

# GLOBAL MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF CAMPUS PROTESTS IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES IN THE RESOLUTION OF THE GAZA CONFLICT

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## **Abstract**

Starting on October 7, 2023, the Gaza events are one of the most important international problems affecting the agenda of Türkiye and the world. The human tragedy in Gaza, which went beyond the problem of the conflict to genocide, deeply affected not only sensitive politicians, statesmen and journalists, but also the world of science. The April 17, 2024 protests in support of Gaza, which started at Columbia University, one of the best universities in the US, and the subsequent actions carried out with scientific solidarity in American and European Universities are important in terms of demonstrating the power of science, academia and student solidarity in conflict resolution. While we have scientific analyses on the solutions offered by science against problems such as the climate crisis and coronavirus, it is seen that scientific analyses have not been made on the actions against the human tragedy in Gaza and the way these actions are reflected in the media. This study aims to reveal how the protests in support of Gaza, especially in American and European universities, are covered by global media outlets. Within the scope of the research, American CNN, British BBC, Russian RT, Chinese CGTN, Qatari Al Jazeera, Turkish TRT World, Israeli The Times of Israel news websites were analyzed between April and May 2024, when student and academic protests at universities were intense. As a result of the detailed quantitative and qualitative content analysis of global news sites within the framework of Herman and Chomsky's propaganda themes, it was determined that there were differences in the presentation and word analysis of the news. As a result of the analysis, it was determined that the student protests in universities, supported by scientists, led to a significant difference in the resolution of the conflict in the context of the Gaza crisis and led to a break in America's policy towards Israel.

## **Keywords**

*International Communication, Gaza, Campus Protest, Science Diplomacy*

## Introduction

As the reality of the genocide unfolded during the Israeli attacks on Gaza, protests around the world increased. Many people supported Gaza by marching for a permanent ceasefire. The media, which manages people's perceptions by using its propaganda machine, could not stop the public when the truth came out (Şentuna et al., 2023, p. 8).

In the US, campus protests were sparked by Columbia's first Arab president, Minoushe Shafik, who broke with 56 years of tradition and had the police enter the campus and detain 113 students en masse for simply pitching a tent for Palestine. After the media coverage of these incidents, NYU built a wall resembling the West Bank wall to prevent protesters, mounted police entered the campus in Texas, graduate students were expelled from the campus in Princeton, and professors who reacted to the arrest of their students in Georgia were dragged on the ground and detained (Erdolen, 2024).

The campus protests of 2024 were similar to those that took place nearly half a century ago in the 1960s at American universities. Columbia and NYU students demanded an end to the Vietnam War and police brutality on campuses (Beasley, 2009, p. 7). After then-President Nixon's announcement that he would re-escalate the war in Vietnam and after the National Guard killed four students from Kent State University, NYU students decided to organize a large-scale anti-war rally and spread campus protests (Beasley, 2009, p. 13). All these events gave birth to a libertarian youth that became famous all over the world as the generation of '65.

On 29 April 2024, the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), one of the oldest non-governmental organizations in the US, stated the repressive attitude of security forces against campus protests in the US (AAUP, 2024). The statement was signed by many organizations and universities. Despite the importance of the statement, it received only a heavily critical commentary in The Times of Israel and a very minor mention on CNN.

## Science Diplomacy

Science diplomacy is a global phenomenon (Robinson et al., 2023, p. 749). Science and scientists are also involved in diplomacy (Kelman, 2017, p. 1). Science diplomacy has "never been more important" to address the "defining challenges of the twenty-first century" (Kunkel, 2021, p. 474). But despite this importance, not enough scientific analysis has been done on it (Tsvetkova, 2024, p. 89). Although the relationship between science and diplomacy is quite old, efforts to conceptualize this relationship since the beginning of the 21st century have given birth to science diplomacy (Ordóñez-Matamoros et al., 2021, p. 14). Science is important, but science and the ideas of academics and scientific researchers also need to be made important (Legrand & Stone, 2018, p. 393). Science can be an important tool in solving the problems the world faces. The most obvious examples of this can be seen in international negotiations on global issues: climate change, water (Sehring et al., 2022), scientific expertise and advice is essential when addressing issues such as food security or energy (Hennessey, 2019, p. 12). Science diplomacy is a part of soft power and American, British, French and Russian science diplomacy is important in this sense (Hennessey, 2019, p. 15).

The development of scientific diplomacy depends on the strength of international communication. The intercontinental spread of actions that started in American universities shows the power of diplomacy and communication. Communication studies in the US prefer the term international communication to global media. International communication is associated with war, diplomatic relations and international organizations (Akıner & Küngerü, 2016, p. 55). Globally, media can play an important role in conflict and its resolution (Deka et al., 2023).

The Associated Press (AP), Reuters and Agence France Presse (AFP) are the three major global news agencies that have had a critical influence in shaping the international mainstream media's understanding of news in the 21st century (Moon, 2018, p. 5). While the Israeli administration has served many fake news to the world public opinion since the first day of its attacks on Gaza, it has managed to gain the support of global news networks such as CNN, BBC and AFP in this process (Gölcü & Demirata, 2024, p. 209). It is important how a word used in the news is written and how it is presented (Gündüz & Arıkan, 2018, p. 153). While the terms used to describe the warring parties, especially expressions such as "terrorist" and "freedom fighter", should draw attention to what emotions and evaluations they will evoke in the reader, it is important to emphasize the critical role of concepts in the perception of events (Yılmaz, 2024, p. 85). Global news agencies organize the flow of information in line with the interests of the countries they are affiliated with (Tekeş, 2022, p. 56).

With the development of technology and communication in diplomacy, the role of the media has increased significantly (Gilboa, 1998). The propaganda model focuses intensively on the institutional structure underlying news production. The propaganda model applies to television news and can be applied to other forms of media (Klaehn, 2018, p. 96).

According to conflict researchers, the media plays an important role in exacerbating conflicts or bringing about peace (Jungblut & Zakareviciute, 2019, p. 4). The media construct individuals' perception of reality every day (as cited in Aufderheide Türker, 2018, p. 168). The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has attracted worldwide media attention (Roitman & Yeshua-Katz, 2022, p. 3). Despite more than two decades of peace efforts, Israel's occupation and oppression continue (Turner, 2015, p. 549).

### **Zionism, Gaza and Media**

Israel's hegemonic order is largely the product of Zionism (Turner, 2015, p. 555). While the concept, which was first introduced into the literature of political thought by a Russian Jew in the last quarter of the 19th century, expressed an emotional, cultural and national movement until Theodor Herzl, with Herzl, the Zionism movement transformed into political Zionism based on the land, that is, the state (Duran, as cited in Gölcü & Demirata, 2024, p. 206). On the other hand, one of the biggest obstacles to establishing a Jewish state is antisemitism. The concept, which is characterized as anti-Semitism, has affected Jews in different dimensions (Mucuk et al., 2023, p. 103).

Gaza is historically recognized by Zionist Jews as Palestinian land (Evans, 2016, p. 380). Despite this, Gaza faces a variety of serious social and economic challenges, including maternal mortality, due to the blockade imposed since 2006 (Böttcher et al., 2018, p. 2).

Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement), which controls the Gaza Strip, launched Operation Al-Aqsa Flood against Israel on October 7, 2023 in response to Israel's human rights violations, killings and illegal settler policies in the Palestinian territories it has occupied for 75 years (Gölcü & Demirata, 2024, p. 196). Israel's declaration of a state of war and the subsequent unleashing of a war of ruthless aggression and mass retribution has heightened the intensity of the conflicts in the region (Özgen, 2023, p. 106).

Israel did not hesitate to shoot at civilian places in Gaza by turning the events that started into a disinformation-based process (Arı, 2023, p. 19) and a great trauma is being experienced in the Gaza Strip (Finklestein, 2016). In Israel's attacks on the Gaza Strip, more than 30,000 Palestinians, including at least 15,000 children and 10,000 women, lost their lives and more than 60,000 people were injured (Anadolu Ajansı, 2024).

The globalized western media has not adequately covered the events in Gaza, focusing only on the attacks on Israel (Ulker, 2024, p. 536). America's leading newspapers behaved similarly in 2014 and did little to publicize coverage of Israel's attacks on Gaza (Graber, 2017, p. 11). According to Chomsky, who is of Jewish origin, he argues that through the media, especially in democratic societies such as the USA, the state, without resorting to violence, tries to make the public accept the dominant values of American foreign policy such as violence, aggression and occupation (Uyanık, 2012, p. 50). Chomsky explains this with the concept of "Manufacturing Consent" (Chomsky & Herman, 2021). Propaganda includes any action taken to influence public opinion (Özer, 2019, p. 16).

The Propaganda Model (PM), developed by Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky and published in 1988 in the book "Manufacturing Consent", attempted to explain the behavior of the mass media in the United States (Mullen & Klaehn, 2010, p. 215). The model provides a critique of the capitalist political system that goes beyond the theories of elitism put forward by Pareto (1935), Mosca (1939), Burnham (1941), Michels (1949), C. Wright Mills (1956) and Schumpeter (1976) (Mullen & Klaehn, 2010, p. 216). The main components of the propaganda model are summarized under the following headings (Herman & Chomsky, 2012, p. 73):

- The size of monopolized ownership of the media,
- Advertising as the media's main source of income,
- Media reliance on information provided by power-approved experts,
- "Reaction production" as a tool to discipline the media,
- "anti-communism" as a national religion and control mechanism (Herman & Chomsky, 2012, p.73).

These five items are the "screenings" that a news story goes through before it appears in the media. If the news item passes all of them, it appears in the "free media" (Gadimov, 2015, p. 220). Herman and Chomsky emphasize that this is not a "conspiracy theory" and that in most cases, "media leaders do similar things because they see the world through the same lenses" (Goodwin, 1994, p. 105).

Herman and Chomsky's Propaganda Model summarizes how powerful parties can restrict information from the public sphere (Hyzen, 2023, p. 57). They also acknowledge that the model does not explain everything (Klaehn, 2002). The model has received mixed reactions. Critics often argue that the model is outdated. Herman and Chomsky (2002), Broudy and Tanji (2018), Klaehn et al. (2022) have argued that the structural conditions underlying the model are still largely in place (Hyzen, 2023, p. 57). There have been different responses to criticisms of the propaganda model (Lang & Lang, 2004; Noah Brahm, 2006; Klaehn, 2003; Herman, 2000; Fuchs, 2018; Corner, 2003). Despite the criticisms, the model has been extensively researched, commented on and tested over the years.

## **Method**

The study aims to reveal the perspectives that international media organizations offer to the field of global journalism in order to investigate the differences or similarities in their editorial policies over an important international event. To answer this question, the American university campus protests against Israel's attacks on Gaza, which created a great repercussion in the world, were analyzed comparatively through quantitative and qualitative content analysis on CNN, BBC, The Times of Israel, CGTN, Russia Today, Al Jazeera and TRT World news websites with different editorial policies.

The campus protests in the aftermath of the Hamas-Israel conflict naturally claim to have been covered from the perspective of objective press criteria by the international press, which adopts the liberal doctrine. However, how the international press reported on this issue should be considered within the framework of the propaganda themes in Herman and Chomsky's study. In this context, it is important to evaluate the role of the global press in the coverage of the campus protests and their presentation from this perspective.

The reason why the content analysis method was preferred in the study is that it is a method that will enable a systematic and collective analysis of a large number of news and analysis articles on news websites, free from prejudices and emotions. The purpose of content analysis is not to describe or explain a text, but to draw conclusions about social reality based on the content of the text (Yilmaz, 2024, p. 87).

CNN and The Times of Israel are privately funded and RT, TRT World, CGTN, BBC are state-funded outlets. The reason for the selection of these examples is that one of the broadcasting organizations (CNN International) is based in the US, which has direct responsibility for the events discussed, while the others are based in Russia (RT), which is seen as one of the biggest opponents of Western dominance in the global information flow, and Türkiye (TRT World), which is seen as one of the harsh critics of Israel's policies in Palestine. Apart from this, it should be noted that the selected examples are well-known examples in the global information flow, which constitutes the main subject of the research, and thus they are on different sides of the political spectrum.

The time selected for the study was determined as a one-and-a-half-month period covering April 17, 2024 and May 31, 2024, when the campus protests first started in the US.

Only the written texts published on the websites of the news channels considered in the study constituted the object of analysis. Audio, video or other types of news were excluded from the analysis. The data to be analyzed were obtained by scanning the news websites. For this purpose, news articles found as a result of a search on the website with the keywords "campus protests" in English were collected. In this way, it is thought that the researcher reached all news and analysis articles published on the relevant websites. The language of the news texts to be analyzed is English. In order to organize and analyze the data, basic and sub-codes were determined according to the purpose of the research and a content analysis coding chart was created.

The method of content analysis is one element of media evaluation or analysis, but it allows the researcher to find more important constructs, such as the frequency of commonly used keywords, for example (Uyanık, 2012, p. 149). This analysis is a systematic and iterative technique that compresses a large number of words in texts into fewer content categories through coding (Uyanık, 2012, p. 152). Creswell (2017, p. 197) states that in qualitative research method; it is possible to make evaluations under six headings such as data analysis, document detection and classification, data detection, coding, determination of the findings obtained, presentation of the outputs obtained, interpretation and inference (Çelik, 2023, p. 779).

The data collected through the coding sheet were processed and analyzed in the Maxqda 24 statistical program. Maxqda word clouds and news content tables were used to visualize the analysis outputs. Maxqda, which turns data analysis into a highly visual presentation for researchers, is a computer software program that enables qualitative and quantitative data to be systematically organized, analyzed and evaluated. Although the Maxqda program was launched in 1989 for qualitative research, it has expanded its scope with various updates. In particular, it reached its current form in 2017 with the inclusion of statistical data analysis in its scope and in 2022 with the integration of qualitative and quantitative data (Dereli, 2023, p. 149).

A total of 390 news items were analyzed for the research data. The 225302 words used in these news items were subjected to analysis. Conjunctions and meaningless words were excluded from this number and were not included in the analysis. In the Maxqda program, the researcher created word coding and related clustering and variables for the research target.

The main purpose of this study is to determine how the global media covers campus protest news within the framework of Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model. This study also explores five subobjectives.

Question 1. Which news channel covered the campus protests the most?

Question 2. Which words and word combinations were used the most in the news reports?

Question 3. To what extent did media channels use global news agencies in their coverage of the campus protests?

Question 4. Is there a difference between media channels in terms of news content?

Question 5. Which news words did the media channels associate with protesting students and academics while sharing the news?

## Findings

When we look at the frequency of use of the words professor, academy, academician and science, which are determined depending on the academic framework of the campus protest news, in the news content of the media channels, it is seen that The Times of Israel and CNN channels have the highest frequency of use.

**Table 1**

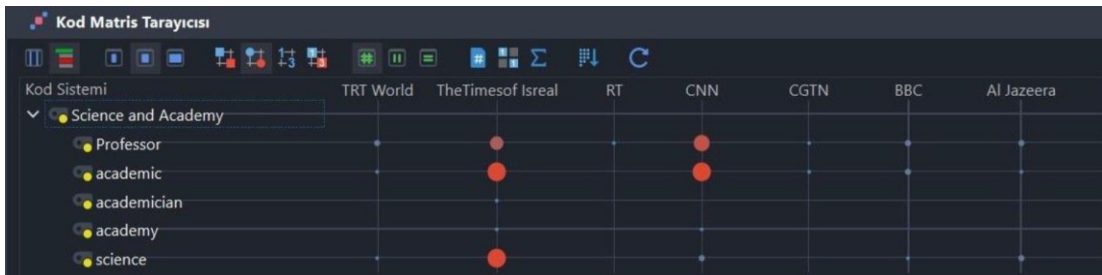
*Frequency of Academy and Professor Word Usage in Campus Protest News*

	Professor	Academic	Academician	Academy	Science
TRT World	9	5	0	0	1
The Times of Isreal	31	50	1	1	49
RT	1	0	0	0	0
CNN	42	46	0	1	11
CGTN	1	4	0	0	0
BBC	9	12	0	0	3
Al Jazeera	6	3	0	0	8

The code matrix browser is used to compare the cases. As seen in the figure, the size and color darkness of the dots are proportional to the frequency of word usage in the Maxqda program. Looking at the matrix results among news sources related to science and academia, it is seen that CNN and The Times of Israel sources give more coverage to these expressions than other news channels.

**Figure 1**

*Academy and Professor Word Codes Usage Frequency Matrix*



The Times of Israel media channel shared some news items in which the word professor was used. In these posts, it is seen which content professors are included in campus protest news.

**Table 2**

*Some Examples of Sentences in which the Word "Professor" is Used in The Times of Israel News Source*

Columbia University professors rallied in solidarity with their students' rights to protest free from arrest at the Columbia University campus in New York (The Times of Israel, 2024, April 22).
Police pushed students to the ground, pulled their arms, and sprayed chemical irritants, according to Laura Goldblatt, an English and global studies professor aiding demonstrators (The Times of Israel, 2024, May 5).
Columbia University students leading anti-Israel protests stated that negotiations failed and vowed to continue their encampment, while faculty criticized leadership over police actions, reflecting unrest at other universities as officials nationwide struggled to manage protests before graduation (The Times of Israel, 2024, April 27).

One element of Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model is that the media relies on information provided by experts approved by power. In this context, although the campus protests took place in the US, it was observed that media channels did not follow the events much with their reporters. As a result of the analysis, it was found that all media channels intensely relied on news originating from certain news agencies.

When we look at the matrix table in which all news sources, including the phrases Reporter and Agency are combined into a single table, it is seen that The Times of Israel publishes more news from news agencies than other media outlets, and likewise, it has more news from reporters than other media outlets. This table also shows that media channels rely on agency news more than their reporters. RT and CGTN are the weakest channels in terms of using news agencies and using their journalists.

**Table 3**

*Frequency of News Agencies and Reporter Word Usage in Campus Protest News*

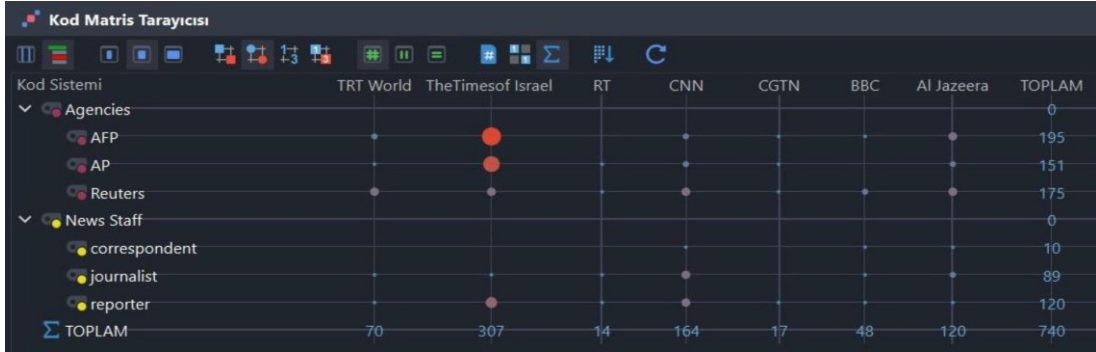
	AFP	AP	Reuters	Corresponden t	Journalist	Reporter	Total
TRT World	19	6	37	0	4	4	70
The Times of Israel	113	94	36	0	10	54	307
RT	0	4	3	0	5	2	14
CNN	25	23	29	1	47	39	164
CGTN	5	3	8	0	0	1	17
BBC	3	0	23	7	5	10	48
Al Jazeera	30	21	39	2	18	10	120
Total	195	151	175	10	89	120	740

The code matrix scanner analysis also reflects a shaped visual state of the table. It is shown in Figure 2.



**Figure 2**

*Matrix of Frequency of Word Usage by News Agencies and Reporters in Campus Protest News*



Looking at the matrix of media channels and concepts, for example, it is seen that the concept of hostage is most frequently mentioned by The Times of Israel and CNN. The term Palestine is mostly used by Al Jazeera channel. The historical background is not emphasized by the media.

**Table 4**

*Frequency of Vietnam, Genocide, Hostage, Palestine Word Usage in Campus Protest News*

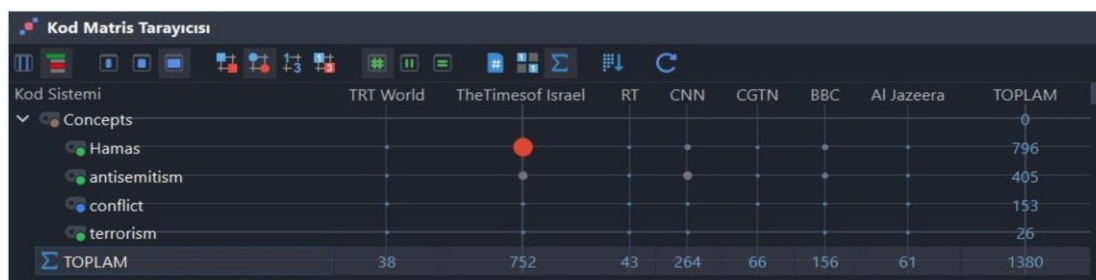
	Vietnam	Genocide	Hostage	Palestine	Total
TRT World	25	21	3	57	117
The Times of Israel	15	40	290	65	594
RT	1	28	5	34	76
CNN	25	49	21	88	325
CGTN	2	6	0	25	42
BBC	12	27	20	33	154
Al Jazeera	43	66	1	136	254
Total	123	237	340	438	1562

The concept of anti-communism, which is Herman and Chomsky's fifth point, is defined as anti-Semitism in this study and tried to be analyzed around this concept. Anti-Semitism is analyzed in the same way as Herman and Chomsky's understanding of communism as an enemy, and the expressions of Hamas, conflict and terrorism, which are thought to be used specifically to instill fear and hostility in society, are also subjected to analysis.

**Table 5***Frequency of Use of the Words Antisemitism, Hamas and Terrorism in Campus Protest News*

	Hamas	Antisemitism	Conflict	Terrorism	Total
TRT World	17	11	7	3	38
The Times of Israel	530	180	27	15	752
RT	29	5	8	1	43
CNN	94	139	29	2	264
CGTN	15	9	42	0	66
BBC	78	56	21	1	156
Al Jazeera	33	5	19	4	61
Total	796	405	153	26	1380

According to this matrix, The Times of Israel emphasizes Hamas and CNN emphasizes anti-Semitism to a lesser extent. BBC emphasizes anti-Semitism and Hamas slightly less than these two channels.

**Figure 3***Matrix of the Use of the Words Antisemitism, Hamas and Terrorism in Campus Protest News*

The code relationship browser is used to compare codes and concepts among themselves. In this context, in the analysis conducted to determine the affinities between the codes, apart from the known affinity between the codes of student and university, the affinity between Hamas and hostage draws attention. Even during the campus protests, the international media highlighted the news about the hostages captured by Hamas on October 7. Not the thousands of children killed, but the hundred or so hostages held by Hamas were presented by the media using the term Hamas alongside the term Hamas. Other affinities are presented in numerical terms.



**Figure 6**

*Frequencies and Percentages of the Most Used Words in Campus Protest News and News.*

Sözcük frekansı

390 belgeler içinde (225302 analiz edilen sözcük)

4276 farklı sözcükler (Çeşitli/Örnekçe Oranı (type-token ratio) = 0,0190)

Üst dereceleri görüntüle

Min. Sıklık 5

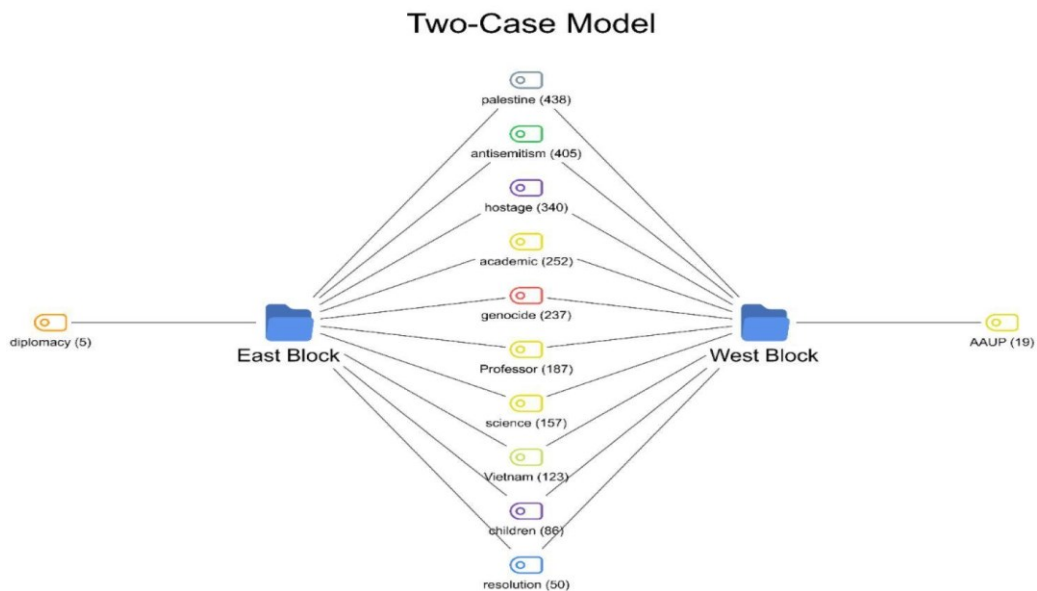
Frekans

Sözcük	Frekans	%	Derece	Belgeler	Belgeler %	Northwest...	Student Sp...	What's the...	Students L...	NYPD arre...	Türkisch Ac...	Student Sp...	Türkisch und...	Tense sta
university	5840	2,59	1	376	96,41	14	79	9	8	11	2	59	16	
student	4967	2,20	2	370	94,87	18	38	17	15	12	5	26	7	
protest	3402	1,51	3	384	98,46	18	18	10	6	10	4	21	8	
campus	3401	1,51	4	383	98,21	8	36	5	4	4	2	11	2	
israel	2570	1,14	5	341	87,44	1	8	2	4	6	3	8	3	
protester	2181	0,97	6	339	86,92	6	34	1	2	3	0	14	1	
police	2098	0,93	7	309	79,23	4	25	11	9	8	0	11	2	
columbia	1865	0,83	8	262	67,18	3	6	2	0	14	1	11	3	
gaza	1693	0,75	9	345	88,46	3	6	3	2	8	3	5	5	
encampment	1613	0,72	10	283	72,56	5	20	2	0	4	0	12	0	
arrest	1455	0,65	11	275	70,51	2	22	6	1	7	0	16	1	
people	1324	0,59	12	320	82,05	3	19	2	1	2	2	9	2	
war	1286	0,57	13	304	77,95	4	5	1	0	2	0	3	2	
school	1202	0,53	14	247	63,33	8	23	1	1	3	0	6	0	
jewish	1078	0,48	15	230	58,97	1	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	
call	1011	0,45	16	311	79,74	2	2	1	4	0	2	2	1	
college	1010	0,45	17	277	71,03	1	3	0	0	1	0	3	2	
pro-palesti...	1005	0,45	18	281	72,05	1	2	0	3	2	0	4	0	
president	904	0,40	19	246	63,08	4	6	1	0	1	0	7	0	
state	833	0,37	20	275	70,51	0	5	5	1	0	0	3	4	
support	830	0,37	21	273	70,00	1	3	1	0	2	4	4	2	
palestinian	812	0,36	22	268	68,72	3	4	1	0	5	3	2	1	
take	802	0,36	23	298	76,41	1	4	2	1	3	1	4	0	

When the media channels were classified as Western (CNN, BBC, The Times of Israel) and Eastern (TRT World, Al Jazeera, RT, CGTN), it was found that the Eastern bloc media outlets used the expression diplomacy, which is non-Western and never used, while the Western bloc used the American Professors Association, which the Eastern bloc never contacted.

**Figure 7**

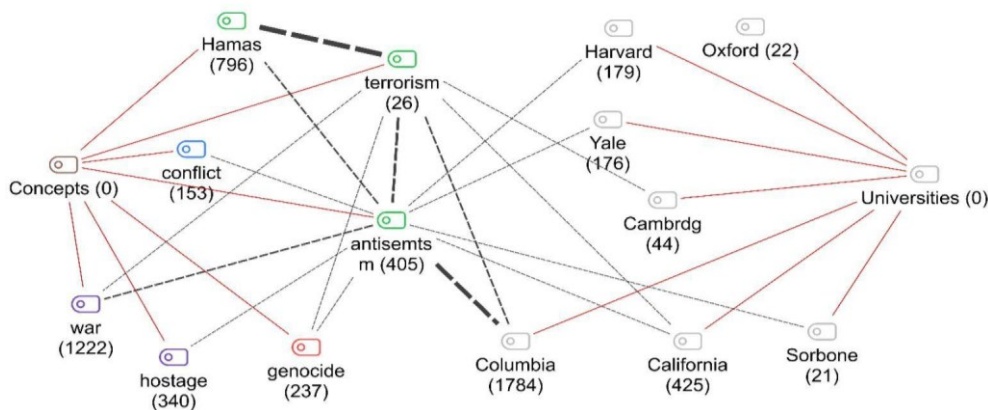
*Difference Model between Media Channels Classified as Eastern and Western Bloc*



When the Maxqda code combination model is applied to the research, it is seen that a strong relationship is tried to be established between Hamas and terrorism. There is also a relationship and link between antisemitism and terrorism. It is seen that the strongest relationship with Columbia University is anti-Semitism. There is also a relationship between terrorism and Colombia and California.

Figure 8

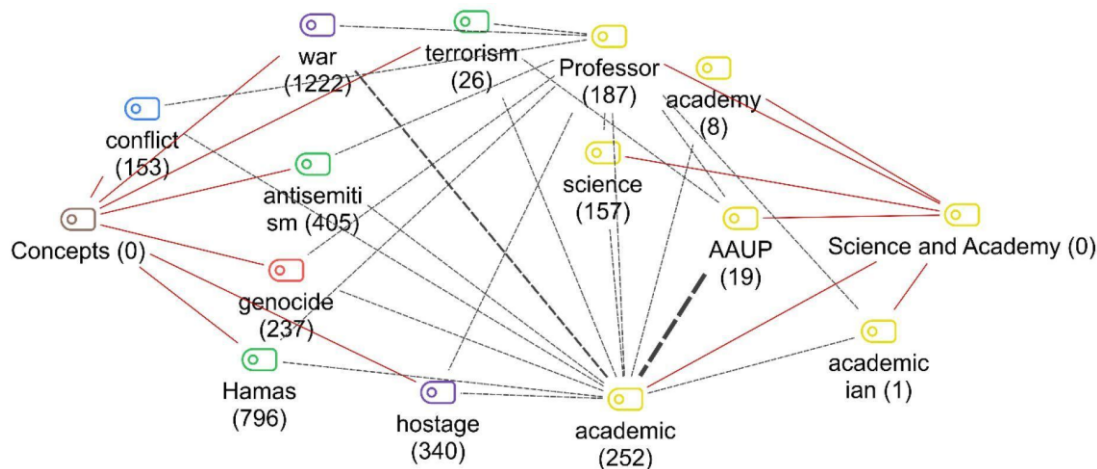
Maxqda Code Aggregation Model Showing the Relationship Between Codes



When the results of the code combination model are analyzed, it is seen that there is a strong relationship between academia and the AAUP, while this connection with the war is stronger than the other relationships. It is seen that professors have a relationship with all concepts.

Figure 9

Maxqda Code Merge Model between Science and Academia Code Set and Concepts Code Sets



**Table 6**

*Science and Academy Code Set and Concepts Code Set Words and Frequency of Use in Media Channels*

	BBC	CNN	TheTimesofIsrael	AlJazeera a	CGT N	RT	TRT World	Total
antisemitism	56	139	180	5	9	5	11	405
genocide	27	49	40	66	6	28	21	237
hostage	20	21	290	1	0	5	3	340
Places	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
palestine	33	88	65	136	25	34	57	438
AAUP	0	2	17	0	0	0	0	19
Professor	11	64	44	39	5	4	20	187
academic	34	74	62	39	11	4	28	252
science	7	21	55	49	5	7	13	157
Total	188	458	753	335	61	87	153	2035
N= Documents	61	86	80	72	30	35	26	390

When the coding-based cross tabulations of all documents are analyzed, it is seen that The Times of Israel news channel frequently used the terms hostage and anti-Semitism. While the Israeli news channel used the term hostage 290 times, Al Jazeera used it 1 time and CGTN did not use it at all. It was revealed that Al Jazeera channel used the concept of genocide the most.

**Figure 10**

*Science and Academia Code Cluster and Concepts Code Cluster Words and Frequency of Use in Media*

	BBC	CNN	The Times of Israel	Al Jazeera	CGT N	RT	TRT World	Total
antisemitism	56	139	180	5	9	5	11	405
genocide	27	49	40	66	6	28	21	237
hostage	20	21	290	1	0	5	3	340
places	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Palestine	33	88	65	136	25	34	57	438
AAUP	0	2	17	0	0	0	0	19
Professor	11	64	44	39	5	4	20	187
academic	34	74	62	39	11	4	28	252
science	7	21	55	49	5	7	13	157
Total	188	458	753	335	61	87	153	2035
N= Documents	61	86	80	72	30	35	26	390

In the cross-tabular analysis conducted according to coding frequencies, in the code frequency counting conducted on 42 AFP documents, the expressions antisemitism 90 times, genocide 24 times and hostage 111 times were identified. It is observed that the numbers of AP and Reuters are lower than AFP. Accordingly, according to the results of the cross-tabulation made by including all documents among the agencies used as news sources for the campus protests, AP with 16 and AFP with 24 in terms of the lowest coding frequency in terms of "genocide", the symbolic name of the contact with Israel's atrocities

in Palestine. Reuters news agency used the term "genocide" in higher numbers than other channels. The concept of "hostage", which Israel supporters try to emphasize, was used 16 times in Reuters, 111 times in AFP and 53 times in AP. It is seen that AFP and AP followed pro-Israel propaganda in their news posts.

**Table 7**

*Cross Table of News Agencies and Concepts Used in Campus Protest News*

	AFP	AP	Reuters	Total
antisemitism	90	72	44	206
genocide	24	16	45	85
hostage	111	53	16	180
Total	225	141	105	471
N= News/Documents	42	39	53	134

When the analysis of the word frequency of only once per document is analyzed in the cross table according to the media channels variable, the following results are obtained: As seen in the colored table, the color tones get darker according to the frequent use of the word. Less frequently used words are reflected in light tones. Accordingly, The Times of Israel has the highest number of words, followed by CNN, Al Jazeera, BBC, TRT World, RT and CGTN. It was concluded that the words Student, University, Gaza, War, Hamas are also frequently used words.

**Figure 11***Cross Table of Word Frequency Only Once Per Document and News Channels*

	BBC	CNN	TheTimes ofIsrael	Aljazeera	CGTN	RT	TRTWorld	Total
California	30	45	32	35	14	7	16	179
Columbia	37	60	58	51	14	0	22	262
Harvard	8	18	16	7	2	7	8	66
Oxford	5	1	0	2	0	0	0	8
Yale	15	23	8	7	3	7	10	73
Sorbonne	0	2	2	4	1	1	1	11
Cambridge	2	6	6	3	1	0	4	22
Vietnam	5	10	6	20	2	1	10	54
BDS	4	2	1	3	0	3	0	13
Campus protest	34	40	36	28	5	7	15	165
President	41	64	60	53	10	13	22	263
Student	59	81	76	72	26	0	26	370
University	59	85	76	72	27	1	26	376
AFP	3	10	47	10	2	0	10	82
AP	0	12	45	11	1	2	3	74
Reuters	15	10	13	20	4	3	13	78
Hamas	30	47	70	21	9	8	8	203
Conflict	15	19	18	17	16	7	5	97
Terrorism	1	2	10	3	0	1	2	19
War	54	64	74	69	6	5	22	304
Asia	1	7	0	2	0	1	2	13
Europe	3	7	17	9	2	4	4	46
America	23	46	42	47	7	6	16	197
France	5	6	11	11	3	1	5	42
Germany	0	3	11	4	4	3	2	27
UK	18	1	4	5	2	1	1	32
Death	3	14	22	13	9	5	3	69
Baby	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
Children	10	7	14	13	1	4	10	59
Women	14	18	26	13	1	6	11	89
Correspondent	7	1	0	1	0	0	0	9
Journalist	3	13	9	11	0	5	3	44
Reporter	7	18	42	9	1	2	3	82
Gaza	57	69	72	70	22	31	26	347
Israel	59	78	80	69	22	32	25	365
Palestine	24	42	33	50	11	21	20	201
Progress	6	24	16	6	3	6	4	65
Total	48	1105	1257	945	254	344	403	5056
N= News	61	86	80	72	30	35	26	390

When the cloud of combinations with a maximum of three words in the campus protest news is analyzed with the Maxqda program, the following figure emerges.

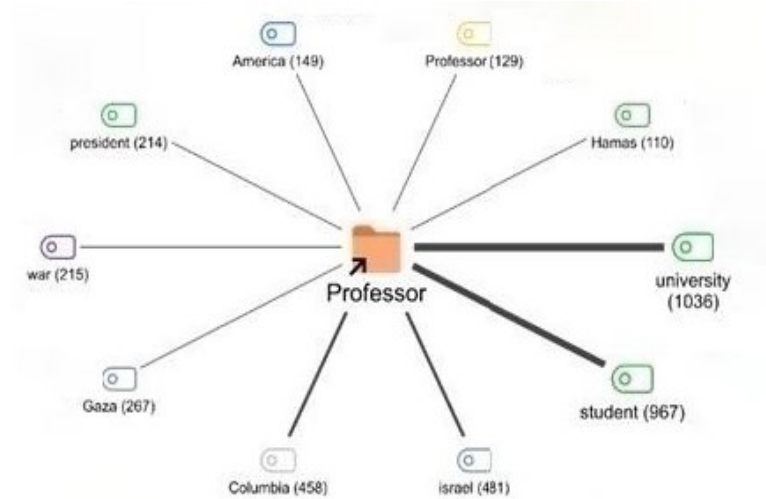




When a "single case model" analysis was conducted with the Maxqda program between the most frequently used words in campus protest news and the word code "professor", it was revealed that there was a strong relationship between the words professor and student and the university. This strong relationship is followed by the words Israel and Colombia.

**Figure 14**

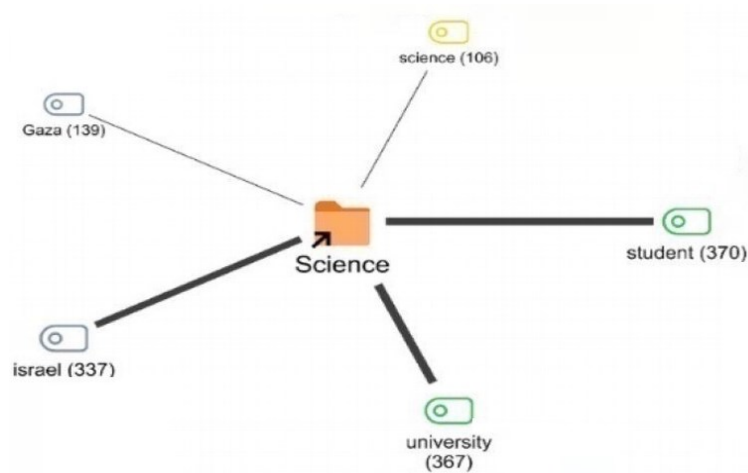
*Professor and University/Student Relationship with Single Case Model*



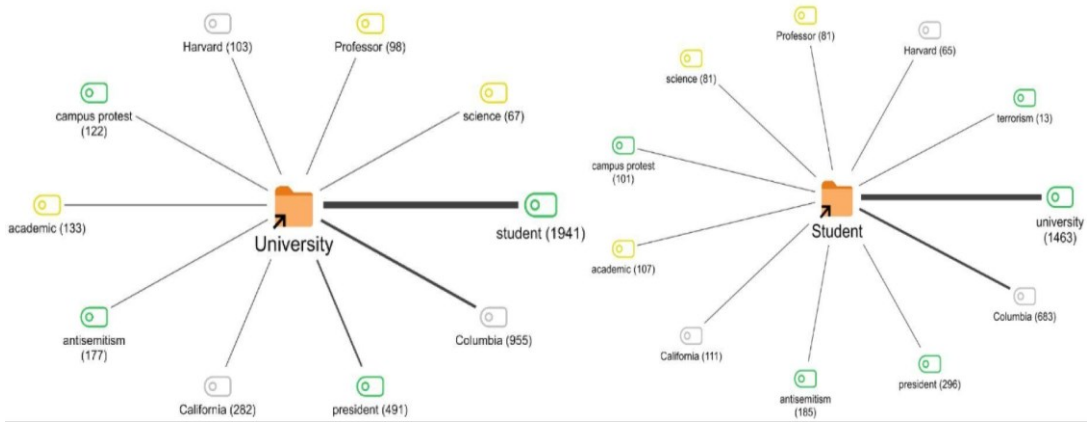
It is seen that the word science has the highest and strongest relationship with the concepts of student, university and Israel, respectively.

**Figure 15**

*Student/University Relationship with Science According to the Single Case Model*



When analyzed with the Maxqda single case model, it is seen that there is a strong relationship between the university and the student.

**Figure 16***University and Student Relationship According to the Single Case Model*

## Discussion and Conclusion

TRT World, The Times of Israel, RT, CGTN, CNN, BBC and Al Jazeera channels were included in the study. In the analysis conducted within this framework, the extent to which university campus protests were covered in these media channels was analyzed with the Maxqda program. The program defines all campus protest news as 390 news items, which the program defines as "documents", and 225,302 different words were found and analyzed by the program. As a result of this analysis, the most frequently used words were university, student, protest, campus, Israel, protester, police, Colombia, Gaza, camping, arrest, human, war, school, Jewish, call, Palestinian supporter, Rector, state, support, Palestine.

Although the campus protests were student protests, their relationship with the world of professors and academia emerged. In this context, when the words related to professors and academia and the concept of science used in the news were analyzed in terms of frequency of use, it was revealed that The Times of Israel news channel had the highest frequency of use. In the analysis made with the code matrix scanner, it was revealed that The Times of Israel and CNN news channels had a higher frequency of use of words related to academia than other media channels.

When the frequency of the use of the words "reporter" and "journalist" in the news reports is analyzed to determine whether the media channels assigned their reporters to cover the campus protests, it is seen that the news channels that used their reporters and journalists more frequently are The Times of Israel and CNN.

An analysis of the news channels' use of news agencies in their coverage of the campus protest reveals that all channels are in contact with news agencies. The Times of Israel was the channel that used news agencies the most, followed by Al Jazeera, CNN, TRT World, BBC, CGTN and RT news channels. Among the news agencies, AFP was found to be the most used news agency source compared to other news agencies.

It was observed that The Times of Israel news channel used the concept of "hostage" the most among the news channels; likewise, this news channel also used the concept of "anti-Semitism" extensively. It was also observed that CNN channel used the concept of "anti-Semitism" extensively in its coverage of the Campus protests. As a country, Al Jazeera is the media channel that uses the name Palestine the most, followed by CNN and other channels.

The Times of Israel is the news channel that used the term Hamas most frequently in its coverage of the campus protests. CNN and BBC channels also used the term Hamas more intensively than other channels in their coverage of the university protests. Again, the term terrorism was used in all news channels.

The "code relationship browser" matrix, which shows the closeness of the word codes in the news on campus protests, shows a strong relationship between the words "Hamas" and "hostage". There is a strong relationship between president, meaning university president or president, and the concept of "anti-Semitism"; the level of this relationship is lower than the level of relationship between Hamas and the hostage.

When Maxqda forms the word analysis of all campus protest news as a cloud, the word "university" emerges as the most used word, followed by student, protest, campus, and Israel.

When we analyzed the level of relationship between the most used words according to the Maxqda code combination model, we found that there is a strong relationship between "Colombia" and "anti-Semitism"; similarly, there is a strong relationship between "Hamas" and "terrorism", and at a lower level, there is a relationship between "anti-Semitism" and "terrorism" and "Hamas". As a result of this analysis, it was revealed that campus protests were intensively presented in the news channels in connection with "anti-Semitism", "Hamas" and "terrorism".

Similarly, when the code combination model between the science and academia code cluster and the concepts code clusters is examined, it is revealed that a relationship and connection is established between "academia" and "terrorism"; "war", "antisemitism", "professor" and AAUP.

When the table between the frequency of use of the words in the code cluster "science and academia" and the code cluster "concepts" and the media channels is examined, it is seen that the concept of "hostage" and the concept of "anti-Semitism" are used intensively in The Times of Israel.

When the cross-tabulation between the concepts of "antisemitism", "hostage" and "genocide" of the news agencies that the news channels rely on is analyzed, it is seen that AFP is the agency that uses these concepts most intensively. The concept of hostage was used intensively by all news agencies, but the term "genocide" was used with the same intensity by the same news agencies and even at a lower level than the concept of anti-Semitism. These results can be considered as an indication that news agencies consider the 100 people held hostage by Hamas as more credible than Israel's massacre of more than 30,000 people in Gaza. It can be concluded that for news agencies, 100 people held hostage by Hamas are more valuable in terms of news value than the 30,000 babies, innocent people and women killed by Israel in Gaza.

According to the single case model analysis of the program, it was revealed that a strong relationship between the concept of antisemitism and the university was used in the news, followed by an attempt to establish a strong relationship between antisemitism and students. Likewise, it has been revealed that there is a strong relationship between the concept of "professor" and the university and students in the news. With these results, it can be concluded that in campus protest news, the connection of professors with students and universities, the connection of students and universities to antisemitism in these events, and the connection of professors to antisemitism indirectly, if not directly, may be desired.

The analysis of the research article in the context of Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model reveals that the last item of the model, the expression of anti-communism, which is defined as antisemitism or Islamophobia in our research, was used extensively in the news. Campus protests were presented together with the concepts of "anti-Semitism", "terrorism" and "turmoil and conflict". It was observed that the concepts of student, university, protest and professor were tried to be associated with "anti-Semitism", "Hamam" and "terror" at a strong level of relationship. In this context, it can be concluded that in the propaganda model, by associating the campus protests as an enemy with Hamam and terrorism in the news, and by linking students, academics and professors with terrorism and anti-Semitism, the society was asked to have a negative consciousness against the campus protests.

Another point stated in the Propaganda model is that AFP, AP and Reuters news agencies were used as news sources more than the media channels' reporters. This points to the accuracy of the Propaganda model's emphasis on the fact that reputable news sources will be preferred more by media channels.

The emphasis in the propaganda model that media channels cannot approach objectively when evaluating events for advertising revenue was confirmed for our analysis in the model, due to the fact that the concept of "boycott" was not used much in the news. The protests aim to disconnect the economy of universities from the Israeli economy. It was observed that the slogans of the students demanding BDS, i.e. "boycott, divestment, divestment" were not covered in the news. By using words such as "antisemitism", "Hamam" and "terror" instead of boycott, it is thought that the reader is trying to cover up the goal of the campus protests, namely the boycott.

The monopolistic, powerful capital structure mentioned in the propaganda model is valid for all of the media channels subject to our research. Most of them are state channels; those that are not state channels are known to have connections with the CIA (Boyd-Barrett, 2004, p. 436). In this sense, this item of the model was also confirmed in our research.

The reaction events used in the model were also reflected in campus protests. Campus protests spread to other universities and Europe with the news that emerged as a result of the harsh police intervention in the protest that first started at Columbia University. In this article, Campus protests are a confirmed fact within the news analysis.

On the other hand, the research also supports Akiner and Küngerü's (2016) statement that "The news filters in Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model suppress the news discourse of media professionals, and thus the international media, and prevent the formation of a fair discourse. By defining the premises of discourse and interpretation, primarily what is newsworthy and what is not, these filters maintain elite dominance over the media and continue to marginalize dissent and alternative views".

When the news on the campus protests is evaluated as a result of all these analyses, it points to an important situation. After the campus protests, Israel's operations in Gaza decreased in intensity. Britain reduced its arms sales. Netanyahu was forced to make a statement. In this framework, it was seen that the campus protests were a soft power solution tool to the Gaza issue, which states all over the world could not solve, with the actions carried out in the context of science diplomacy within the framework of the cooperation model of universities, students, academia, and scientists.

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