to the Qur’an, past wars, and the Nakba further embed the discourse within broader ideological frameworks like anti-colonialism and Islamic identity.

## **2. Cognitive Layer: Ideological Framing and Mental Models**

The second layer investigates how discourse shapes cognitive structures—the internal mental models through which audiences perceive, evaluate, and respond to the conflict. According to van Dijk, discourse not only reflects ideology but also plays a central role in its reproduction, embedding worldviews into cognition. Hamas’s media, particularly through the recurring figure of Abū ‘Ubayda, constructs shared mental representations that cast Palestinians as heroic, self-sacrificing defenders, and Israel (along with the U.S.) as colonial aggressors or enablers. Through repetition and emotional appeals, the discourse constructs simplified moral binaries that frame the war in existential and religious terms. References to historical trauma—such as the Nakba and past Israeli incursions—do more than recall suffering; they activate collective memory and identity, invoking a shared historical consciousness that enables audiences to interpret present events through familiar scripts of resistance and betrayal. At the same time, Abū ‘Ubayda’s speeches go beyond invoking grievance. His deliberate use of cultural references—including poems by Tamim Barghouti and

others—introduces an aspirational layer that centers on national dignity, justice, and a liberated Palestinian future. This symbolic and emotional resonance deepens the discourse's power, not only mobilizing resistance but also shaping a coherent, forward-looking vision of identity and hope. This layer also emphasizes the emotional and moral dimensions of social cognition. Expressions of grief, pride, anger, and honor are woven into the discourse to reinforce solidarity and moral justification. Ideological framing operates as a cognitive filter, guiding interpretation through lenses of anti-imperialism, national dignity, and divine obligation. The resulting mental models shape how individuals perceive not only the conflict but also their role within it, solidifying loyalty, resilience, and justification for continued resistance.

### **3. Societal Layer: Media Circulation, Identity, and Reception**

The third layer analyzes how discourse is reproduced, circulated, and received across media platforms. Hamas's military media employs a tightly controlled communication strategy—via stylized videos, symbolic imagery, and centralized spokespeople—to ensure narrative consistency and ideological coherence. These media products are disseminated through both traditional and digital platforms, particularly Telegram, enabling wide resonance across regional and international audiences.

A core function of this discursive reproduction is identity construction. Figures like Abū 'Ubayda, masked and anonymous, are transformed into symbols of collective struggle, transcending the individual to embody the resistance. The construction of archetypal identities such as “the martyr,” “the steadfast,” and “the occupier” contributes to a poetic rendering of the Palestinian struggle by transforming political actors into symbolic figures that resonate beyond the immediate context. This discursive strategy, exemplified in the masked figure of Abū 'Ubayda, abstracts the individual into a collective emblem of resistance, aligning with longstanding Arab literary traditions that frame struggle in metaphorical and emotionally charged terms. In doing so, it fosters moral clarity, in-group cohesion, and a shared narrative grounded in historical memory and future aspiration.

This layer also explores audience reception, focusing on how individuals and communities engage with and internalize the discourse. The feedback loop between media production and public response, via online sharing, protests, or verbal repetition, demonstrates that discursive power is not merely top-down but interactive. The discourse becomes ritualized and performative, aligning personal cognition with collective narratives. The implications of this interactive, ritualized discourse are significant. It suggests that Hamas's media messaging does more than inform—it actively shapes political subjectivities and sustains collective identity. By engaging audiences as participants rather than passive recipients, the discourse reinforces group solidarity, normalizes resistance as a moral imperative, and embeds ideological narratives into everyday practices. This dynamic blurs the line between media consumption and political action, amplifying the discourse's reach and durability across both digital and physical spaces.

Finally, this analysis situates media discourse within broader structures of power and inequality, showing how it operates as an ideological tool that both reflects and contests dominant geopolitical narratives. On platforms like Twitter or Telegram, Hamas's discourse performs not only information dissemination but also symbolic resistance, shaping global perceptions and reinforcing the legitimacy of its struggle in both local and transnational contexts.

## **Findings and Discussion**

The analysis argues that Hamas's military media discourse, particularly through figures like Abū 'Ubayda, constructs resistance as a legitimate and heroic response to occupation. The analysis first categorizes thematic structures and then moves to a micro-level examination of referential and predication strategies.

### **Macrostructure Analysis: The Discourse of Resistance**

Hamas's military media, particularly through the speeches and public addresses of its spokesperson Abū 'Ubayda, demonstrates a calculated and multilayered mobilization of resistance discourse within the context of the Gaza War. Drawing on Teun van Dijk's socio-cognitive model (1998, 2006), this analysis identifies

three interconnected macrostructural dimensions of this discourse: ideological framing, thematic structuring, and symbolic resonance.

## **1. Ideological Framing and Polarization**

At the ideological level, Abū ‘Ubayda’s speeches consistently construct the Palestinian struggle as a moral and existential confrontation with Israeli occupation. This resistance is not merely depicted as a reactive stance but as an inevitable and divinely mandated obligation. The discursive framing emphasizes a dichotomy between a virtuous in-group, comprising Palestinians, Hamas, and the broader Islamic *Ummah*, and a morally corrupt out-group, represented by Israel and its Western allies. This binary opposition, aligning with van Dijk’s concept of the “ideological square,” portrays the self in unequivocally positive terms while casting the adversary in negative, even dehumanized, representations. Such polarization is central to the construction of collective identity and the justification of armed struggle as both legitimate and necessary.

## **2. Thematic Structuring and Moral Hierarchies**

This ideological foundation is reinforced through a systematic arrangement of recurrent thematic structures that shape the narrative and moral framework of Hamas’s military media. One dominant theme is that of martyrdom and heroism. Fallen fighters are elevated to the status of both national heroes and religious martyrs, their deaths framed as sacred acts of self-sacrifice. Eulogies delivered by Abū ‘Ubayda are often infused with religious invocations, positioning the deceased as individuals who have attained divine favor and eternal honor. This valorization of death operates within a moral hierarchy that legitimizes and sanctifies the cost of resistance.

Another central theme is the persistent portrayal of victimhood and oppression. The suffering of Palestinian civilians, particularly in the form of destroyed homes, wounded children, and humanitarian crises, is foregrounded to depict Israel as a relentless aggressor. However, this victimization is not passively framed. Rather, it is entwined with narratives of endurance and dignity, transforming suffering into a form of resistance and collective pride. Abū ‘Ubayda’s rhetoric frequently

combines grief with defiance, constructing an image of a people who, despite loss and devastation, remain morally unshaken and resolute.

The legitimacy of armed resistance is also a foundational element of the macrostructure. Through repeated references to the ongoing “occupation” and “violations” committed by Israeli forces, Hamas frames its military actions as not only justified but imperative. Language plays a critical role in this framing, with carefully chosen terms, such as “aggression,” “liberation,” and “dignity”, imbuing the discourse with moral judgment and political clarity. This linguistic strategy positions Hamas as the defender of the Palestinian cause and the executor of a righteous and necessary campaign.

Religion further fortifies the discourse, with Qur'anic verses and prophetic traditions sacralizing resistance and framing political violence as a spiritual obligation. This religious narrative enhances ideological cohesion and mobilizes collective action. The enemy is portrayed not just as a political adversary but as morally corrupt—Israeli soldiers as cowards, leaders as deceitful. Such demonization serves a discursive function, reinforcing hostility and legitimizing confrontation. However, this framing is not purely rhetorical; it gains traction through widely reported Israeli actions, making such portrayals persuasive to both internal and external audiences.

### **3. Symbolic Resonance and Media Performance**

Symbolic resonance constitutes the third major dimension of this analysis. Through media practices such as high-production videos, stylized speeches, and multilingual messaging, Hamas projects its narrative across multiple platforms and to diverse audiences. Abū ‘Ubayda’s masked appearance contributes to this symbolic strategy, transforming him from a mere communicator into a representation of collective struggle and resistance. His anonymity and consistent presence construct an archetypal figure who embodies national resilience and religious steadfastness.

A particularly salient element of this symbolic strategy is the portrayal of Israeli captives. Videos depicting detained civilians and soldiers serve as both propaganda tools and representations of operational success. These media productions often juxtapose footage of the captives with imagery of destruction



caused by Israeli airstrikes, thereby highlighting what Hamas frames as the Israeli government's political and moral failures. Captions and translations in Hebrew and English extend this message beyond the Palestinian public, exerting psychological pressure on Israeli society. Such representations exemplify what van Dijk (1995) terms “strategic manipulation”—the calculated use of discourse to shape cognition, manage emotions, and mobilize group solidarity.

Jerusalem, and specifically the Al-Aqsa Mosque, features prominently in Hamas's macrostructural discourse. The mosque is presented as both a religious symbol and a national site under existential threat, anchoring the struggle within spiritual and historical narratives. Incidents during the holy month of Ramadan, such as restrictions on access to the mosque, are framed as violations of religious freedom and acts of collective humiliation. Visuals of worshippers scaling barriers to reach Al-Aqsa are employed to construct a vivid image of defiance in the face of oppression. The predication strategies used to describe Israeli forces—as desecrators, militias, and aggressors—serve to further dehumanize the adversary while reaffirming Palestinian moral superiority.

This framing extends beyond the national context to invoke the concept of the *Ummah*. Hamas positions itself as the guardian not only of Palestinian interests but also of sacred Islamic sites and values. Through this transnational appeal, the discourse mobilizes religious solidarity and moral responsibility across the Muslim world. The *Ummah* is constructed as a unified moral community bound to defend Palestine and Jerusalem, with Hamas assuming the role of its vanguard. Unlike global jihadist narratives, this rhetoric remains rooted in nationalist and religious symbolism specific to the Palestinian cause, thereby enhancing its resonance and legitimacy among broader Muslim audiences.

In summary, the macrostructure of Hamas's military media discourse operates through a coherent and strategically crafted system of ideological framing, thematic construction, and symbolic performance. It projects resistance as a sacred, justified, and necessary struggle; constructs a moral hierarchy that legitimizes Palestinian suffering and heroism; and mobilizes both national and transnational audiences through emotionally and spiritually resonant messages. Consistent with van Dijk's socio-cognitive theory, the discourse not only reflects a particular worldview but actively shapes it, embedding ideological meanings into collective memory and sustaining political mobilization over time.

## Microstructure Analysis: Language, Identity, and Ideological Construction in Hamas's Military Discourse

Hamas's military discourse, particularly in the speeches of Abū 'Ubayda, exhibits a strategic deployment of emotionally charged language, religious symbolism, and binary framing to construct a polarized ideological narrative. At the heart of this discourse lies a sharp dichotomy between the valorized Palestinian self and the demonized Israeli other. Lexical choices, referential strategies, and religious framings work cohesively to affirm in-group identity, justify resistance, and delegitimize opposition.

### A. Lexical Choices and Connotations

Positive in-group identity is constructed through valorizing terms such as *"mujaḥidūn"* (holy fighters), *"martyrs,"* and *"defenders of the land,"* which portray Palestinians as morally upright and self-sacrificing actors. Statements like *"lions of the resistance who watered the soil of Palestine with their pure blood"* elevate fallen fighters to heroic, almost mythic status. Such positive connotations build solidarity and moral clarity. Conversely, negative out-group representations depict Israelis with terms like *"occupiers," "aggressors," "murderers,"* and *"colonizers."* Dehumanizing metaphors (e.g., calling Israeli soldiers *"rats"* or *"baby killers"*) reinforce their portrayal as illegitimate and morally depraved, aligning with van Dijk's ideological square of positive self-representation and negative other-representation.

### B. Referential and Predicational Strategies

Referential strategies reinforce collective identity. Palestinians are personalized and humanized—referred to through categories like *"women," "children," "medics,"* and named leaders (e.g., Haneyya, Mishaal), emphasizing widespread suffering and leadership legitimacy. In contrast, Israelis are depersonalized and abstracted into anonymous collectives—*"forces," "gangs," "settlers"*—presented as a faceless and dangerous threat rooted in colonial and imperialist legacies. Predicational strategies attribute victimhood and defensive legitimacy to Palestinians, with verbs like *"resist," "sacrifice,"* and *"defend."* Israeli actions are framed as provocations or brutalities using terms like *"stormed," "attacked,"*

and “*used human shields*,” which depict them as aggressors initiating violence. This framing justifies Palestinian resistance as morally and strategically necessary.

### C. Religious Framing and Theological Legitimacy

Religion plays a critical legitimizing role. Lexical items such as “*blessed hands*,” “*sanctity*,” “*martyrdom*,” and “*sacred land*” sacralize the conflict, embedding the political struggle within Islamic duty. Qur'anic references and religious holidays (e.g., linking Ramadan to jihād) merge faith and resistance, transforming the war into a divine mission. Disbelievers (“*kufr*”) are contrasted with the Muslim *Ummah*, reinforcing theological boundaries.

### D. Construction of Authority and Group Identity

Through inclusive pronouns like “*we*,” “*our fighters*,” and “*our land*,” Abū ‘Ubayda fosters a collective identity that emphasizes unity and shared purpose. This rhetoric positions the Hamas leadership not only as military commanders but as spiritual and national guardians of the Palestinian cause. The repetition of such language frames the struggle as part of a broader historical and religious continuum.

### E. Keyword Emphasis and Ideological Messaging

Frequent use of keywords such as “*resistance*” (مقاومة), “*martyrdom*” (شهادة), “*Al-Quds*” (القدس), “*liberation*” (تحرير) anchors the discourse within an ideological framework of anti-colonial resistance, national pride, and religious duty. The dichotomy of “*we*” vs “*they*” is repeatedly reinforced, ensuring the persistence of moral clarity and group cohesion in the audience’s mental models. Through deliberate microstructural choices, Hamas’s discourse constructs a morally charged narrative that casts Palestinians as virtuous defenders and Israelis as aggressors—a framing that, while strategically simplified, resonates with lived experiences shaped by asymmetrical violence and historical trauma. Religious and ideological language fuses theology with nationalism, providing emotional and moral legitimacy to continued resistance. This aligns with van Dijk’s socio-

cognitive model: discourse shapes how people think, judge, and align with ideological structures. The result is a potent discursive framework that mobilizes identity, justifies violence, and sustains political struggle through emotionally resonant and cognitively embedded representations.

### **Cognitive Structuring and Ideological Internalization**

This analytical layer examines how Hamas's discourse constructs and reinforces ideological mental models by shaping collective memory, social knowledge, and group identity. Drawing on Teun van Dijk's socio-cognitive framework, Hamas's military media discourse is understood not merely as textual content but as a cognitive and social act that influences how audiences interpret and emotionally engage with the conflict. Abū 'Ubayda's speeches play a central role in shaping long-term mental models of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. These messages establish a moral binary, framing the world in terms of the righteous Palestinian resistance versus the immoral Israeli occupier. This polarization is consistent with van Dijk's "ideological square," which accentuates positive traits of the in-group while ascribing negative characteristics to the out-group, often using dehumanizing language.

A key element of this cognitive strategy is the integration of historical events, most notably the Nakba of 1948, into a redemptive narrative that spans past injustice, present resistance, and anticipated liberation. This "teleological arc" gives meaning to present suffering and justifies it as part of a divinely ordained mission. Such framing not only situates the conflict within historical continuity but also elevates resistance as a sacred obligation.

Abū 'Ubayda's rhetorical structure often emphasizes themes of martyrdom, resilience, and religious sanctity. Palestinian fighters are portrayed as steadfast moral exemplars who, despite material disadvantage, demonstrate superior ethical and spiritual resolve. Israeli military forces, by contrast, are depicted as cowardly invaders whose actions expose moral and strategic failures. In speeches like the one following the October 7 operations, resistance is described as a "divinely sanctioned eruption against decades of injustice," shifting its interpretation from a political act to a fulfillment of religious duty.

The discourse consistently follows a tripartite narrative arc—injustice, resistance, and divine promise—that frames the conflict in moral and existential terms. Events like the storming of Al-Aqsa Mosque are portrayed as deliberate provocations, triggering a necessary and heroic Palestinian response, with an assured future of justice and liberation. This structure not only guides the narrative but also produces powerful symbolic imagery, including visual motifs of sacrifice, divine endorsement, and national redemption. These images, circulated across digital media, evoke Roland Barthes' concept of mythification, whereby ideological messages are rendered as moral common sense. The result is a transformation of political struggle into a sacred, universal cause—one visually and emotionally encoded into public memory.

Religious terminology such as “martyr,” “blessed land,” and “*Ummah*” sacralizes the national struggle, linking resistance with divine command and embedding it in communal memory. Strategic timing of messages during religious holidays further amplifies this connection between spiritual observance and political mobilization. Cognitively, these messages work to embed durable mental models. Palestinians are cast as brave and pious defenders, while Israelis are persistently represented as brutal, deceptive, and morally deficient. Even Palestinian civilian casualties are framed as “necessary sacrifices,” ensuring moral continuity within the in-group narrative. In contrast, potentially positive Israeli actions, such as offering humanitarian aid, are reinterpreted as disingenuous propaganda designed to obscure the realities of occupation.

Hamas also employs discursive tactics that assert agency and strategic competence. Public warnings—such as those following the October 2023 abduction of Israeli soldiers—present Hamas not as a reactive actor but as a sovereign force capable of dictating the terms of engagement. These statements invert traditional power hierarchies and bolster perceptions of Hamas's control over conflict dynamics. These narratives serve both emotional and strategic functions: consoling grieving families, justifying continued resistance, and mobilizing supporters through appeals to duty, anger, and hope. Framed within a broader context of prolonged settler-colonial violence, the discourse reinforces in-group solidarity among Palestinians and the wider Muslim community, portraying resistance as a morally compelled response to structural aggression.

The elevation of Palestinian fighters as sacred defenders blends religious conviction with nationalist identity, making armed struggle appear not only legitimate but necessary. Ultimately, Hamas's cognitive discourse strategy operates as a reactive ideological formation shaped by the lived experience of occupation. By framing violence as defensive and morally grounded, projecting a vision of inevitable liberation, and fostering a collective identity rooted in sacrifice and resilience, Hamas constructs a narrative that counters Israeli dominance and reshapes both local and global perceptions of the conflict.

### **Visual Reproduction of Ideology and Identity**

From the perspective of Teun A. van Dijk's socio-cognitive model, Hamas's use of visual media plays a central role in the discursive reproduction of ideology and collective identity. Through carefully curated posters, videos, and symbolic imagery—especially those featuring Abū 'Ubayda—the group reinforces shared mental models among its audience. These mental representations help frame the conflict in binary, morally- loaded terms, shaping how supporters perceive, interpret, and respond to ongoing events.

The visual design of these materials functions not just aesthetically, but cognitively. According to (T. A. Van Dijk, 1998, 2006), ideological discourse is reproduced through macrostructures (overarching thematic meanings) and ideological squares, discursive strategies that emphasize positive attributes of the in-group and negative attributes of the out-group. In Hamas's visual media, these structures are vividly apparent. Centralized images of Abū 'Ubayda, masked and flanked by national and religious symbols, visually assert the authority and righteousness of the Palestinian resistance, while simultaneously reinforcing social distance - a key mechanism of power and status according to Kress & van Leeuwen's (1996) theory of visual grammar.

This aligns with van Dijk's view that media discourse actively shapes social cognition and collective realities. In Hamas's messaging, repeated visuals of Palestinian fighters as heroic and civilians as victims of systemic Israeli violence work to solidify mental models rooted in resistance, dignity, and survival. These representations are not merely symbolic but emerge from a longer history of settler-colonial domination, in which Palestinians are positioned as subjects of ongoing dispossession. Conversely, Israeli actors are often framed through a

narrow lens of aggression and destruction—an image shaped not only by immediate military actions but by the ethnostate logic underpinning Israel’s settler-colonial project. This discourse thus reinforces cognitive polarization by anchoring group identities within an enduring colonial framework.

Moreover, the interplay of text and image, much as large-font slogans (“Wait for our next strike”) and Qur’anic verses superimposed on footage of rocket launches, further embeds ideological content in emotionally- charged formats. These discursive practices reinforce what van Dijk describes as shared social representations, enabling collective memory and group identity to be shaped and sustained across time and space. Particularly salient is the strategic use of visual macrostructures to organize narrative phases: victimhood (images of destruction and mourning), resistance (fighters in action), and eventual triumph (depictions of unity and divine approval). These sequences echo van Dijk’s view that ideology is often embedded in narrative superstructures, where meaning is not only in individual elements but in the larger story they tell—stories that become cognitive frames through which future events are interpreted.

Finally, the ideological square is operationalized visually through Hamas’s glorification of its group (as brave, sacred, and united) and condemnation of the Other (as brutal, deceptive, and inhumane). Even seemingly neutral or humanitarian acts by Israelis are re-coded to fit the dominant ideological schema, preserving cognitive consistency and reinforcing group loyalty. This echoes T. Van Dijk’s (2004) argument that ideologies control discourse production by managing how information is selected, emphasized, and interpreted—and in this case, how visuals are constructed and consumed.

In sum, Hamas’s visual media campaigns do more than communicate messages—they serve as cognitive instruments of ideological reproduction, embedding narratives of resistance and moral legitimacy into the mental models of their audiences. These images help shape not only how the conflict is perceived but also how the Palestinian identity is imagined, remembered, and mobilized, thereby fulfilling van Dijk’s model of discourse as a powerful tool in the social and cognitive construction of reality.

## Conclusion

This study demonstrates how Hamas's military media campaign operates as a sophisticated instrument of ideological reproduction, aligning closely with van Dijk's socio-cognitive model of discourse and power. Through a calculated interplay of linguistic, visual, and symbolic strategies, the campaign constructs a binary cognitive schema: Palestinians are framed as divinely sanctioned resisters, while Israelis are dehumanized as immoral aggressors.

These discursive practices function on multiple levels—cognitively, by embedding polarizing mental models; emotionally, by mobilizing affective responses such as anger and moral outrage; and socially, by fostering in-group solidarity and legitimizing violence as a sacred duty. The integration of religious symbolism, national identity, and historical grievance contributes to a unified narrative of resistance that not only reinforces internal cohesion but also appeals to transnational audiences.

Despite the limited dataset, the analysis reveals how digital platforms like Telegram facilitate the dissemination of this ideological discourse, amplifying its reach and reinforcing its cognitive impact. Ultimately, Hamas's media strategy exemplifies how discourse can be weaponized to sustain collective identity, moral legitimacy, and long-term ideological alignment in contexts of protracted conflict.



## References

- Abu-Amr, Z. (1993). Hamas: a historical and political background. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 22(4), 5-19.
- Adraee, A. [@AvichayAdraee]. (2023, November 3). [Text of the tweet] [Tweet]. Twitter. <https://twitter.com/AvichayAdraee/status/1717156432745779296>
- Al-Arab. (2023, October 14). *Buṭūlāt Abū 'Ubayda al-Iftirādiyya tastafizz al-nāshiṭīn al-'Arab fī al-anfāq: huwa am khārij Ghazza*. Al-Arab. <https://alarab.co.uk/-أبو عبيدة-الافتراضية-تستفز-الناشطين-العرب-أفي-الأنفاق-هو-أم-خارج-غزة>
- Al Jazeera. (2023, October 9). Israel–Hamas war in maps and charts: Live tracker. Al Jazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/longform/2023/10/9/israel-hamas-war-in-maps-and-charts-live-tracker>
- Al Jazeera. (2011, October 11). *Tahrīr Ālf 'Asīr bi-ṣafqa Shalīṭ*. Al Jazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.net/news/2011/10/11/تحرير-ألف-أسير-بصفقة-شاليط>
- Amer, M. (2023). Hamas in Cyberspace: Social Media and Forms of Political Expression. *Arab Media & Society Journal*, 23(Winter/Spring). Retrieved from <https://www.arabmediasociety.com/hamas-in-cyberspace-social-media-and-forms-of-political-expression/>
- Amer, M. (2024). Critical Multimodal Discourse Analysis: A Case of a Palestinian Movement. *An-Najah University Journal for Research - B (Humanities)*, 38(1). doi:10.35552/0247.38.1.2146
- Burr, V. (2015). *Social constructionism*: Routledge.
- Carvalho, A. (2000). Discourse analysis and media texts: a critical reading of analytical tools.
- Carver, T., & Hyvärinen, M. (1997). *Interpreting the political*: London: Routledge.
- Chadwick, A. (2017). *The hybrid media system: Politics and power*: Oxford University Press.
- Dijk, T. A. (2005). Racism and discourse in Spain and Latin America.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical research of language*: Longman.

- Fairclough, N. (2013). *Language and power*: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). Discourse as social interaction. *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*, 2, 258-284.
- Fowler, R. (1991). *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*: Routledge.
- Fowler, R., & Kress, G. (2018). Critical linguistics. In *Language and control* (pp. 185-213): Routledge.
- Freedon, M. (2003). *Ideology: A very short introduction* (Vol. 95): Oxford University Press.
- Frisch, H. (2010). Hamas: The Palestinian Muslim Brotherhood. In *The Muslim Brotherhood* (pp. 89-102): Springer.
- Graham-Harrison, E. (2025, Wed 15 Jan 2025). The devastating impact of 15 months of war on Gaza. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2025/jan/15/the-devastating-impact-of-15-months-of-war-on-gaza?utm\\_source=chatgpt.com](https://www.theguardian.com/world/2025/jan/15/the-devastating-impact-of-15-months-of-war-on-gaza?utm_source=chatgpt.com)
- Hamas Media Office. (2024, January). *Our narrative... Operation Al-Aqsa Flood* [PDF]. The Palestine Chronicle. <https://www.palestinechronicle.com/wp-content/uploads/2024/01/PDF.pdf>
- Hroub, K. (2006). A ““New Hamas”” through Its New Documents. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 35(4), 6-27.
- Juergensmeyer, M. (2000). Understanding the new terrorism. *Current History*, 99(636), 158.
- Kress, G., & van Leeuwen, T. (1996). Reading images: the grammar of visual design. *London and New York*: Routledge.
- Migdalovitz, C. (2010). *Israel's Blockade of Gaza and the 'Mavi Marmara' Incident*: DIANE Publishing.
- Richardson, J. (2007). *Analysing newspapers: An approach from critical discourse analysis*: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Schudson, M. (1995). *The power of news*: Harvard University Press.

- Smelser, N. J. (2007). *The faces of terrorism: Social and psychological dimensions*: Princeton University Press.
- United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. (2025, January). *Humanitarian situation update #275: Gaza Strip* [Report]. <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/humanitarian-situation-update-275-gaza-strip>
- Van Dijk, T. (2004). *Racist discourse*: na.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1995). Discourse semantics and ideology. *Discourse & society*, 6(2), 243-289.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1998). Ideology: A multidisciplinary approach. *Ideology*, 1-384.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2006). Discourse and manipulation. *Discourse & society*, 17(3), 359-383.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2015). Critical discourse analysis. *The handbook of discourse analysis*, 466-485.
- Van Hulst, M., Metze, T., Dewulf, A., De Vries, J., Van Bommel, S., & Van Ostaijen, M. (2025). Discourse, framing and narrative: three ways of doing critical, interpretive policy analysis. *Critical Policy Studies*, 19(1), 74-96.
- Wodak, R. (2001). is about-a summary of its history, important concepts and its developments, dalam Ruth Wodak & Michael Meyer (eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, London. In: Sage Publications (1.
- Wodak, R. (2009). *Discursive construction of national identity*: Edinburgh University Press.
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2015). *Methods of critical discourse studies*: Sage.