

**To Translate or to Subvert?
Translating Politically Sensitive Texts in the Palestinian Context**

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Abstract

The study investigates translation in politically sensitive contexts. It explores the transference of staged expository narrative discourse from English into Arabic in the Palestinian context. The researchers selected a news report from the Jerusalem Post that about the Israeli incursion into Gaza in 2006. The news report was given as a translation assignment to fifteen Palestinian students enrolled in the MA Program of Applied Linguistics and Translation at An-Najah University with the assumption that the translated report is to appear in Al-Quds newspaper. The results of the study show that the majority of the translators resorted to dynamic renderings of the ST due to the high political sensitivity of the context that marks the news text. Faithfulness became irrelevant and the reality and truth of the ST were questioned and often subverted in the translation. The paper describes the nature and degree of translator interventions and outlines the strategies used to neutralize the ideological load invested in the original text.

1.1 Introduction

News reports are often signaled by partiality and subjectivity, especially those which deal with sensitive contexts. The partiality of a text is determined by some extra-linguistic factors such as situationality, which includes all the ways in which a text is connected with a specific situation.

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Text producers employ a variety of manipulative strategies in the organization of a text in order to achieve a communicative purpose. They manage the situation in a manner that serves a set of ideological structures. Thus, for a text to be recognized as successful and effective, a number of factors have to be met to ensure the smooth implementation of a rhetorical purpose.

This study investigates how and to what extent media writers employ managing and emotive lexis in news reporting. More specifically, the aim of the study is to explore how Israeli media reporters make their linguistic choices in order to express their attitudes and those of their readers. The various features of staging in Israeli news reports are studied from a discursal point of view. Emotive lexis are counted and interpreted following Shunnaq (1992) and Hatim (1997) to unveil the ideological messages intended by the text producer. Such lexical choices are often unacceptable to a Palestinian readership because they obliterate the existence of a Palestinian nation struggling to get its freedom and reduce them to the status of non-humans. These manipulative expressions are employed to convey to the public a single, self-justificatory standpoint.

The paper also investigates translation strategies that are adopted by Palestinian translators in turning an Israeli news report from English into Arabic. The choice of a translation strategy is affected by such contextual factors as the translation commission, the stylistic norms and policy of the newspaper, the readership and the translator's own ideology. The emotive sensitive lexis that describe the Palestinians and the Israelis are also examined and compared to occurrences in Al-Quds--an Arabic daily newspaper published in East Jerusalem.

1.2 Literature Review

Very little research has been conducted on the production and translation of media texts in the Palestinian context. However, translation scholars have explored relevant notions, such as managing and monitoring, ideology and emotiveness, the translation of sensitive and taboo texts, and audience preferences.

Al-Shamali (1992) studied the strategy of managing in the translation of journalistic texts. He focused on semantic and syntactic management in the translation of Arabic and English texts. He uses semantic management to refer to the lexical choices the translator opts for in order to convey an

ideology whereas syntactic managing refers to the transformation of source text structures employed to serve the intention of the translator.

Farghal (1993:2) distinguishes between *intrinsic* and *extrinsic* managing in translation. While the former is used to account for the inherent variations between the source text and the target text, the latter refers to the translator's practice of intervention in the original text to adjust the message to fit with his/her goals.

Van Dijk (1985a:43) emphasizes the important role of ideology in translation. He distinguishes between *explicit* ideology, which refers to explicitly verbalized opinions and attitudes, and *implicit* ideology, which includes the assumptions underlying the writer's linguistic choices. According to Van Dijk, the lexical and syntactic choices made by the writer are bound to reflect belief systems and to present the world from a particular viewpoint. In translation, ideologically linguistic structures of a source text may be manipulated intentionally because of inadequate language or translation skills, the requirements of the translation commission or the translator's own attitudes towards the source text topic.

On the other hand, the culture turn approaches take an even more radical view by giving due credit to context, audience and media normatives. Schaffner (1996:2) argues that the functionalist approach to translation is a cover term for researchers who claim that the purpose of the target text (TT) is the most important criterion in any translation. In this perspective, translation is conceived of as a process of intercultural communication, whose end product is a text which is capable of functioning appropriately in a specific situation and context of use.

For Lefevere (1992: iv), translation is a rewriting of an original text. "All rewritings whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and a poetics." Accordingly, translation is determined by the translator's ideology and the poetics dominant in the receiving culture. Nord (2003:111) also maintains that almost any decision in translation is, consciously or unconsciously, guided by ideological criteria. These criteria are crucial in identifying the intended purpose of the target text and in selecting the appropriate strategies by the translator, based on the expectations of the translation clients.

In an analysis of two different texts, Hatim (1997:146-158) found that the respective translators of the two texts resorted to two different translation strategies. The first text was a translation from Farsi into English of a speech delivered by Ayatollah Khomeini to students of religious seminaries

in Iran. In this sample, Hatim showed that minimal translation was adopted; that is, the characteristics of the source text (ST) were made entirely visible and only few concessions were made to the reader. This translation strategy restricts the translator's intervention in the ST to the extent that s/he cannot make any modifications. It also dictates fidelity and honesty as the basic criteria in the translation process.

In contrast, the second text analyzed by Hatim was a translation of a Spanish source text into English. In this case, the translator was faced with more interesting challenges where literal translation was not a viable option. Hatim found that the translator had resorted to maximal mediation; i.e. a lot of ideological interventions were made by the translator. This management was carried out at a textural level in terms of lexical choice, transitivity and cohesion.

In rendering sensitive texts related to conflicting cultures, the translator almost always interprets the ST by selecting features which most closely correspond to the requirements of the target situation. The 'skopos' of a translation is the goal or the purpose as defined by the commission and if necessary adjusted by the translator (Vermeer 1989). In this view the translation process is not necessarily determined by the ST, its effects on its addressees, or the intention of the author, but by the purpose of the TT, usually determined by the requirements of the target recipients.

The literature on translating ideology clearly indicates that the ideologies communicated in news reports are challenging to translators because the ideologies of societies and cultures are often divergent. News translators make choices and perform various moves of textual manipulation: they adjust the translation and modify the original according to the needs of the target medium. Fidelity to the ST author matters less than the successful reception of the target text when it reaches its readers.

The main purpose of this paper is to examine the degree of mediation manifested in the translation of an Israeli news report by Palestinian translators.

1.3 Theoretical Model

While translating, practitioners usually negotiate translation in its cultural, political and ideological context. In translation theory, this tendency is called *the cultural turn* (Hatim and Munday, 2004:102). The term can be

defined as approaching translation from a cultural perspective apart from the linguistic code. In other words, the linguistic expressions may conjure values that match with the ST and its audience but may clash with the norms and beliefs of the target readers. Translators who transpose a given text into another context often do consider the ideological implications in their reproduction of the original. Simon (1996) describes how culture and language interact in translation:

Translators must constantly make decisions about the cultural meanings language carries and evaluate the degree to which the different worlds they inhabit are 'the same' In fact, the process of meaning transfer has less to do with finding the cultural inscription of a term than reconstructing its value.
(p.139)

Translators not only consider the cultural aspects presented in a text, but often negotiate the ideological meanings embedded in that text. If the text is of a highly sensitive nature, the translator becomes more visible. Hatim and Munday (2004: 103) define *the translation of ideology* as mediating and subverting the ST content of a sensitive text by the translator. Translators intervene in the transfer process to feed their knowledge and beliefs into processing the text.

According to this view, the older definition of translation as rendering the message of a text into another language as intended by its author (e.g. Newmark, 1989) becomes less relevant since it focuses on one aspect, i.e. the intentionality of the author, but excludes other aspects, such as the communicative requirements of the receptor and the purpose of the translation. For this reason, translators tend to be pre-occupied with the idea of preserving formal equivalence; in other words, producing an identical copy of the original. However, translators often intervene to mitigate the ideological load in the original. For instance, in rendering the term 'terrorists' into 'gunmen', a Palestinian translator empties the message of its ideological impulse; and when rendering the acronym IDF into 'قوات الاحتلال الإسرائيلي', the translator redraws the oppositional map projected in the original.

Niranjana's (1992) seminal work gave the concept of dynamism in translation a different momentum and direction. She criticized some of the assumptions of earlier translation theories such as the idea that the meaning of the original is fixed and is to be translated as such. Borrowing the term 'interpellation' from the Marxist Louis Althusser to refer to the subjection of

a people by the discourse of the colonizers, Niranjana called for a strategy of discarding the power of the colonizer's language. In other words, she called for resistance through re-translation which aims at subverting the linguistic and political power structures.

Thus, in practice, translation entails the judicious blending of formal and dynamic equivalence. At certain points, the translator adopts formal equivalence, while at others, s/he resorts to a more dynamic approach. This is determined by context, the translation commission, the ideological meanings in the ST, and the ideology of the translator himself/herself.

Making use of Hatim's (1997) minimal and maximal modes of translating and drawing on the culture turn theorists' view of translation, the main purpose of the study is to exemplify the degree of mediation manifested in the translation of an Israeli news report from *The Jerusalem Post* by Palestinian translators. In particular, the study aims to answer the following research questions:

1. How do Palestinian translators deal with Israeli news texts, which are ideologically loaded texts?
2. What strategies do they utilize in responding to a commissioned translation?

1.4 Methodology

The researchers selected a news report from *The Jerusalem Post* that addressed the Israeli incursion into Gaza Strip in November 2006. The report was given as a translation assignment to fifteen Palestinian second year students enrolled in the MA Program of Applied Linguistics and Translation at An-Najah University. The participants were asked to translate the news report into Arabic with the assumption that the translation would appear in *Al-Quds* (a Arabic Palestinian daily newspaper). The student-translators were given two weeks to do the task. Beings enrolled in the same program, the participants formed a homogeneous group. They all had been exposed to concepts such as dynamic equivalence and translator visibility in several courses in previous semesters. They were all graduates of English departments in local and regional universities with virtually similar experience in translation.

Al-Quds was chosen to host the translation product for two main reasons. First, it is a very popular paper with a very wide readership inside and outside the West Bank. Second, it is censored by both the Israelis and the Palestinians. The double censorship restricts the paper to rather neutral

staging media norms. The analysis of the translations was geared towards identifying the nature and the degree of translator visibility vis-à-vis target media norms.

2.0 Analysis of the Source Text

2.1 Ideology

Ideology refers to the propositions or assumptions we hold consciously or unconsciously about ourselves, about others and about the basic make-up of the world (Abdalla, 1994: 3). As language is the only means through which human social relations are viewed, ideology is said to be inseparable from the linguistic code. The relationship between discourse and ideology is a two-way process. Ideology plays an important role in shaping discourse, while at the same time, language users are sometimes active subjects in structuring discourse (Gee,1990:174).

Following Gee's (1990) and Abdalla's (1994) view of ideology, this section tracks the lexical items found in the source text that are especially challenging for Palestinian translators of Israeli news reporting. The ST (See appendix) is about Palestinian resistance during the Israeli incursion into the Gaza Strip in November 2006. The two main points of "nervousness" that occur in the report are: Palestinian women's participation in the resistance and the firing of rockets at Israel. In describing the operation carried out by the Palestinian girl, the Israeli reporter, Josh Brannon, used such expressive lexical choices as 'suicide bomber' to serve his attitudes and those of his Israeli or pro-Israeli readership. The report refers to a speech delivered by Defense Minister Amir Peretz to a labor faction meeting. In his speech, Peretz stressed that the main objective of the military operations in Gaza was to stop Qassam rockets from reaching Israel. Firing rockets at Israel was the most sensitive issue envisaged in the report. Consequently, the reporter manipulated the situation to justify the military incursion into Gaza. The operation is viewed as a case of self-defense: "We have to do what we are doing to stop Qassam rockets from reaching Israel."

Additionally, the reporter described two opposing points of view over women's participating in resistance. The Israeli view is that the use of women as human shields is shameful. The Palestinians, on the other hand, praise and encourage the role of women in resistance. The appraisal of the Palestinian women appeared when they answered the call of a Palestinian local radio station to rescue sixty besieged men in the old mosque in Beit Hanoun.

The basic assumption in the source text is that 'we' (the Israelis) are the privileged entity, whereas 'they' (the Palestinians) are not only underprivileged but also devaluated. Based on this underlying assumption, the Palestinians are pictured as terrorists, suicide bombers, Qassam launchers and violence initiators. The Israelis, on the other hand, are depicted as self-defending and peace-makers. This basic opposition determines the emotive value of the reporter's choices. At the lexical level, ideology is reflected in the deliberate choice or avoidance of particular linguistic expressions.

In the following sections (2.2, 2.3, 2.4) the ideological referencing in the source text is addressed in terms of over-lexicalization, cohesion, and euphemism.

2.2 Over-lexicalization

Over-lexicalization is an evaluative linguistic device used to underline the prominence of a given concept in the thinking of a particular individual or community. (Hatim, 1997: 113) In the present study, over-lexicalization is used to reinforce the aggression/defense dichotomy mentioned in the previous section. The reporter drew heavily on non-core (marked) vocabulary in reporting the event. For instance, the lexis used to describe the woman 'suicide bomber' is highly charged. The term 'Gaza terrorists' is highly evaluative, too. These lexes, among many others, convey semantic values and associations which picture Palestinians as initiators of violence and aggression. In addition, the lexical item 'Qassam' conjures several nuances of meaning, the most important of which is 'Qassam' as a sign of war against Israel and a reminder to the public of the experience in the South of Lebanon.

The frequent use of the phrase 'terrorist organizations' depicts the Palestinians as initiators of violence. The language of the occupier is used to provide the public with negative views about the Palestinians, such as hatred, rancor, dislike, etc. The euphemistic linguistic term 'IDF' is repeatedly used to portray the Israelis as self-defenders, so whatever actions they take are warranted. In line with Niranjana's (1992) view, the Jerusalem Post journalist adopted discourses that relay two different images of the Gaza incursion: the good, innocent image of the occupier and the bad, distorted image of the occupied. Lexical items such as 'terrorist, weapon smugglers, gunmen, Qassam launchers, etc.' are used to reinforce the image of the bad Palestinian. The language choices represent the Israelis not as

occupiers, but rather as people who have the right to defend their presence in the Palestinian territories.

2.3 Cohesion

Cohesion is another textual device used to reinforce or assert a point of view, or to display commitment to an attitude (de Beaugrande & Dressler, 1981:55). Lexical cohesion refers to the selection of lexes to organize relations within a text via reiteration and collocation (Halliday & Hassan, 1976). Reiteration refers to repetition of lexical items; a reiterated item can be a repetition of an earlier item, a synonym, or a near-synonym. Lexical recurrence is evident in the speech delivered by Amir Peretz at a Labor Party meeting:

"We will end the operation It will end only when we have met our goals," Peretz continued.

Using the repetitive items 'end the operation' along with the modal 'will' emphasizes the speaker's view that the Gaza incursion will end when its goals have been achieved. These recurring items, among many others, confirm that Israel does not have the intention to recapture the Strip. In the following example, repeating the verb "do" is very sensitive:

"We have to do what we do to stop the Qassams from reaching Israel," said Peretz in speaking at a Labor Faction meeting.

The repetition emphasizes the speaker's attempt to justify the Gaza incursion. The use of the modality 'have to' implies that Israel was forced to carry out the operation in self-defense after having tried and exhausted all other options. In other words, the speaker claims that the military operation was the last and sole means to end firing Qassam rockets.

Another device used to achieve lexical cohesion is the explicit or implicit association of opposites. The news report is rich in implicit opposition. For instance, the term 'female suicide bomber' can be read against its opposite 'freedom fighter' or 'female martyr'. The term 'IDF' which stands for 'Israel Defense Forces' excludes its opposite 'Israeli Occupying Forces'. The word 'operation', too, excludes a wide range of possible opposites such as incursion, invasion, and raid. Table 1 further illustrates the point that any inclusion of the opposite associations would impede the ideological content built so rigorously in the text by excluding the Palestinian interpretation of events:

Table 1. Included / Excluded Items in the ST

Items included	Items excluded
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - female suicide bomber - the attack - IDF - killed - operation Autumn Clouds, mission - Israel, the Israeli territory - Qassams - Gaza terrorists - troops - cells of gunmen - terrorists - Beersheva - claimed - suicide bombing - the incident - Hamas radio station - civilians as human shields - use of women - Peretz said 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - freedom fighter - the martyrdom operation - IOF - martyred - the incursion, the invasion - the 48 occupied land - rockets - Palestinian resistance - occupying forces - resistance fighters - Palestinian resistance - Bi'r As-sabi' - announced - martyrdom operation - the operation - the Palestinian radio station - bombing of civilians - women sharing - Peretz claimed

Each linguistic entity conveys either positive or negative overtones. Lexes which conjure positive attitudes are IDF, IAF, the operation, Israeli territories, security issues, etc. Lexes with negative associations, such as female bomber, Gaza terrorists, Qassam rockets, are used to describe the Palestinians. Classifying the lexical items into those which refer to people, geography and political entities will help clarify more this oppositional structuring of relations (Table 2).

Table 2. Categories of Linguistic Expressions

People	Geography	Political Entities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – female suicide bomber – IDF – Gaza terrorists – cells of gunmen – troops – IAF – the Hamas government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Israel – Israeli territory – Bersheva – Beit Hanoun – northern Gaza – the Western Negev – Jabalya refugee camp 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – the IDF said – Defense Minister said – a senior officer said – the army said – Islamic Jihad claimed – IDF and government officials cried foul – Palestinian officials said

The left column refers to both the Palestinians and the Israelis, yet it sets the two sides as opposite entities. The term 'female suicide bomber' refers to a Palestinian girl who blew herself up near a group of soldiers participating in the operation. It is used in the initial sentence in the report as a salient entity. The term 'Gaza terrorists' refers to the Palestinians who fire rockets at Israel (e.g. One of the rockets fired by Gaza terrorists ...). The lexical item 'cells of gunmen' refers to the Palestinians who attack with shoulder-fired missiles and roadside bombs. The reporter used these sensitive terms to picture the Palestinians as agents who perform aggressive acts against the Israelis. On the other hand, the 'IDF' and 'IAF' refer to “the Israeli defense forces that operate in Gaza to stop Palestinians firing rockets at Israel” (e.g. the IDF would remain in Gaza until the mission's objectives had been achieved). The item 'troops' refers to Israeli soldiers as an affected entity (e.g. a female suicide bomber blew herself up near troops). The reporter avoided using the term 'IOF' which refers to Israeli "occupying forces" since it clashes with the ideology of the reporter and the perspective of his country.

In terms of geography, the reporter used names of areas that belong to the Israelis such as Israel, Israeli territory, Bersheva and the Western Negev. These names suppress much of the history of the land occupied in 48. In the report, these areas are presented as affected entities (e.g. to stop the Qassams from reaching Israel; to stamp out the firing of missiles into the Israeli territory). In doing so, the reporter displayed the Israelis as victims in order to justify the incursion on Gaza. The Palestinian areas mentioned in the report which belong to the Palestinian Authority include: Beit Hanoun, northern Gaza and Jabalya refugee camp. The first two areas are referred to

as places where rockets are fired at Israel. Jabalya refugee camp is related to the act of killing and wounding Palestinians. As the number of casualties was not mentioned, the reporter attributed the news event to Palestinian sources (e.g. Palestinian hospital officials said).

The political entities listed in the right column above are used to describe the situation in Gaza. The reporter used the neutral verb 'said' with entities that refer to the Israelis (e.g. Peretz said, the army said). These entities picture the world view in a neutral manner. In contrast, the evaluative verb 'claimed' was used to refer to the Palestinians (e.g. Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility of the suicide bombing).

2.4 Euphemism

The reporter employed euphemism and dysphemism as linguistic devices to describe the participants in the Gaza incursion. He turned to these ideological practices as a managing strategy in order to build his attitudes and values. He used dysphemistic terms when referring to the Palestinians; for instance, 'terrorists, the attack, a woman,' are all dysphemistic expressions which portray the Palestinians negatively. In viewing reality on the part of the Palestinians, the reporter adopted pejorative words which convey various shades of meanings. For instance, the choice between 'terrorists' and 'freedom fighters' is not simply one of point of view, but an ideological categorization meant to dehumanize the Palestinians. In this sense, we perceive that the term 'terrorists' has negative nuances like 'self-killers'. This binary opposition expresses a clash between language users over naming one and the same agency.

On the other hand, euphemistic terms are used to describe the Israeli side. For example, the choice between 'IDF' and 'occupying forces' is ideologically-based. The former refers to forces that have the right to defend themselves and their people; the latter refers to forces that work in offence and do not have the legitimacy to do so. The reporter opted for the term 'IDF,' albeit expectedly, in order to conjure positive overtones, i.e. these forces are not aggressive, offensive and barbarous. Table (3) below illustrates the binary opposition that marks the report.

Table 3. Euphemistic & Dysphemistic Occurrences

Euphemistic Expressions	Dysphemistic Expressions
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- operation, the mission, Operation, Autumn Clouds- IDF- said- Defense Minister- security issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- terrorists- attack, incidents- Gaza terrorists, gunmen- claimed- cells of gunmen- rocket attacks- suicide bombing- missiles- roadside bombs

For example, the binary concept (operation vs. attack) is semantically and ideologically dissimilar. The reporter used three carefully selected terms to describe the situation in Gaza: operation, Autumn Clouds and the mission. The word 'operation' connotes a more or less justifiable act carried out to fulfill the Israeli goals and objectives. The term 'Autumn Clouds' connotes stamping out violence, riot and a search for security, stability and peace. The word 'mission', which appeared in Peretz's speech, refers to a limited task that, like any other ordinary task with admirable objective, lasts for a short time. Unpleasant terms such as incursion, raid, and invasion were avoided. On the other hand, the act carried out by a single Palestinian girl against the Israeli soldiers is described as 'an attack'. In this sense, the reporter wanted to upgrade the positive values in the Israeli side and downgrade and even dehumanize the Palestinian side. Further, in referring to the five Palestinians killed in northern Gaza, the reporter used the word 'incidents' (e.g. five Palestinians were killed in separate incidents in northern Gaza) to create in the audience a sense of disinterestedness towards the dead victims. Contrary to that, the highly sensitive lexical item 'attack' is used when the Israeli casualties are reported (e.g. one soldier was wounded in the attack, no one was wounded . . . in any of the attacks).

To conclude, the news reporter managed the situation through the use of subjective, non-core, expressive, and highly evaluative lexical items. These linguistic codes are imbued with ideological implications that construct reality, truth and the world from the reporter's view point.

3.0 Analysis of the Target Text

3.1 The Translation of Ideology

So far, the ST analysis has focused on those expressions which are rather challenging to transfer into Arabic to a Palestinian audience. According to Hatim and Mason (1997) translating is not a neutral activity (145). In this view, a translator does not merely reproduce the original copy; otherwise the translation would become a mere reproduction of the ideology manifested in the ST. It would indeed diminish the adequacy of the TT if the motivation behind expressive lexical items is left unheeded.

The term “translating ideology” as elaborated by Hatim and Mason (1997) refers to the extent of mediation supplied by translators of sensitive texts. Mediation is defined as the extent to which translators intervene in the transfer process, feeding their own knowledge and belief systems into processing the text (147). In rendering the task, the majority of our student translators adopted dynamic equivalence, especially in transferring sensitive ideological issues. They replaced ST terms by specific target language expressions that meet the expectations of their Arabic readership. This tendency has a neutralizing effect on the cultural values and the ideological load in the ST. The translators turned to neutral reconstruction which empties the message of the ideological connotations embodied in the propositions of the source text. For instance, in transforming the highly emotive headline, two thirds of the student-translators came up with neutral renderings to which minimal mediation could be ascribed as they made some concessions to the reader:

A female bomber detonates near troops.

- ١- فتاة فلسطينية تفجر نفسها بالقرب من جنود إسرائيليين
- ٢- امرأة تفجر نفسها بالقرب من قوة عسكرية

Both lexical items فتاة and امرأة have the same referential meaning as that of 'female' in the original.

Similarly, the semantic field of the word 'troops' is:

جنود إسرائيليون، جنود جيش الدفاع، قوات، قوات الجيش، فرقة جنود.

The other students transferred the headline with highly emotive overtones as in:

- ٣- فدائية تفجر نفسها قرب الجنود
- ٤- استشهادية تفجر نفسها بالقرب من مجموعة من جنود الاحتلال
- ٥- استشهادية تفجر نفسها بالقرب من الجنود

The term 'فدائية' does not match 'female bomber' in the ST. It is highly expressive as it refers to someone who has devoted herself and life to her cause. By transforming the term 'female bomber' into 'فدائية', 'استشهادية', the translators turned to self-editing; that is, they assumed some authority to bring in renderings that reflect their ideological assumptions. This rendering shows maximal mediation by the use of lexical items that are more in circulation in the target context. In doing so, the translators subvert the ideological connotations of the original.

Another sensitive issue which expresses an ideological import occurs in the ST use of the word 'Gaza terrorists': "One of the rockets launched by Gaza terrorists landed near Kibbutz Yad Mordecahi." In transferring this term into the TT, slightly less than two thirds reproduced it as: مقاومين من غزة. It is quite apparent that the lexical item 'resistance fighters' is not ideologically equivalent to that of 'terrorists'; on the contrary, the two have a semantic clash: the former refers to people who fight to defend their country, a usage which neutralizes the term of negative associations such as bombers, violence makers, attackers, killers etc. In doing so, the translators resorted to replacing the ST term with another TT term that is more acceptable to the target audience. The other renderings included: مقاتلون من غزة، نشطاء فلسطينيون، فدائيين من غزة. The shades of meanings in these phrases are not equivalent to the ST term either. Each has positive emotive overtones, such as patriots, freedom fighters and activists. In reproducing these items in the TT, the translators turned to mediation. They freed themselves from the commission and the ST and substituted the original with alternative evaluative nuances.

The following examples further illustrate the transformations done by the translators to the ST message:

"Frustrated by cover provided to troops conducting searches in the center of Beit Hanoun, the terrorists resorted to sending a woman."

The translation of this sentence constituted a radical departure from the ST; there is mediation with respect to intentionality, ideology and textural practices. This mediation constitutes the insertion of some evaluative clichés such as:

ادعت آلة الحرب الإسرائيلية، حسب رأي كاتب المقال
١. هذا وأفادت تقارير عبرية بأن الهجمات التي يقوم بها مقاومون فلسطينيون قد أحبطت بسبب
التغطية الجوية التي تزودها قوات الاحتلال الإسرائيلي للجنود الصهاينة المتمركزين في بيت
لاهيا، لذلك لجأ مقاومون فلسطينيون إلى إرسال امرأة على حد زعمهم.

٢. ورغم التغطية والدعم اللذين تحصل عليهما قوات الاحتلال التي تقوم بعمليات دهم وتفتيش واسعة النطاق في مركز بيت حانون، فقد تمكنت الفتاة من الوصول إلى قوة خاصة من جيش الاحتلال.

All versions show maximal mediation. In the first, the translators intervened in the message not only by feeding their feelings (أفادت تقارير عبرية، الجنود) but also by diverting the content of the original. The ST states that the resistance fighters were frustrated; the TT states that the attacks carried out by fighters failed due to cover provided to troops. The ST carries negative connotations such as powerlessness and defeat; the phrase 'sending a woman' conjures connotations of sarcasm, inferiority, shamelessness, and cowardliness. The word 'troops' was charged with counter associations (e.g. الجنود الصهاينة، قوات الاحتلال) in the translation. The second version discharges the ideological component invested in the ST. The translator deleted the content which shows that the Palestinians were incapacitated. Instead, she reversed the message depicting the Israeli soldiers as unable to prevent the girl from blowing herself up near them even though they were provided by heavy cover.

Maximal mediation also occurs in issues which deal with women's participation in the resistance as two contradictory views are displayed. The Israeli side considers women's participation in the resistance as human shields dishonorable and inhumane. The Palestinians, on the other hand, encourage women's participation in resisting the occupation and praise and value their contributions as heroic acts. For the Israelis, the act is condemnable; but for the Palestinians it is commendable. The following news item illustrates a point of nervousness over female resistance:

"The IDF and the government officials cried foul at what they called the shameless use of civilians as human shields, but the Hamas government praised the women as heroes and encouraged further female contributions to the resistance."

In transforming the news item, some students turned to maximal mediation. They employed the translation strategies of addition and substitution, among others:

رغم ما قام به جنود جيش الاحتلال من عمليات قتل ودهم للبيوت، صاح مسئولون إسرائيليون بما أسموه الاستخدام المخزي للمدنيين "كدروع بشرية" ونددوا بما نعتوه "إشادة الحكومة الفلسطينية بالنساء ووصفهن كبطلات وتشجيعهن على المساهمة الإضافية في المقاومة.

The clause 'رغم ما قام به جنود جيش الاحتلال من عمليات قتل ودهم للبيوت' is not found in the ST. The insertion of this phrase in initial position shows two things: first, that the translator does not agree with the Israelis' perspective in describing the woman's act; second, that the translator expresses his feelings and attitudes concerning the situation in Gaza. The inserted lexis connote denial of what the Israelis did. The expression 'cried foul' constituted a translation problem for all participants. In rendering the term, the students came up with different variations such as: صاح، أعرب، استهجن، استنكر. These choices do not correspond so closely to the original.

Substitution involves translation strategies such as replacing a term in the ST with an equivalent target language term, making details less specific, changing the focus, summarizing and depersonalizing. Substitution occurred in replacing the term 'حكومة حماس' with 'الحكومة الفلسطينية'. By utilizing this technique, the translator has discharged the term from its divisional connotations only to add pro-unity and pro-legitimacy political meanings. Table 4 shows the instances of the self-editing practice stemming from the translators' own ideology:

Table 4. Translation of Sensitive Expressions

English Lexes	Emotive Commission	No. Sts.	%	Self-editing choices	No Sts.	%
1- female suicide bomber	فتاة فلسطينية تفجر نفسها	10	67	فدائية فجرت نفسها، فجرت استشهادية نفسها	5	33
2- operation Autumn Clouds	عملية غيوم الخريف	9	60	عملية غيوم الخريف العدوانية، العدوان الإسرائيلي، عملية الاحتلال "غيوم الخريف"	6	40
3- Defense Minister said	صرح/ قال/ ذكر وزير الدفاع الإسرائيلي	14	93	قال وزير جيش الاحتلال	1	7
4- the goals of the operation	أهداف العملية / العمليات (العسكرية)	13	87	اجتياح، أهداف عملية الاجتياح	2	13
5- said Peretz	أضاف/ قال بيرتز	10	67	زعم بيرتز، على حد زعم بيرتز	5	33
6- military offensive	العمليات العسكرية/ الجيش الإسرائيلي	2	13	الهجوم العسكري/ الهجمات العسكرية/ قوات الاحتلال الإسرائيلي	12	86

Continue Table 4

7- Israeli territory	الأرض / الأراضي / المناطق الإسرائيلية، إسرائيل، الخط الأخضر، أراضي وبلدات إسرائيلية	7	47	المستوطنات الإسرائيلية، أراضي ال ٤٨ المحتلة	8	53
8- Gaza terrorists	مقاومون من غزة، مقاتلون، مقاومون فلسطينيون	13	87	الفتاويون من قطاع غزة، المقاومون الغزويون	2	13
9-female bomber	فتاة تحمل حزاما ناسفا، إقدام فتاة على تفجير نفسها، أرسل فتاة للقيام بعملية	8	53	فتاة تفجر نفسها، فتاة متفجرة، فتاة استشهادية، الاستشهادية، الفدائيات	7	47
10-IDF snipers & Israeli air force	القناصة الإسرائيليين وقوات الطيران الإسرائيلي، قناصو الجيش الإسرائيلي وسلاح الجو	10	67	فناصون من قوات الاحتلال الإسرائيلي وسلاح الجو الصهيوني، قناصو جيش الاحتلال الإسرائيلي وهجمات القوات الإسرائيلية بالقذائف	5	33
11- the woman was killed in the explosion	استشهاد المرأة منفذة العملية، استشهدت الفتاة في الانفجار	7	47	استشهاد الفدائية، موت الفتاة في الانفجار، قتلت المرأة في التفجير، استشهاد الاستشهادية	8	53
12- suicide bombing	عملية تفجيرية، العملية، الهجوم التفجيري	8	53	العملية الاستشهادية، العملية الغدائية، الهجوم	7	47
Total		111	63		66	36

The number of translation choices that are committed with regard to the commission choices totals 111 out of 178 instances (62%), while the self-editing totals 66 instances (37%); only one case of omission occurred. These occurrences are discussed in section 3.2 along with the occurrences in the target media.

3.2 Target Media Occurrences

Table 5 compares translator choices with target media norms. Five issues of Al-Quds Daily were surveyed in order to build a list of terms and references that occurred in the target media and in the translation task.

Table 5. Target Media Occurrences

Item	Equivalents Paper issue 1	Equivalents Paper issue 2	Equivalents Paper issue 3	Equivalents Paper issue 4	Equivalents Paper issue 5
IDF	الجيش الإسرائيلي ٢٠٠٦/١١/٨	القوات الإسرائيلية ٢٠٠٦/٩/٦	الجنود الإسرائيليون ٢٠٠٦/٨/٥	الجيش الإسرائيلي ٢٠٠٦/٧/١٢	الجيش الإسرائيلي ٢٠٠٦/٩/١
operation Autumn Clouds	عملية غيوم الخريف ٢٠٠٦/١١/٨	عملية غيوم الخريف العسكرية ٢٠٠٦/١١/٢	العملية العسكرية ٢٠٠٦/٨/٢٩	عملية عسكرية ٢٠٠٦/١١/٢٣	الاجتياح الإسرائيلي ٢٠٠٦/١٠/٢٤
Israel territory	الأراضي الإسرائيلية ٢٠٠٦/١١/٢٣	إسرائيل ٢٠٠٦/١١/٢٤	البلدات الإسرائيلية ٢٠٠٦/٧/١٢	إسرائيل ٢٠٠٦/١١/٢٤	أراضي ال ٤٨ ٢٠٠٦/١١/١
Gaza terrorists	مقاومون فلسطينيون ٢٠٠٦/٩/٣	رجال المقاومة ٢٠٠٦/١١/٢٤	المقاومون الفلسطينيون ٢٠٠٦/٩/١	رجال المقاومة ٢٠٠٦/١٠/١٣	المقاومون ٢٠٠٦/٧/١٢
gunmen	نشطاء فلسطينيون ٢٠٠٦/٩/١	مسلحين ٢٠٠٦/٧/٢	مقاتلين فلسطينيين ٢٠٠٦/٨/٥	المسلحين الفلسطينيين ٢٠٠٦/١٠/١٣	ناشطون ٢٠٠٦/١١/٢٣
troops operating	القوات الإسرائيلية تواصل توغلها ٢٠٠٦/١١/١١	القوات الإسرائيلية توغلت ٢٠٠٦/٩/١	توغلت قوات الاحتلال ٢٠٠٦/١١/١	في عدوان إسرائيلي ٢٠٠٦/١٠/١٣	توغلت قوة إسرائيلية ٢٠٠٦/٩/٣
The woman was killed in the explosion	مما أدى إلى استشهاد المرأة ٢٠٠٦/١١/٢٤	استشهد في الانفجار ٢٠٠٦/١٢/٣٠	وأسفرت عن مقتل منفذها نفذها تفجيري ٢٠٠٥/١٢/٦	ثلاثة شهداء في عملية تفجيرية ٢٠٠٥/١٢/٣٠	الهجوم ٢٠٠٥/١/٦
Suicide bomber	الاستشهادية ٢٠٠٦/١١/٢٤	تفجيري ٢٠٠٦/١٢/٦	منفذ استشهاد العملية ٢٠٠٥/١/١٤	استشهد في الهجوم ٢٠٠٥/١/٦	فلسطيني فجر نفسه ٢٠٠٥/١/١٩
Suicide bombing	العملية الإرهابية ٢٠٠٦/١٢/٦	شهران في هجوم ٢٠٠٥/١/٦	عملية مسلحة ٢٠٠٥/١/٨	عملية تفجيرية ٢٠٠٥/١/١٩	عملية ٢٠٠٥/١/١٤

It is evident from Table 5 that in writing or translating reports, Al-Quds daily does not have a standard policy regarding the choice of linguistic items that relate to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. So, sometimes lexis with evaluative associations are used (e.g. such as اجتياح, توغل, الاستشهادية, العملية, التفجيري (الإرهابية), and sometimes lexis with neutral connotations are used, although though the latter appear to be more frequent. In comparing these linguistic terms with the translators' renderings, it was found that most of

them were similar. For instance, the term 'operation' in the issues has the same neutral equivalents that occurred in the translations. The term 'the Israeli incursion' appeared in one issue; this means it is not widely used in Al-Quds paper. In the case study, the term also occurred once in dynamic equivalence translation. However, the term 'العملية الإرهابية', which is highly sensitive, appeared once in the paper when the Palestinian Authority severely condemned Netanya operation which resulted in the death of five Israelis.

It can then be concluded that the translation of the emotive terms in the study is congruent with the usage found in the five issues of Al-Quds that were surveyed. In certain cases, the terms diverged from target media norms where the translators appeared to be acting in response to self- and audience- expectations. The translators re-contextualized the ideology of the ST because it seemed unsound when measured against the readers' expectations and the normative patterns of the target culture.

The student translations reveal a tendency among translators to conform to the requirements of the translation commission as can be seen in Table 4 above. In this sense, nearly 111 sensitive expressions out of 178 (66%) were reproduced in the TT following the purpose of the translation. For instance, in translating the term 'female suicide bomber' the majority of the participants turned to neutral translation through using lexical items which are congruent with the media that is subject to Israeli censorship. The term appeared as (فتاة تفجر نفسها). On the other hand, one third of the translators resorted to self-editing. They adopted mediation as a managing strategy of the ideologically heavily loaded term. The term was rendered as: استشهادية فجرت نفسها، فدائية فجرت نفسها. These renderings are highly emotive since, ideologically speaking, they connote someone who has devoted him/herself to defending a noble cause.

The phrase 'suicide bombing' has negative emotive overtones. This concept has ideological associations that support and justify the Israeli incursion into the Gaza Strip. In transforming this term into the TT, slightly over half the translators reproduced neutral translations like "عملية تفجيرية". In doing so, the students have neutralized the highly emotive lexical item 'suicide' so that it becomes more acceptable to the audience. However, the other half transferred the same term into more emotive lexis as: العملية الاستشهادية، العملية الفدائية. The term usually appears as 'عملية تفجيرية' in the newspaper.

Further, the statement 'the woman was killed in the explosion' was transformed by half the translators as: استشهدت الفتاة في الانفجار . The word 'killed' was replaced by the emotive term 'استشهدت' which means to end one's life fighting for a noble cause. Other renditions did not cater for the institutional editing through the use of lexes with positive emotive overtones for the Arab readers استشهدت الاستشهادية في الانفجار، استشهاد الفدائية. The terms (the girl /woman was killed in the explosion/ attack) are not charged; whereas both terms استشهادية and فدائية are ideologically acceptable in the target culture. In both cases, the translators diverted from the original to produce lexes that are acceptable to the audience and the newspaper editors.

The evaluative linguistic terms that praise aggression and aggressor in the ST include: Israeli territories, the goals of the operations, soldiers, military offensive, operation Autumn Clouds, Defense Minister said, Israel, etc.

The term 'Israeli territories' is problematic and challenging. The translator might translate it either literally, thus reflecting the implied ideology in the process, or convert it into its opposite. In transferring this term into Arabic, almost half responded to the commission and purpose of the translation. This is because the term appeared in a quoted material, so the participants resorted to formal translation reproducing it as: المناطق الإسرائيلية، إسرائيل، مناطق وبلدات إسرائيلية، الأراضي الإسرائيلية. By contrast, slightly over half the translators took the liberty to transfer this term into expressive, highly emotive expressions, such as:

أراضي ال ٤٨ المحتلة، المستوطنات الإسرائيلية، أراضي فلسطين المحتلة عام ٤٨.

The term أراضي فلسطين المحتلة عام ٤٨ does not often occur in the paper, but it appeared in two issues as 'أراضي ال ٤٨، الأراضي المحتلة عام ٤٨'. It often appears as الأراضي الإسرائيلية and إسرائيل. In so doing, the participants resist the right to ownership conferred by the term. Motivated by their ideology, their culture, and the audience, the participants adopted the strategy of resistance and even overlooked the target media practice of using references with neutral connotations. Their method subscribes more to the post-colonial translation theorists' calls for resistance through translation to the power of the colonizer's language (Niranjan 1992).

Another sensitive expression used in the ST to describe the situation in the Gaza Strip is 'military offensive'. The use of such a term justifies the Gaza incursion. It simply means that Israel has the right to defend its people and secure its borders. In this sense, the word 'military' becomes justifiable and warranted. The term 'military offensive' was transferred into the TT by 86%

of the respondents as: الهجوم العسكري، الهجمة العسكرية، قوات الاحتلال الإسرائيلي . These lexis usually do not appear in Al-Quds newspaper. Only two instances (13%) sounded more neutral (e.g. العملية العسكرية، الجيش الإسرائيلي).

The term 'operation Autumn Clouds' was literally rendered by 60% as: عملية غيوم الخريف. The concept justifies the Gaza incursion since it conveys the message that the operation was set off to end and stamp out Palestinians firing Qassams on Israel. The same term was transformed into emotive expressions that match target audience expectations:

عملية غيوم الخريف العدوانية، العدوان الإسرائيلي أو ما يطلق عليه غيوم الخريف، عملية الاحتلال "غيوم الخريف"، العملية التي أطلقت عليها قوات الاحتلال غيوم الخريف.

The lexical items العدوانية، العدو الإسرائيلي and the الاحتلال conjure up associative meanings such as the illegitimacy of the operation and the occupation. These renderings correspond to the ideology of the target culture, but not that of Al-Quds paper. The term appears in the five issues surveyed as 'عملية عسكرية، عملية غيوم الخريف العسكرية، الاجتياح الإسرائيلي'. It can be noted that the paper does not consistently use the same term. However, the norm is using neutral references like 'عملية عسكرية'.

Furthermore, the phrase 'said Peretz' is problematic as it has multiple interpretations. 67% reproduced neutral equivalents as: قال بيرتز، أضاف، ذكر . Other renderings (33%) sound evaluative as: زعم بيرتز قائلاً، على حد زعم بيرتز، .زعم أثناء اجتماع لحزب العمل. The use of the verb 'زعم' is highly evaluative since it subverts the truths and realities that Peretz is referring to.

The term 'IDF snipers and Israeli air force' was translated by ten (67%) as: قناصون في قوات الاحتلال وسلاح الجو الصهيوني، قناصو جيش الاحتلال الإسرائيلي وهجمات القناصة الإسرائيلية، سلاح الجو الإسرائيلي، القوات الإسرائيلية بالقذائف. The word 'Zionist' or 'Zionism' arouses negative connotations in the receptor language. It refers to the annexation of the West Bank and the ideological settlement of the occupied territories. The references 'occupying forces' and 'attacks carried out by Israeli soldiers with missiles' ideologically mark the army as an aggressor and an occupying force. The term repeatedly appears in the paper as 'القناصة الإسرائيلية، سلاح الجو'. Again one third of the translations did not match the norms of the newspaper.

Another sensitive issue occurs in rendering the culture-bound word 'Kibbutz Yad Mordachai in the Western Negev'. This term was transferred as:
- مغتصبة ياد مردخاي غرب النقب، مستعمرة ياد مردخاي في النجف الغربي، كتس مردخاي

The word 'مغتصبة' connotes that the entity was raped and violated. The term 'مستعمرة' emphasizes the function of a colony, whereas the word kibbutz refers to a place where communal farming is carried out. The term 'النجف' has been transliterated. This rendering marks simple ignorance of the translator.

While maximal mediation occurs in issues of high sensitivity, minimal interference takes place in less sensitive issues. The less emotive messages refer to the speech delivered by Amir Peretz. In transforming these messages, most translators resorted to minimal mediation. Consider the following news item and its rendering:

Meanwhile, Defense Minister Peretz said on Monday IDF forces would remain in the northern Gaza until the mission's objectives had been achieved.

وفي ذلك الوقت، صرّح وزير الدفاع عمير بيرتس بأن قوات جيش الدفاع الإسرائيلي ستبقى في شمال القطاع إلى حين إنجاز كامل مهماتها.

The TT version is nearly equivalent to the ST. Emotive lexis such as IDF and the mission have been equally rendered.

4. Conclusions

This paper thoroughly investigated the problem of managing in translation as a technique used to circumvent the ideology reflected in the original text. Managing in translating journalistic texts deviates from the normally agreed-upon approaches to translation in that the translator drastically modifies the ST; s/he adjusts, alters, mediates, deletes without adhering to the ST. The visibility of the translator becomes apparent from the political and ideological affiliations which might conflict with those of the author of the original text.

After studying some emotive constructions in the Jerusalem Post news report and their translations, one can reach the conclusion that formal equivalence and faithfulness are not viable options in the translation of sensitive text especially when the translator's and the author's purposes are divergent as in the Palestinian context. In such a case, and as evident in actual translation practice, the translator negotiates the requirements of context, particularly the relation between the ST and TT cultures and the

agents of power involved. Therefore, faithfulness becomes an irrelevant issue and the reality and truth of the ST are questioned and often subverted in translation.

We close the paper with the following conclusions:

1. When the translation commission is defined, the dynamic equivalence method seems to be the most widely employed method in translating informative news texts impinged with ideology.
2. Politics-oriented journalistic reports frequently reflect the policy of the country in which they are published; consequently, they should not be taken at face value when translated.
3. In translating sensitive texts, it is necessary to determine the translation commission, the purpose of translation and the audience; otherwise the target text will very likely be badly received.
4. The Palestinian translators modified, mediated and re-directed the ideological constituents of the source text, but maintained the factual information in the report like names, places and incidents. Their practice is congruent with the maximal mediation practice observed by Hatim (1997) and with the practice of rewriting the ideological content of the source text mentioned by Lefevere (1992). Intervention is often practiced in dealing with issues of high sensitivity in political discourse.
5. The process of translating the news reports is to a large extent determined by three factors: the readership, the policy of the publishing institution, and the ideology of the translator. In our context, the audience refers to the Palestinian readership who resist any translation that marks them with negative views. As a publishing institution, Al-Quds commits to a more or less neutral stance being subject to direct Israeli censorship. Palestinian translators have their ideology which does not in all cases conform to target media patterns.

The researchers offer these observations about translation in the Palestinian context as useful ones for scholars who are interested in post-colonial, feminist, and context-bound approaches to translation. Most telling is the finding that when assuming some agency, translators of sensitive texts actively engage and effectively subvert much of the bias and distortion done by ST producers in cases of competing discourses and conflicting world views. The nature and degree of translator intervention will vary from one context to another depending on how threatening the ST ideological message is to translators and target receptors.

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Trans. A. Chesterman, in A. Chesterman (ed.) pp. 173-87.

Appendix

The news report was taken from Jerusalem Post web site, Nov.6, 2006. The full text is provided here.

Female bomber detonates near troops

By JOSH BRANNON

NOVEMBER 6

A female suicide bomber blew herself up near troops operating in Beit Hanoun on Monday afternoon, the IDF said. One soldier was lightly wounded in the attack, and five other Palestinians were killed in separate incidents in northern Gaza as operation Autumn Clouds entered its sixth day.

Meanwhile, Defense Minister Amir Peretz said on Monday IDF forces would remain in the northern Gaza Strip until the mission's objective had been achieved.

"The goals of the operations in Gaza are clear. We cannot take action just to please part of the public. We have to do what we do to stop the Kassams from reaching Israel," said Peretz, speaking at a Labor faction meeting.

"We will end the operation based only on security issues. It will end only when we have met our goals," Peretz continued.

"Don't believe anyone who says we have any other considerations. We don't want to stay in Gaza, we don't want to hurt the Palestinian people."

Despite the "significant operational achievements" of Autumn Clouds, one senior officer in the Southern Command said it was unlikely the military offensive would stamp out completely the firing of the makeshift missiles into Israeli territory.

One of three rockets launched by Gaza terrorists during the day landed near Kibbutz Yad Mordechai in the western Negev. No one was wounded, and no damage was reported in any of the attacks.

This alarming use of a female bomber against soldiers is a first since troops and armored forces raided the town of 30,000 last Wednesday in a bid to curb cross-border rocket attacks from the area. IDF snipers and Israeli air

force missile strikes have succeeded in preempting cells of gunmen from attacking with shoulder fired missiles and roadside bombs.

Frustrated by the cover provided to troops conducting searches in the center of Beit Hanoun, the terrorists resorted to sending a woman. Troops became suspicious of the woman as she approached them, and called on her to stop. She ignored their calls and detonated the bomb some distance away from the forces.

The woman was killed in the explosion that shook homes in the area and injured several other Palestinians. A soldier was lightly wounded by shrapnel and was evacuated to Soroka Medical Center in Beersheva to receive treatment, the army said.

Islamic jihad claimed responsibility for the suicide bombing, and relatives identified her as Mervat Masaoud, an 18-year old student at Gaza's Islamic University.

The incident followed dramatic scenes in Biet Hanoun over the weekend when hundreds of woman heeded the calls of the local Hamas radio station and marched into the line of fire to rescue some 60 gunmen besieged in the town's mosque by IDF infantry and armored troops.

Most of the gunmen managed to flee the scene in the ensuing chaos, and at least two gunmen could be seen wearing traditional Muslim dress in the crowd of women.

The IDF and government officials cried foul at what they called the shameless use of civilians to act as human shields, but the Hamas government praised the women as heroes and encouraged further female contributions to the resistance.

Earlier Monday, an air strike hit a minivan parked in the Jebalya refugee camp outside of Gaza City, killing a 15-year-old boy and a man in his 20s, and wounding several others, including a 16-year-old boy who was in serious condition, Palestinian hospital officials said.