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THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT IN AMERICAN, ARAB, AND BRITISH MEDIA:
CORPUS-BASED CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

by

MAGDI KANDIL

Under the Direction of Patricia Byrd and Lucy Pickering

ABSTRACT

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is one of the longest and most violent conflicts in modern history. The language used to represent this important conflict in the media is frequently commented on by scholars and political commentators (e.g., Ackerman, 2001; Fisk, 2001; Mearsheimer & Walt, 2007). To date, however, few studies in the field of applied linguistics have attempted a thorough investigation of the language used to represent the conflict in influential media outlets using systematic methods of linguistic analysis. The current study aims to partially bridge this gap by combining methods and analytical frameworks from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Corpus Linguistics (CL) to analyze the discursive representation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in American, Arab, and British media, represented by CNN, Al-Jazeera Arabic, and BBC respectively.

CDA, which is primarily interested in studying how power and ideology are enacted and resisted in the use of language in social and political contexts, has been frequently criticized

mainly for the arbitrary selection of a small number of texts or text fragments to be analyzed. In order to strengthen CDA analysis, Stubbs (1997) suggested that CDA analysts should utilize techniques from CL, which employs computational approaches to perform quantitative and qualitative analysis of actual patterns of use occurring in a large and principled collection of natural texts.

In this study, the corpus-based keyword technique is initially used to identify the topics that tend to be emphasized, downplayed, and/or left out in the coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in three corpora compiled from the news websites of Al-Jazeera, CNN, and the BBC. Topics –such as terrorism, occupation, settlements, and the recent Israeli disengagement plan—which were found to be key in the coverage of the conflict—are further studied in context using several other corpus tools, especially the concordancer and the collocation finder. The analysis reveals some of the strategies employed by each news website to control for the positive or negative representations of the different actors involved in the conflict. The corpus findings are interpreted using some informative CDA frameworks, especially Van Dijk’s (1998) ideological square framework.

INDEX WORDS: Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Critical discourse analysis, Corpus linguistics, Collocation, Concordance, Keyword analysis, Terrorism, Settlements

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MAGDI KANDIL

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in the College of Arts and Sciences
Georgia State University

2009

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Magdi Kandil
2009

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August 2009

To my parents, wife, and children with love

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Background

The research conducted in this dissertation was mainly motivated by two references: a documentary on the U.S. media coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Ratzkoff & Jhally, 2004) and an article on the impact of the pro-Israel lobby on U.S. foreign policy (Mearsheimer and Walt, 2006)¹. In both references, the U.S. media is criticized for being heavily biased towards the Israeli side as a result in part of a systematic public relations (PR) campaign launched by a number of pro-Israeli organizations within the U.S. in order to minimize news coverage deemed unfavorable to Israel. Most notable among these organizations is the American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), regarded as the most powerful foreign lobby in the U.S., and the Committee for Accurate Middle East Reporting (CAMERA), a media watchdog group. Both references also claim that as a result of this PR campaign, news stories critical of Israel that might appear even in some Israeli news sources like Ha'aretz are very unlikely to appear in American media.

Among the aspects of bias commented on in Ratzkoff and Jhally (2004) is the language used to represent the clashes between the Israelis and Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip—the two parts of the historical Palestinian land that are internationally recognized as being under Israeli military occupation since 1967 (UN, 1967). The documentary claims that when reporting the acts of violence by the Israeli army in the occupied territories, U.S. media tend to describe the situation as security forces retaliating or defending themselves against violence, giving the impression that these are legal authorities under attack rather than illegal forces protecting an illegal occupation of somebody else's land. According to American journalist Seth

¹ The authors of this article later wrote a book on the same topic (see Mearsheimer and Walt, 2007)

Ackerman, one strategy followed to create this impression is to avoid using words like *occupation*, or *occupied territories* when referring to the land on which the clashes are taking place (Ackerman, 2001). Another strategy is to hide the illegality of Israeli settlements by avoiding the use of words like *settlements* or *colonies* when referring to them. According to a 2001 report in the British newspaper *The Independent*, CNN sent out a memorandum to its reporters “[w]e refer to Gilo as a Jewish neighborhood on the outskirts of Jerusalem ... We don’t refer to it as a settlement” (Fisk, 2001).

In contrast with American media, Ratzkoff and Jhally’s documentary claims that British media is more even handed in its coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The documentary shows several clips from the BBC and compares them with clips from CNN, Fox News, and other American news outlets. While American media clips show Palestinian riots and make comments to the effect that Israeli soldiers are responding to Palestinian violence, BBC clips make the point that these riots are taking place on an occupied land against occupation forces; and while American news reporters refer to Israeli settlements as Jewish neighborhoods, the BBC clips highlight the illegality of those settlements and their key importance in the conflict.

As a student of linguistics myself, I was intrigued to see many frequent comments in the references cited above about the significant role of the language used in reporting the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. I thought, however, that the linguistic aspect of reporting this long conflict deserves a more systematic analysis than a few impressionistic examples. More specifically, I thought three things were needed: analyzing the language used in reporting the conflict using tools that are rooted in the field of linguistics, using methods that would allow the analysis of a large sample of media language, and simultaneously analyzing reports produced by different

media outlets that represent different perspectives on the conflict. The reason for each of these needs is explained below.

The need for linguistic methods of analysis comes from the linguistic nature of the topic—the language used in the media to report the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. While many people can provide comments on media language, these comments remain largely anecdotal and impressionistic. To obtain more comprehensive evidence regarding the use of language in the media, this language has to be subjected to a more thorough analysis at the different levels of the linguistic data (e.g., lexical items, propositions, implications ...etc.). Approaches rooted in the field of linguistics provide tools and conceptual frameworks for doing this kind of analysis and for interpreting its results. Linguistic approaches, however, have to be flexible enough as to allow for the incorporation of concepts from other disciplines, such as political science and history, which have been the primary fields interested in investigating the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Due to their long study of the conflict, these disciplines certainly had a lot to contribute to the linguistic analysis of its representation in the media. The main area in the field of applied linguistics that is mainly interested in studying the use of language in political contexts and that welcomes the incorporation of concepts from other disciplines is critical discourse analysis (CDA).

In addition to the use of a linguistic-based approach, obtaining reliable evidence regarding the use of language in reporting the Israeli-Palestinian conflict requires the analysis of a large sample of data. For one thing, a large sample of data is more likely to be representative of what is typically presented in the media about the conflict than a few articles that might be selected because they are unusual rather than typical. For another, the analysis of a large sample of data is more likely to reveal practices that are hard to detect by analyzing only a small number

of texts. Manipulating a large number of texts, however, can be a daunting task if done manually. This problem can be addressed by using some of the automated tools provided by the methods of corpus linguistics (CL), which are especially designed to process large collections of texts. A brief discussion of what a large collection of texts mean for the purpose of this kind of study is provided under the corpus linguistics section below.

Finally, one last thing I thought was needed for a more reliable study of the language used to report the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the simultaneous analysis of representative samples from different media sources that are likely to have different perspectives on the issues reported. This kind of contrastive analysis should be useful as it can reveal whether or not different alternatives for reporting the same events are available. The media outlets selected for analysis in this research come from the Arab World, Britain, and the United States. The rationale for this selection will be discussed in a following section of this introduction.

To sum up, this research seeks to learn more about the language used to cover the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in media outlets representing Arab, British, and American media. The analysis will use concepts and methods from CDA and CL. In the following section, I will provide an overview of each and discuss issues related to combining them in research.

Critical Discourse Analysis

An Overview

The origin of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) can be traced back to a group of scholars at the University of East Anglia who developed the field of critical linguistics and were interested in investigating the relationships among language, power and, ideology (Blommaert, 2005). One of the salient goals of CDA research is to highlight the relationship between power and discourse by studying how power is represented in current discursive instances and how it

can contribute to long-term shaping of discursive practices. An important dimension in the study of power/discourse relationship is that of access. According to Van Dijk (1996, p. 85), “Power is *based* on privileged access to valued social resources, such as wealth, jobs, status, or indeed, a preferential access to public discourse and communication” (italics in the original). In this sense, discourse is viewed as a valued social resource which is not equally distributed among social groups. Access to the media discourse, for example, is generally restricted to privileged social groups whose views and discursive practices dominate what is presented in the media. The domination of public discourse allows the dominant social groups to maintain control of the minds of other dominated groups either legitimately through persuasion or illegitimately through manipulation (cf. Van Dijk, 2006). Van Dijk believes, however, that “dominance is seldom absolute; it is often *gradual*, and may be met by more or less *resistance* or counter-power by dominated groups” (p. 85). One of the ultimate goals of CDA research is to expose the manipulative strategies adopted by dominant groups to maintain social inequalities and injustices (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Van Dijk, 1996, 2001, 2006).

The mass media, therefore, is one of the primary sites where CDA research explores “the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (van Dijk, 2001a, p. 352). It is mainly through the discursive practices in the mass media that the dominant groups seek to enforce and perpetuate their ideologies (Fairclough, 2001). Yet, it is also through the mass media that dominated groups, provided they get access to it, can challenge the current sociopolitical dominance (Garrett & Bell, 1998).

Another characteristic feature of CDA is that it is a problem-oriented research that is primarily motivated by a social or political problem rather than a linguistic issue (Wodak, 2001). CDA, therefore, is not interested in language for its own sake, but in the linguistic aspect of social processes. The problem-oriented nature of CDA requires that it adopt an interdisciplinary approach which combines concepts and frameworks from different subdisciplines in the humanities and social sciences in order to enhance the analysis by providing much information about the historical, political, and social contexts of the problem under investigation (Van Dijk, 2001b).

One more feature of CDA is its interest in not only the features that are present in the text, but also those that are absent from it, which are believed to be just as significant (Fairclough, 1995; Kress & Leeuwen, 2001). The feature of CDA is based on the view in systemic-functional linguistics of a text as a system of options amongst which the text producer selects what best supports his/her positions (Fairclough, 1995). Revealing some options the text producers did not select are just as important in the ideological study of language as revealing the options they selected since what is excluded or omitted from a text could be deliberately kept away from the readers to control what they know about the subject and hence what their attitudes towards it are. One way to find out what is absent from a text is to conduct contrastive analysis of different texts that might reveal the different options available to present the same thing (e.g., Leeuwe, 1993). The investigation of issues related to the Israeli settlements in news sources from the Arab World, Britain, and the U.S. in the current study hopes to identify the multiple options available to present those same issues and to highlight the selections made by the different text producers.

Among the significant contributions of CDA research is its application of theoretically sophisticated frameworks to practically important issues (Garrett & Bell, 1998). One of the useful frameworks provided by CDA which the current study frequently relies on in interpreting its findings is Van Dijk's (1998b) *ideological square* framework, which outlines the main discursive strategies reflecting the polarized structure of group ideologies. Ideology is defined here as "[the] political or social systems of ideas, values or prescriptions of groups or other collectivities, and have the function of organizing or legitimating the actions of the group" (Van Dijk, 1998b, p. 3). According to Van Dijk (1998b, p. 25), when conflicting group interests are involved, the typical content of group ideologies tends to be structured in a polarized way: "Self and Others, Us and Them ... We are Good and They are Bad".

Table 1.1

In-Group/Out-Group Polarized Representation (Based on Van Dijk, 1998b)

Positive in-group representation	Negative out-group representation
1. Emphasizing the good properties /actions	1. Emphasizing the bad properties /actions
2. Mitigating the bad properties /actions	2. Mitigating the good properties /actions

This polarized structure of ideologies is sometimes realized discursively in a polarized representation of the in-group members (or their friends and allies) and the out-group members (or their friends and allies). The in-group members and their friends or allies receive positive representation, but the out-group members and their friends or allies receive negative representation. The discursive strategies adopted to realize this polarized representation are summarized in table 1.1 According to the ideological square model, a positive self or in-group representation is a result of emphasizing the good properties /actions of the in-group members and mitigating their bad properties /actions. On the other hand, the out-group members receive

negative representation as a result of emphasizing their bad properties /actions and mitigating their good properties /actions. The ideological square framework is used to interpret some of the findings of the research conducted in this dissertation.

The last feature of CDA research that should be pointed out here is its tendency to rely on qualitative research methods. As pointed out above, the emphasis of CDA research on going beyond the text being analyzed by incorporating thick analysis of the social, political, and historical contexts, in addition to its close analysis that seeks to account for what is present as well as what is absent from the text, required that the research be mainly conducted via qualitative research methods (Barker & Galasinski, 2001) using small sample of texts (Fairclough, 1992, p. 230). This practice, however, was a source of some criticisms against CDA methodology. The criticisms leveled against CDA are summarized in the following section.

Criticisms Leveled at CDA Methodology

Several criticisms have been leveled at the methodology adopted by CDA research. The most severe ones came from Henry Widdowson in a series of articles (Widdowson, 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 2003), in which he argues that many of the concepts and analytical models of CDA are vague and that the mere rhetorical use of popular concepts from the social sciences does not help make them clear. He also raises questions about the objectivity of CDA analysts and the representativeness of the data they select for analysis. Similar criticisms have been expressed by Sharrok and Anderson (1981), Schegloff (1997), Wetherell (1998), Billing and Schegloff (1999), and Verschueren (2001). One criticism they all seem to share is that CDA analysts tend to select texts that are more likely to yield results that conform to their own preconceptions. Sharrok and Anderson (1981, p. 291), for example, ironically state that Kress and Fowler and

their colleagues “look in the wrong place for something, then complain that they can’t find it, and suggest that it is being concealed from them.” Similar criticisms even came from within the field of critical linguistics, the predecessor of CDA. Fowler (1996), the founder of critical linguistics, admits that there are still major problems with the qualitative methods of critical linguistics. One of the problems he points out is that even though CDA analysts have investigated a wide range of texts, these texts tend to be fragmentary and exemplificatory.

Finally, another set of constructive criticisms have been voiced by Michael Stubbs, who describes himself as a ‘basically sympathetic’ critic of CDA (Stubbs, 1994, 1997). One of Stubbs’s concerns is that CDA’s interpretations of texts are not based on standard criteria that can be replicated and tested for reliability. Even though CDA analysts emphasize the difficulty of mechanically reading ideology off texts based on the existence of certain forms, they often list linguistic features that are likely to have some ideological significance (e.g., Fairclough, 1989; Fowler, 1991) and make conclusions about ideology based on them. One form that CDA analysts (e.g., Van Dijk, 1998b) commonly refer to as being ideologically manipulative is the agentless passive, which can be manipulatively used to conceal human agency. Agentless passive, however, can also be used because the agent is not important, because it is clear from the context, or because it is mentioned earlier in the text (Stubbs, 1997). Stubbs argues that when CDA analysts are making conclusions based only on the existence of such forms, they are using their own “unexplicated knowledge” to reach findings that cannot be easily verified by other researchers. Finally, with regards to the data used by CDA, Stubbs points out that not much data is analyzed and that CDA analysts hardly provide any justification for this. Even in the case of studies using relatively large corpora of texts (e.g., Wodak, 1996b), there is still a question “of

the sense in which the data fragments cited in individual articles illustrate or represent the larger corpus” (Stubbs, 1997, p. 108).

In spite of these weaknesses, Stubbs believes that CDA raises important social issues and that it is worthwhile trying to strengthen its analyses (Stubbs, 1997, p. 101). One of his proposals to do this is that CDA analysts need to use a relatively large corpus of representative texts so that they can safely make some generalizations about a typical language use. He also suggests the need to study a wider range of linguistic features and to compare findings across corpora. Comparisons can be between corpora in different languages (e.g., Galasinski & Marley, 1998) or between the specialized corpus under investigation and a general corpus that better reflects the conventional norms of the language (e.g., Orpin, 2005).

To sum up, criticisms against CDA methodology stem from two main issues: the arbitrary selection of texts and the analysis of a small number of texts or text fragments. These criticisms raise questions about the representativeness of the texts selected for analysis and the possibility of revealing reliable patterns and tendencies based on the small texts or text fragments analyzed. As suggested by Stubbs (1997), the use of corpus linguistics methodology can help address these two weaknesses by providing the tools necessary to analyze large samples of text. The following section gives an overview of corpus linguistics and discusses issues related to using it in combination with CDA.

Corpus Linguistics

An Overview

Corpus linguistics (CL) research utilizes a variety of quantitative as well as qualitative methods explore large collections of electronically stored texts that occur in natural contexts (Baker et al, 2008, p. 274). The texts in a corpus are usually collected using principled

approaches to ensure that the texts assembled are representative of some language or language variety (Leech, 1992, p. 116). Corpus methods also share the fact that they use specialized computer programs which facilitate the identification of patterns of language use in a larger database than could be handled manually (Biber, Conrad & Reppen, 1998, p. 4). Even though CL is sometimes viewed as an independent discipline (e.g., Tognini-Bonelli, 2001), it is more often considered a research method that can be utilized to explore many areas of linguistic research (McEnery, Xiao & Tono, 2006). As stated above, it is increasingly believed that CDA can also benefit from corpus-based methods mainly because such methods can facilitate the analysis of a large database of representative texts. Before discussing some issues related to combining CDA and CL, a brief discussion of what a large database of texts means is in order.

Corpus Size in Discourse Studies

In the field of corpus linguistics, a collection of texts (a corpus) that aims to be representative of a certain genre or text type, such as newspaper language or academic prose, is called a specialized corpus (Hunston, 2002, p. 14). The question of how large a specialized corpus should be does not have one straightforward answer. One important consideration, however, is that the corpus should contain a range of texts that is wide enough to be maximally representative of the language variety it is supposed to represent (McEnery, Xiao, & Tono, 2006, p. 15). A corpus that is meant to represent written academic English, for example, should contain balanced samples from different disciplines and by different authors in order to reflect the diversity that exists within the academic prose genre (cf. Biber, Conrad & Reppen, 1998, p. 246-253). Baker (2006, p. 28) also points out that when building a corpus to investigate the discursive construction of a particular subject an important consideration is not the size of the corpus, but how frequent we expect the subject we are investigating to occur within it. Stubbs

(1996), for example, was able to identify a pattern of sexist language in two short letters, 330 and 550 words, written by Baden-Powell founder of the Boy Scouts Association based on the frequent uses of the words *happy* and *happiness*. Similarly, Shalom (1997) was also able to find typical patterns in a relatively small corpus of personal advertisements, which contained approximately 20,000 words. In his book on using corpora in discourse analysis, Baker (2006) utilized a number of specialized corpora, none of which was over 200,000 words. For the purpose of the current research, three corpora were used each was meant to be representative of the language used by the news website it is compiled from to represent the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Each corpus contains whole news articles on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict extending over a period of twenty seven months. The word number in each corpus (approximately 1.7 m, 700,000, and 300,000) is large enough to ensure the emergence of typical patterns.

Combining Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics

Problems Facing This Combination

Even though corpus-based methods have been quite successful in fields like lexicography, grammatical description, and register variation (McEnery & Wilson, 2001), CL has not been intensively used to study features of discourse (Partington, 2003). Leech (2000, p. 678-680) attributes this to a “cultural divide” between the traditions of corpus linguistics and discourse analysis, resulting from five main differences between the two: while DA emphasizes the use of complete texts, CL tends to use representative samples that do not have to be complete texts; while in DA the data is often collected, transcribed, and analyzed by the same person, different people are normally involved in the case of CL; while DA analysts tend not to make their data widely available (because of the assumption that only the data collector and transcriber has in-depth knowledge of it), many people usually have access to CL data; while DA tends to

rely on qualitative analysis tools (e.g., Altis.ti), CL uses computational tools that allow the quantitative manipulation of data in order to capture the formally recognizable patterns in texts (e.g., Wordsmith Tools 4.0); and while DA tends to focus on aspects of language that are typically interactional or non-grammatical (e.g., turn-taking, repair, and discourse markers), CL tends to extract many instances of individual grammatical and lexical features which could then be qualitatively analyzed in more depth.

Several problems have been pointed out regarding the use of corpus-based techniques in (critical) discourse analysis. One concern is that corpus-based approaches are too broad and would not allow a close analysis of the texts under investigation. Fairclough (1992) argues that the conception of discourse and the view of the analysis he presented are particularly suited for the detailed analysis of a small number of samples. Fowler and Kress (1979) also believe that “critical interpretation requires historical knowledge and sensitivity, which can be possessed by human beings but not by machines” (p. 68). Fowler also (1991) argues that “there is no analytic routine through which a text can be run, with a critical description issuing automatically at the end” (p. 197).

Another concern about the use of corpus-based methods in CDA has to do with the possible loss of meaning due to the use of computers. Hunston (2002, p. 110) points out that some discourse analysts avoid using corpus techniques because by analyzing a number of texts simultaneously, CL tends to treat texts as autonomous entities, thus obscuring important contextual information such as information about the text producer and the social context in which they were produced. In addition, Koller and Mautner (2004) state that many of the non-verbal properties of the text, such as pictures and layout, tend to be lost when converting it to a computer-readable format. To CDA researchers, this is a great loss in semiotic richness.

What Can CL Contribute to CDA?

Notwithstanding the issues raised against combining CL and (critical) discourse analysis, the “cultural divide” between the two traditions has been significantly diminishing (McEnery, Xiao, & Tono, 2006), and the use of CL is now largely believed to benefit discourse studies (Baker, 2006). McEnery and Wilson (2001) observe that discourse analysis and corpus linguistics have two things in common: the use of computer techniques as analytical aids and the potential of using standard corpora as control data for DA. In response to the complaint that corpus methods are too broad, Partington (1998) argues that this is like complaining that a telescope allows us to look at faraway objects rather than providing a close-up study of them like a microscope. In the same regard, Kenny (2001) views corpus methods more like a kaleidoscope since they allow textual patterns to come into focus then recede when others take their place. As for the complaint that the use of the computer causes the loss of many of the contextual elements, Partington (2004) points out that “specialized (or monogeneric) corpora make discourse study feasible since, in a collection of texts of similar type, the interactional processes and the contexts they take place in remain reasonably constant, or at least alter in relatively predictable ways” (p. 13).

While acknowledging what corpus linguistics can or cannot do (Baker, 2006), it is increasingly believed that “even the crudest techniques of corpus linguistics can make useful contribution to the study of discourse from a critical perspective” (Koller & Mautner, 2004, p. 218). Frequency lists, which might be considered the crudest CL technique, can offer “a means to survey the whole corpus of data and to gain a sense of the flavor of the data” (Silverman, 1993, p. 163). Frequency lists can also help in studying the patterns of lexical choices, which usually have ideological implications (Fairclough, 1989; Stubbs, 1996; Van Dijk, 1998b).

Another corpus-based technique, collocation lists, can also help CDA researchers reveal “the ideology coded implicitly behind the overt propositions” (Fowler, 1996, p. 3). *Collocation* is “a lexical relation between two or more words which have a tendency to co-occur within a few words of each other in running text” (Stubbs, 2001, p. 24). Analyzing collocation lists can reveal how a word can acquire meanings that are different from or even at odds with its literal one as a result of its patterns of association with some other words over a large amount of text (Hunston, 2002). Finally, CDA research can greatly benefit from the use of concordancers, “software programs whose primary purpose is to display words or simple grammatical items with their surrounding context” (Conrad, 1999, p. 2). Concordances, which allow the expansion of the context of keyword up to a whole text if necessary, can provide the analyst with sufficient contextual elements to recreate the whole context (Brown and Yule, 1982).

Doing CDA with the aid of CL techniques, therefore, is not only possible, but can be quite valuable. In the following section I will review some of the studies that have utilized corpus techniques to investigate the relationship between language and ideology.

Brief Survey of Studies Combining CL and CDA

Corpus-based CDA studies have generally focused on the grammatical and lexical choices that could have ideological implications (Orpin, 2005). Studies that focused on grammatical choices include Stubbs (1992; 1994; 1996), Stubbs and Gerbig (1993), Galasinski and Marley (1998), and Jeffries (2003). Stubbs (1992), for example, demonstrated how language reflects sexism in the society by studying the use of the generic pronoun *he*—which is used to refer to male and female—as opposed to other non-sexist choices after words like *someone*, *somebody*, *anyone*, *anybody* in a corpus of spoken educated British English compiled in the 1960s. Even though the results showed that the non-sexist *they* and *he or she* patterns were

much more common, Stubbs concluded that the overall distribution of pronouns was still sexist because the generic *he* was used in six cases, while *she* was never used, to refer to hypothetical or unknown persons.

In addition to the study of pronoun choices, several other studies focused on transitivity choices. Stubbs and Gerbig (1993) examined transitivity choices in a corpus of a secondary school book on the physical and human geography of Britain. Stubbs (1994) compared these choices in a geography textbook corpus and an Australian secondary school textbook on the ozone layer. In both studies, findings were compared with the more standard norms of the language by looking at similar data from the LOB (Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen) corpus, which consists of texts from a range of different genres. Transitivity choices are also investigated in Galasinsky and Marley's (1998) study of the representation of the foreign in British and Polish media and in Jeffries' (2003) study of the coverage of the 1995 Yorkshire drought in a corpus of local newspapers.

More corpus-based CDA studies focused on the ideological implications of certain lexical choices in the text. Caldas-Coulthard (1993), for example, studied the representation of women in a corpus of British newspapers by looking at the frequency counts of words like *Mr.*, *Mrs.*, *spokesman*, *spokeswoman*, *chairman*, and *chairwoman*. Similarly, Hardt-Mautner (1995) studied the representation of the EU in a corpus of British newspapers by analyzing the concordance lines for the personal pronoun *you* and for a key news actor *Jacques Delors*, President of EU Commission. Krishnamurthy (1996) studied the use of the words *ethnic*, *racial*, and *tribal* in the COBUILD corpus. Similar studies include Alexander's (1999) investigation of ecological issues in a corpus of business texts, and Bayley's (1999) study of British parliamentary debates on European integration.

A number of corpus-based ideology studies followed Stubbs's (1996) approach of keyword analysis. As observed by Hunston (2002), these studies typically selected salient or high frequent words to be the focus of the study. Researchers would then identify the collocates that tend to associate with these keywords and the typical patterns or phrases in which they tend to occur. The last step was to draw conclusions about the semantic prosodies and grammatical and semantic roles of these keywords. This information would then be used "in the identification of salient concepts, of inconsistencies and sites of conflict, of difference and of change" (Hunston, p. 120). Examples of studies following this analytical routine include Flowerdew's (1997) study of Chris Patten's colonial withdrawal discourse, Fairclough's (2000) analysis of a corpus of documents produced by the New Labour British political party, Piper's (2000a) study of *lifelong learning*, and Piper's (2000b) analysis of the keywords *individuals* and *people*. More recently, keywords studies (e.g., Baker & Gabrielatos, 2008) started relying on the automatic identification of keywords using software packages like Scott's (2004) Wordsmith Tools.

One thing that this brief survey of studies shows is that incorporating corpus-based methods in the study of language ideology has significantly changed the nature of CDA inquiry. Whereas traditional CDA methodology allows the researcher to simultaneously study or pick instances of different textual features involving an ideological use of the language, corpus-based methods can only allow the focus on one textual feature at a time. Of course, one reason for this is the much greater amount of data corpus methodology is applied to. When analyzing one or a few text samples, it is easier to manually analyze every sentence and identify all instances of lexical, grammatical, and/or structural aspects of ideological use. In the studies outline above, on the other hand, the analysts had to decide on a limited number of grammatical or lexical features

to investigate in a large corpus of texts (e.g., pronoun use, transitivity, specific lexical items ...etc.).

In spite of this limitation, the application of corpus methods in these studies has made some significant contributions that addressed some of the major criticisms leveled at CDA. In addition to allowing the investigation of a more representative database of texts, the use of corpus methods has incorporated an empirical dimension that enhanced the objectivity of the analysis and the interpretation (Conrad, 2002; Hardt-Mautner, 1995; Haarman et al. 2002). Even in studies in which researchers select what to focus on based on intuition or based on what other studies have found, the use of the computer to extract the data ensures that the evidence is comprehensive and would not exclude instances that might be inconvenient for the researcher's presuppositions (Sinclair, 1991). This comprehensive nature of the corpus evidence makes its results much more generalizable than the results of traditional CDA analysis, which could only be applicable to the texts selected for analysis. Another important benefit of the empirical dimension added by corpus methods is the easier replication of corpus-based CDA studies by applying the same technique to the same or similar corpora used in previous research.

In summary, the techniques of corpus linguistics can be quite useful for CDA research. One of the major interests of CDA is to identify the lexical and grammatical choices in a text and to correlate these choices to the ideological presuppositions of the producer(s) of that text. Corpus techniques such as keyword analysis, concordances, and collocate finders can significantly facilitate this task. In addition, such automated techniques made it possible to examine larger corpora and to compare results across corpora, thus enabling CDA research to address questions regarding the representativeness of the texts used and the validity of the results obtained.

Current Study

Major Goals

This research has two major goals: a methodological goal and a practical one. Methodologically, this study hopes to contribute to the body of research utilizing the tools of corpus linguistics in doing critical discourse analysis. Corpus-based techniques that are used here include frequency lists, keyword lists, collocation lists, collocation grids, and concordancers. This research aims to provide more evidence about how each of these tools has something to contribute to the study of discourse. Practically, this study hopes to contribute to our understanding of the language used to represent the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in media outlets in three different areas of the world: the Middle East, Europe, and the United States. The media coverage of any conflict plays an important role in what audiences know about it and what attitudes they have towards its participants. This knowledge and these attitudes could either be a part of the solution to a given conflict, or they could be a part of the problem. By employing research methods from corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis, the current research aims to identify some of the strategies frequently employed by news media to manipulate the representation of the conflict in ways that reflect their own attitudes and ideologies.

Choice of Media Outlets to Study

The news outlets selected for this research are: CNN from the United States, Al-Jazeera from Qatar, and the BBC from Britain. This choice is based on two public surveys of media credibility. The most recent one was conducted by the Global Public Opinion and Stakeholder Research (Globescan, 2006) on behalf the BBC and Reuters. The Globescan survey was conducted in ten nations, including the United States, Britain, and Egypt. Among the findings that concern this study is what participants spontaneously pointed out as the most trusted source

of news in each one of these countries. In the United States, CNN and Fox News received the highest rates, each mentioned by 11% of the respondents. In Britain, BBC was mentioned by 32% and comes on top of the list. In Egypt, 55% of the respondents named Al-Jazeera network as their most trusted news source.

In order to choose between Fox News and the CNN, which had equal ratings in the Globescan survey, I checked the results of an earlier survey conducted by the PEW Research Center (PEW, 2004). This survey also included information about a participant's political affiliation, mainly Democrat, Republican, or Independent. The results showed that Fox News was the most trusted news source for Republicans. However, Fox News did not appear in the top six most trusted news sources for either Democrats or Independents. On the other hand, the CNN appeared on top of the list of most trusted news sources for the Democrats and came in the second position in the lists elicited from Republicans and Independents. The CNN was, therefore, selected as more representative of American media.

The research reported here, therefore, was conducted on three corpora compiled from the online archives on the websites of Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and the CNN news networks. In the case of Al-Jazeera, the corpus will be compiled from their Arabic website, not the English one. One reason for using Arabic and not English data from Al-Jazeera is that I wanted to capture the type of language directed at native Arabic speakers, which might differ from that directed at a broader international audience. Similarly, in the case of the BBC and the CNN, the corpora will be compiled from the local editions of their website which target local rather than international audiences.

Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of three distinct but interrelated articles. Each article has its own introduction, analysis, and results sections required of a stand-alone research paper, but they are all part of the same research project and they all use corpus-based techniques to study the representation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the three news corpora compiled from Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and the CNN. The two general questions addressed in these articles are:

1. What topics tend to recur in the coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict on Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and the CNN news websites?
2. How are the important issues in the conflict represented in each corpus?

Chapter 2 is mainly concerned with the first question. In this chapter, I conduct an exploratory investigation of the various topics that tend to recur in the coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This analysis is done with the assistance of the keyword function of Scott's (2004) Wordsmith Tools 4.0 software package. The software compares each study corpus with an appropriate reference corpus and produces a list of the words that are key in the study corpus because they occur at a significantly higher frequency than would be expected by chance. The resulting keyword lists are analyzed and compared, providing a preliminary picture of what topics tend to be emphasized or downplayed on each news website. The resulting keywords are grouped under five different categories representing different but interrelated aspects of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Chapter 3 explores in more detail one of the key topics that appeared in the keyword analysis of chapter 2—the issue of terrorism. In this chapter, I use data from frequency lists, collocation lists, collocation networks, and concordances to investigate the use of the word *terrorism* in each of the three corpora. The patterns of use of the word *terrorism* reveal three

different orientations towards the conflict. These are discussed in light of the CDA concept of group ideologies (Van Dijk, 1998b).

Chapter 4 explores some other key issues in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict using the keywords *occupation* and *settlements*. In this chapter, I initially use frequency data of words in the *occupation* word family. The resulting frequency data shows that the occupation theme is emphasized on Al-Jazeera, downplayed on CNN, and is somewhere in between on the BBC. The chapter also relies heavily on analyzing concordance lines of the word settlements in each corpus and incorporates important historical information about the Israeli settlements in order to understand how the language representing them in the media could be manipulative. The themes in which the word *settlements* occurs are identified and the ways each theme is represented in each corpus are discussed mainly in light of Van Dijk's (1998b) ideological square framework.

Finally, **Chapter 5** is a general conclusion which provides a summary of the research findings, outlines contributions of this dissertation, discusses implications, and highlights some future directions and recommendations for subsequent research.

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CHAPTER 2

KEY TOPICS IN THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT ON AL-JAZEERA, BBC, AND CNN NEWS WEBSITES: CORPUS-BASED KEY-KEYWORD ANALYSIS

Introduction

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is one of the longest in modern history. The ramifications of its daily events go well beyond the clashing parties and attract the attention of millions of people in many parts of the world. It is also extremely violent, continuously involving killing, assassination, injury, house demolition, and imprisonment. Since the eruption of the Aqsa Intifada in September 2000 until June 2008, 4862 Palestinians have been killed by Israelis, and 1057 Israelis have been killed by Palestinians (Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories [B'TSELEM], 2008). It is routinely categorized as a complex conflict that is resistant to peaceful solutions. Dowty (2008, p. 222) calls it “the perfect conflict” that has a “self-generating power for continued devastation and destruction” because each of its two sides has a strong sense of victimhood and a strong belief that it is in the right. Rouhana and Bar-Tal (1998, p. 761) consider it a typical example of “intractable ethnonational conflicts” that resist resolution because they are concerned with basic needs of survival such as security and recognition. Countless books and articles, especially in the fields of political science and communication, have been written to address different aspects of this conflict. To date, however, the linguistic features of its representation in the media remain largely underexplored. This article reports on the first part of a larger project aiming to partially bridge this gap by studying how the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is represented in major news outlets in the Arab world, Britain, and the United States, each of which is, as explained below, related to the conflict in a special and different way. The media in these countries are playing a crucial role in shaping as

well as responding to people's attitudes towards the conflict. An in-depth comparative study of the media coverage of the conflict is, therefore, essential for understanding the issues that make it "intractable" and resistant to peaceful resolution.

Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics

This research is mainly informed by the theoretical and methodological concepts of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and corpus linguistics (CL). CDA is primarily interested in studying "the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (van Dijk, 2001, p. 352). From a CDA perspective, discourse constitutes society and culture and is constituted by them, discourse does ideological work, and discourse is historical (Wodak, 1996, p. 17-20). According to the first principle, media discourses related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are expected to be substantially different and to have a different effect in America, the Arab world, and Britain since they are produced in different societies and cultures. According to the second principle, these discourses are expected to reflect different ideologies, defined here as "[the] political or social systems of ideas, values or prescriptions of groups or other collectivities, and have the function of organizing or legitimating the actions of the group" (van Dijk, 1998, p. 3). According to the third principle, these discourses will only become meaningful "if we recognize their embedding in a certain culture and ideology, and most importantly, if we know what the discourse relates to in the past" (Wodak, p. 19). CDA, therefore, positions itself as an interdisciplinary field that combines perspectives from multiple disciplines to enrich its detailed analysis of traditionally a small sample of texts.

The current research is also informed by corpus-based approaches which have been successfully used in combination with traditional CDA methods (e.g., Baker et al., 2008;

Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008). Corpus-based studies perform quantitative as well as qualitative analysis of actual patterns of use occurring in a large and principled collection of natural texts called a “corpus” with the help of a computer (Biber, Conrad & Reppen, 1998, p. 4). Employing corpus techniques in examining the issues of ideology and power in texts was mainly in response to two criticisms leveled against CDA methodology: the arbitrary selection of texts (Koller & Mautner, 2004) and the analysis of a small number of texts (e.g., Stubbs, 1994). The first criticism casts doubts about the representativeness of the texts selected for analysis, and the second raises questions about the possibility of revealing reliable patterns and tendencies based on the small texts or text fragments analyzed. Using corpus-based methodology can be quite useful in detecting emerging patterns (e.g., collocation lists), pinpointing areas that warrant further in-depth analysis (e.g., keyword lists), and assisting qualitative contextualized analysis (e.g., expandable concordances) (Baker et al., 2008). This paper utilizes the corpus-based keyword technique as a starting point for identifying the important issues in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict which will be individually investigated in more depth in the next parts of this ongoing project. In other words, before analyzing how the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is represented in American, Arab, and British media, this paper will first explore what these media write or not write about when covering the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Before discussing the findings of the keyword analysis, this paper will outline a brief historical overview of the conflict; survey relevant literature on the coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in American, Arab, and British media; and explain the theoretical and methodological frameworks adopted in this study.

Historical Overview

The roots of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can be traced back to the late nineteenth century when Zionism emerged as a national Jewish movement aiming to solve the problems of European Jewry by establishing “an overwhelmingly, if not homogenously, Jewish state in Palestine” (Finkelstein, 2003, p. xi), which was then part of the former Ottoman Empire. The major turning point for the Zionist movement came during World War 1 when Britain, which was to become the de facto ruler of Palestine after the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire in the war, issued the 1917 Balfour Declaration, undertaking to “facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people” (cited in Chomsky, 1999, p. 90). At the beginning of the British mandate, however, the vast majority of the inhabitants of Palestine were Arab Muslims (650,000) and Christians (80,000), and Jews were only about 7.5% (60,000) of the population (Pappe, 2006a, p. 73). Faced with this demographic dilemma, Zionists had three main options to achieve their goal: the way of South Africa, a settler minority ruling over an exploited native majority; the way of partition, dividing Palestine into Jewish and Arab parts; and the way of transfer of all or most of the Arabs (Morris, 2007, p. 39-40).

The transfer option was adopted during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, which erupted following the termination of the British mandate and the declaration of the independence of the state of Israel. An Israeli military plan known as *Plan Dalet* was already in place for carrying out the systematic expulsion of the Palestinians using “large-scale intimidation; laying siege to and bombarding villages and population centers; setting fire to homes, properties and goods; expulsion; demolition; and, finally, planting mines among the rubble to prevent any of the expelled inhabitants from returning” (Pappe, 2006b, p. xii). By the end of the war, Israel was in possession of 78% of the Palestinian land (Dowty, 2008), close to 800,000 Palestinians “had

been uprooted, 531 villages destroyed, and eleven urban neighbourhoods emptied of their inhabitants” (Pappe, p. xiii). This was the beginning of the Palestinian refugee problem.

The apartheid option was later adopted in the remaining Palestinian territories when Israel captured the West Bank and Gaza in the 1967 war. Immediately after the war, Israel started a state-sponsored settlement program, creating a network of Jewish settlements and Jewish-only roads connecting them; both settlements and roads are strategically built “to separate Palestinian cities in the West Bank one from the next, carving up the territory into a series of ghettos” (Cook, 2006, p. 140). By the end of 2007, Israel had seized more than 40% of the lands of the West Bank to build settlements that became home to about 462,000 Israeli settlers (B’TSELEEM, 2007).

Political initiatives seeking a peaceful settlement of the conflict have traditionally been called “the peace process”. Since the mid-1970s, there has been a near unanimous international consensus, including many Arab countries and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), calling for a settlement of the conflict based on a two-state solution: an Israeli state on the pre-June 1967 borders and a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza (Chomsky, 1999). This consensus is based on Security Council Resolution 242, which emphasizes “the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war” and calls on Israel to withdraw to its pre-June borders (UN, 1967). UN voting records show that Israel and the United States have consistently rejected this international consensus (Finkelstein, 2005, p. 292-300). This rejection is due mainly to the official Israeli attitude that “the settlements established in the territories are there forever, and the future frontiers will include these settlements as part of Israel” (Dayan 1969, cited in Neumann, 2005, p. 107). The failure of the peace process to offer the Palestinians “a life of dignity and

well-being” (Ben Ami, 2006, p. 264) and “the ever-intensifying process of dispossession” (Neumann, p. 129) led to the second Palestinian intifada in October 2000.

In late 2002, the quartet of the US, the EU, the UN, and Russia proposed another diplomatic initiative, the Roadmap for Peace, which outlined a series of steps that were supposed to lead to the establishment of a Palestinian state in the occupied territories by 2005 (United States Department of State [USDS], 2003). In Israel, the initiative invoked fear that the negotiations mediated by the quartet might lead to major concessions, such as withdrawal to the 1967 borders and the return of some Palestinian refugees to their homes in what is now Israel (Cook, 2006). In response to the Roadmap, former Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon announced a disengagement plan, according to which Israel would unilaterally withdraw from the Gaza Strip as a first step towards a Palestinian state. The plan, however, also involved building a wall in the West Bank that annexed most of the Israeli settlements and the Palestinian lands on which they were built to Israel, thus destroying “any chance of viable Palestinian statehood” on the remaining cantons (Cook, p. 151). Unilateral disengagement, as explained by Sharon’s bureau chief Dov Weisglass, was “the bottle of formaldehyde within which you place the president’s formula [Bush’s Roadmap] so that it will be preserved for a very lengthy period ... It supplies the amount of formaldehyde that’s necessary so that there will not be a political process with the Palestinians” (cited in Cook, p. 150-151).

In addition to freezing the political process, the unilateral disengagement was proposed as a solution to the demographic threat endangering the Zionist project. Jews, who made up 49.5% of the total population in historical Palestine in 2005, are expected to be only 39% in 2020, not taking into account the return of the Palestinian refugees (Soffer, 2008, p. 161). Some attempts were made to overcome the demographic danger by encouraging more Jewish immigration into

Israel. In 2004, for instance, Ariel Sharon tried to attract French Jews to leave by claiming that there was a wave of the “wildest anti-Semitism” in France (Cook, 2006, p. 163). Fearing that the Palestinians would call for a binational state, changing the nature of the conflict “from a struggle against ‘occupation’ . . . to a struggle for one-man-one-vote” (Olmert, 2003, cited in Cook, 2006, p. 103), Israeli demography experts recommended unilateral disengagement from the Palestinians as the most efficient solution “for the sake of its Jewish-Zionist-democratic future” (Soffer, 2008, p. 163). In 2005, Israel completed its disengaging from Gaza and four isolated West Bank settlements. Work on the West Bank wall is still going on at the time of writing this article.

The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in American, Arab, and British Media

Generally, American media are considered pro-Israeli, Arab media are considered pro-Palestinian, and British media are controversially considered somewhere in between. This difference is usually attributed to the different societal powers constraining the practices of the media with regards to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in each one of these areas. In this section, I will briefly survey these constraints and the way they are affecting the coverage of the conflict in each area.

The practices of the mainstream American media are greatly influenced by a powerful Israel lobby, “the loose coalition of individuals and organizations that actively work to shape U.S. foreign policy in a pro-Israel direction” (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2007, p. 112).

Organizations like the American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), the Committee for Accurate Middle East Reporting (CAMERA), and the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) closely monitor news reports to “ensure that the mainstream media’s coverage of Israel and the Middle East consistently favors Israel and does not call U.S. support into question in any way”

(Mearsheimer & Walt, p. 169). Some of the strategies employed by these organizations to discourage unfavorable news reporting on Israel include demonstrations, letter-writing campaigns, withholding subscriptions, and making thousands of angry phone calls when a news story deemed unfavorable of Israel surfaces (Ratzkoff and Jhally, 2004). Due to these campaigns, news reports critical of Israel that may routinely appear in Israeli media are often absent from American media (Friedman, 1987).

Criticisms leveled against American media coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict include dearth of reporting, lack of analysis, absence of images, and lack of voices describing the experience of the Palestinians under the occupation (Ratzkoff and Jhally, 2004). Ratzkoff and Jhally are especially critical of the way American TV news represent violence in the occupied territories—the West bank and Gaza—as Israeli security forces retaliating or defending themselves against violent Palestinian riots. The contextual background that these riots are taking place on occupied land against an illegitimate occupation is consistently missing. Ratzkoff and Jhally also note that words referring to the illegality of the Israeli presence in the West Bank and Gaza like *occupation*, *occupied territories*, and *settlements* are consistently avoided. According to a 2001 report in *The Independent*, CNN sent out a memorandum to its reporters saying “[w]e refer to Gilo as a Jewish neighborhood on the outskirts of Jerusalem ... We don’t refer to it as a settlement” (Fisk, 2001, para. 3). This “blind reflexive love” of the U.S. media for Israel has resulted in a skewed view of the conflict, “has crippled the United States’ ability to make realistic foreign-policy judgments and has undermined U.S. efforts to act as an honest broker in the Mideast” (Friedman, 1987, p. 170).

In the Arab world, on the other hand, the Palestinian problem has been “the single most important political preoccupation for Arabs since World War II” (Zayani, 2005, p. 171). Even

though the official Arab governments have not been seriously involved in the conflict since the 1973 Egyptian-Israeli war, “no other issue resonates with the public in the Arab world, and many other parts of the Muslim world, more deeply than Palestine” (Telhami, 2002, p. 96). The Israeli-Palestinian conflict, therefore, is a top priority for Arab satellite channels which seized the opportunity of the second Palestinian Intifada to increase their popularity by providing a detailed coverage of the daily events of the Intifada (Zayani, 2005). The advent of Arab satellite channels ended the Arab governments’ monopoly over information and “opened an unprecedented outlet for scenes of the ferocity of Israeli practices against the Palestinians” (El Tounsy, 2002, para. 9).

The channel that had the most significant impact is Al-Jazeera, which positions itself as a counter-force to the official Arab indifference towards the plight of the Palestinians and to the pro-Israeli Western media (Zayani, 2005). According to Zayani, airing raw footage of the suffering of the Palestinians under the massive Israeli war machine on Al-Jazeera provoked intense Arab public fury and highlighted the helplessness of the Arab regimes when it comes to Middle East politics, thus evoking sharp criticism against the governments for failing to support the Palestinian cause. The channel also positions itself as a counterforce to the dominating Western perspective on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It sees its contribution to journalism in “adding the Arab perspective which has been missing” (Zayani, p. 178). In response to the criticism that Al-Jazeera uses the word “martyr” to refer to Palestinian civilian victims as well as the so-called suicide bombers, Al-Jazeera D.C. co-anchor Ghida Fakhry said:

Anyone you speak to in the Middle East will tell you American TV is definitely biased. You will never find the word “assassination” in the American press when it is about the Israeli policy of assassinating political activists. It is always called a targeted killing.
(cited in Zayani, p. 178)

Finally, there is more disagreement about the way British media report the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Generally, news coverage in the UK is believed to provide greater breadth of perspective and more accurate reporting than in the US (de Rooij, 2002). Ratzkoff and Jhally (2004) claim that while American media ignore referring to the occupation as the main cause of the clashes in the Palestinian territories, British media highlight the fact that the clashes are taking place on occupied lands; and while American media refer to some Israeli settlements as “Jewish neighborhoods”, British media highlight the illegality of the settlements and their key role in the conflict. Some materials produced by British media—like a BBC documentary implicating Ariel Sharon on the Sabra and Shatila massacres—are very unlikely to appear in American media for fear of criticism, possible litigation, or loss of advertising revenue (de Rooij, 2002). De Rooij expects the BBC to be committed to more even-handed reporting on the Middle East simply because “it doesn't depend on advertising revenue, and the pro-Israeli groups in the UK aren't as well organized as in the US” (de Rooij, para. 2).

British media are not without critics, however. De Rooij (2002), for instance, believes that the news coverage of the main British broadcaster, the BBC, favors the Israeli agenda as a result of intense pressure and lobbying from the British government which has some say in “the news coverage, the appointment of key staff, and even in its budget” (para. 2). One of the aspects of bias listed by de Rooij is that the coverage is generally stripped of important historical context like the Balfour Declaration, in which “Britain signed away Palestinian land to create a Jewish homeland”, and the subsequent calamities that affected the Palestinians in 1948 and 1967 (de Rooij, para. 4). He also argues that the BBC considers Israeli deaths more important than Palestinian deaths since more extended coverage is devoted to reporting Israeli casualties than to reporting the greater numbers of Palestinian casualties. De Rooij also notes that the BBC uses

some words that favor Israel. Examples include referring to Israeli violence as *retaliation* and to Palestinian violence as *terrorism*, using the Israeli preferred words *targeted killings* instead of *assassination*, and using the word *killed* to refer to Israeli casualties and the word *die* to refer to Palestinian casualties. Interestingly, the BBC recently issued a glossary of terminology and facts about the conflict as a guide for its reporters to avoid this kind of bias in language. Out of this glossary, 24 terms were made available for the public in October 2006 (BBC, 2006). Barkho (2008), however, could still detect some lexical bias in a corpus of BBC online reports; for example, “the Palestinians Israeli forces kill or injure, as well as their activities, fall invariably under the lexical category of ‘militancy’” (p. 283). Barkho also detects a pro-Israel bias in the way the BBC uses nominalization and transitivity in titles to hide the responsibility of the Israelis for Palestinian deaths. This is typically done by foregrounding the Palestinians (placing them in the subject position) while entirely deleting the actual doer of the action, as in the example “*Palestinian militants shot dead*” (Barkho, p. 286).

For the purpose of the research reported in this article, the CNN, Al-Jazeera, and the BBC news websites have been selected as representatives of American, Arab, and British media respectively. This selection is based on two public surveys of media credibility. The first was conducted in ten nations, including the United States, Britain, and Egypt (Globescan, 2006). Of relevance to this study is what participants in these three countries spontaneously pointed out as the most trusted source of news. CNN and Fox News received the highest rates in the United States, each mentioned by 11% of the respondents; the BBC received the highest rates in Britain, mentioned by 32%; and Al-Jazeera received the highest rates in Egypt, mentioned by 55%. The CNN, not Fox News, was selected to represent US media because an earlier survey conducted in the United States (PEW Research Center, 2004) revealed that the CNN attracts a broader range

of audience. The survey, which included information about participants' political affiliations, showed that CNN was the most trusted source of news for Democrats, and it was second on the list for Republicans and Independents. Fox News, on the other hand, was on top of the Republicans' list, but it was not among the top six for either Democrats or Independents. Finally, the reason the news websites of these three networks were used as a source of data for this project is the finding of some recent surveys that the internet is increasingly becoming a preferred source of news. A recent Zogby survey, for instance, shows that nearly half Americans (48%) consider the internet their primary source of news, and 86% regard websites as more important source of news than traditional news outlets (Zogby, 2008).

Theoretical and Methodological Frameworks

The basic question this article is trying to answer is "What topics tend to recur in the coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict on Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and the CNN?" Van Dijk (1991) points out several benefits of identifying the topics of news reports. One benefit is that topical analysis provides an overview of what is covered or not covered in the press regarding the issue in question, which is a necessary step before delving into deeper analyses of specific issues. Topical analysis can also reveal much about the psychology and sociology of news-making, as it reflects what news-makers consider to be the most newsworthy elements of a certain event; and since decisions of newsworthiness depend on many factors, topical analysis can "manifest complex networks of professional, social and cultural ideologies" (p. 72). Finally, from the reader's perspective, topics are usually the best recalled information because they represent the most important information in the text.

Propositional Analysis of Text

One way of identifying the important topics in a text is to carry out a detailed propositional analysis. In a number of studies (e.g., Kintsch & van Dijk, 1978), identifying the “topics of discourse” was done by first deconstructing the text into its component propositions, or the meanings derived from all the sentences in the text, and then arranging these propositions into a hierarchy of “importance” based on how often each proposition is referred to by other propositions in the text. Two of the rules used in this process are *generalization*, which allows multiple propositions to be replaced by one proposition that summarizes their meanings, and *deletion*, which allows for the deletion of irrelevant details because they are not referred to by other propositions. At the end of the process, what is left is a hierarchy of “macro-propositions” or “topics” which summarize the overall meaning of the text (van Dijk, 1991, p. 72). One advantage of this process of propositional analysis is that it can produce fairly accurate text summaries. The detailed manual analysis involved, however, makes it difficult to apply to a large corpus of texts.

Automated Keyword and Key-Keyword Analysis

The current study employs the automated keyword and key-keyword techniques (Scott, 2004) to identify the recurrent topics in the coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Scott and Tribble (2006, p. 55-56) define keyness as “a quality words may have in a given text or set of texts, suggesting that they are important, they reflect what the text is really about, avoiding trivia and insignificant detail”. Similar to propositional analysis, the keyword procedure assumes that “a word-form which is repeated a lot within the text in question will be more likely to be key in it” (p. 58). Identifying which words are key in a particular text or set of texts, therefore, is done by comparing the *observed* frequency of each word in the text or corpus under investigation to its

frequency in a much larger reference corpus that can indicate the *expected* frequency of a given word in the language or genre in question. A word is considered key if its observed frequency in the study text or corpus is outstandingly higher than its frequency in the reference corpus.

Probability statistics tests which are usually used to calculate keyness include the chi-square test of significance and the Dunning's (1993) log likelihood test. In addition to considering the frequency of each word in the study corpus and its frequency in the reference corpus, both tests consider the number of running words in the small corpus as well as the number of running words in the reference corpus. According to Scott (2004), the log likelihood test "gives a better estimate of keyness, especially when contrasting long texts or a whole genre against your reference corpus" (p. 124). For the purpose of the current study, keyness is automatically calculated by the Wordsmith Tools 4.0 (Scott, 1998) software package using the log likelihood statistical test. The help manual of the program (Scott, 2004), however, does not provide the specific statistical formula used to calculate keyness.

Three types of words tend to show up in corpus-based keyword lists: true keywords, which show the "aboutness" of the text; stylistic words, grammatical words which show the style of the writer rather than what the text is about; and proper nouns (Scott, 2004). One problem that might arise when the study corpus is made of multiple texts is that some words can show up as keywords not because they are pervasive in the whole corpus but because they are idiosyncratically overused in one or very few texts (Baker, 2004). This problem can be solved by using the key-keyword technique which allows the researcher to view how many texts a word is key at and decide on a cut-off point for the words to be included in the analysis. Another advantage of the key-keyword technique is that it provides a list of associates for every key keyword on the list. Associates are words that are key in the same texts as the key keyword, and

thus they can provide some extra clues as to how the key keyword is used in context (Scott, 2004). On Al-Jazeera key-keyword list for example, two of the strong associates of *terrorism* are *ma* (what) and *sammahu* (he called). This implies that Al-Jazeera reporters often use the word *terrorism* in the context of reporting the comments of some politicians and that they often distance themselves from the use of this evaluative word by using the phrase *what he called* as a pre-modifier.

Methodology

Study Corpora

Table 2.1

General Statistics of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Study Corpora

	Al-Jazeera	BBC	CNN
Number of words	1,681,254	711,787	315,192
Number of news reports	3,903	1704	640
Number of days collected	823	823	823
Average news articles per day	4.74	2.07	0.77
Average article length by words	431	418	492

This research was performed on three study corpora compiled from the news archives on the websites of Al-Jazeera Arabic, the British edition of the BBC, and the U.S. edition of the CNN over a period of 27 months, from October 2002 to December 2005. Assuming that news

reports on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict include a reference to the people and/or the locations involved, the query terms *Israel*, *Israeli(s)*, *Palestine*, and *Palestinian(s)* and their Arabic equivalents were used to access relevant reports. Search results were also manually checked to exclude any reports that are not directly related to the conflict. As shown in table 2.1, there were 3903 relevant reports on Al-Jazeera, 1704 on the BBC, and 640 on the CNN over that period. Every news report was saved in a separate text file in each corpus. The total number of words is 1,681,254 words in Al-Jazeera Arabic corpus, 711,787 words in the BBC English corpus, and 315,192 in the CNN English corpus (see table 2.1 for more details).

Reference Corpora

The Reuters Corpus Volume 1 and Arabic Newswire Part 1 were used as reference corpora. The Reuters consists of 810,000 English language news stories from August 20, 1996 to August 19, 1997 and contains 218 million words. The Arabic Newswire Part1 corpus contains Arabic news articles from the Agence France Presse (AFP) from May 13, 1994 to December 20, 2000, and contains 76 million words. These were only used for the purpose of extracting the key keywords in each of the study corpora. As such, they are deemed appropriate ones to use since they are made of news reports and are large enough to indicate typical frequency of words in the news reports genre.

Key Keywords Extraction and Categorization

Word frequency lists of all the study and reference corpora were first created using the Wordlist function of Wordsmith Tools 4.0 (Scott, 1998). Key keyword lists of the study corpora were then extracted by comparing the BBC and CNN wordlists to the Reuters' and comparing Al-Jazeera wordlist to that of the Arabic Newswire. Only words that were key in 1% or more of the texts were analyzed. These are words that are key in 33 or more texts in Al-Jazeera corpus,

11 or more texts in the BBC corpus, and 5 or more texts in the CNN corpus. Because the focus of this study is on the aboutness of the texts, grammatical words were excluded from the resulting lists before keywords were grouped into semantically similar subsets. The list of associates and the concordance lines (a list of every instance of a word in the corpus with an expandable context) of some key keywords had to be checked before deciding which category the word would fall under. Appropriately descriptive labels of each subset of words were identified and sometimes revised during this process. Even though this way of categorization partially depends on the researcher's background knowledge, it is expected to "yield a richer categorization than when the analyst has set out only to populate categories recognized in an existing theory" (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008, p. 7).

Results and Discussion

Newsworthiness of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

As shown in Table 2.1 as well as Figure 2.1, the general statistical information of the three study corpora reveals some interesting initial findings about the newsworthiness of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The number of Al-Jazeera news articles covering the conflict is more than twice the number of articles devoted to the same issue by the BBC and more than six times the number of articles on the CNN over the same time period. Even though the average article length on the CNN is slightly higher than that of the articles from Al-Jazeera and the BBC, the total number of words still shows that Al-Jazeera devotes significantly larger space to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict than the BBC and the CNN. Al-Jazeera corpus contains more than twice the number of words in the BBC corpus and more than five times the number of words in the CNN corpus. On average, Al-Jazeera website posts 4.74 articles related to the conflict per day, while the average number of related articles is 2.07 on the BBC website and 0.77 on the CNN website.

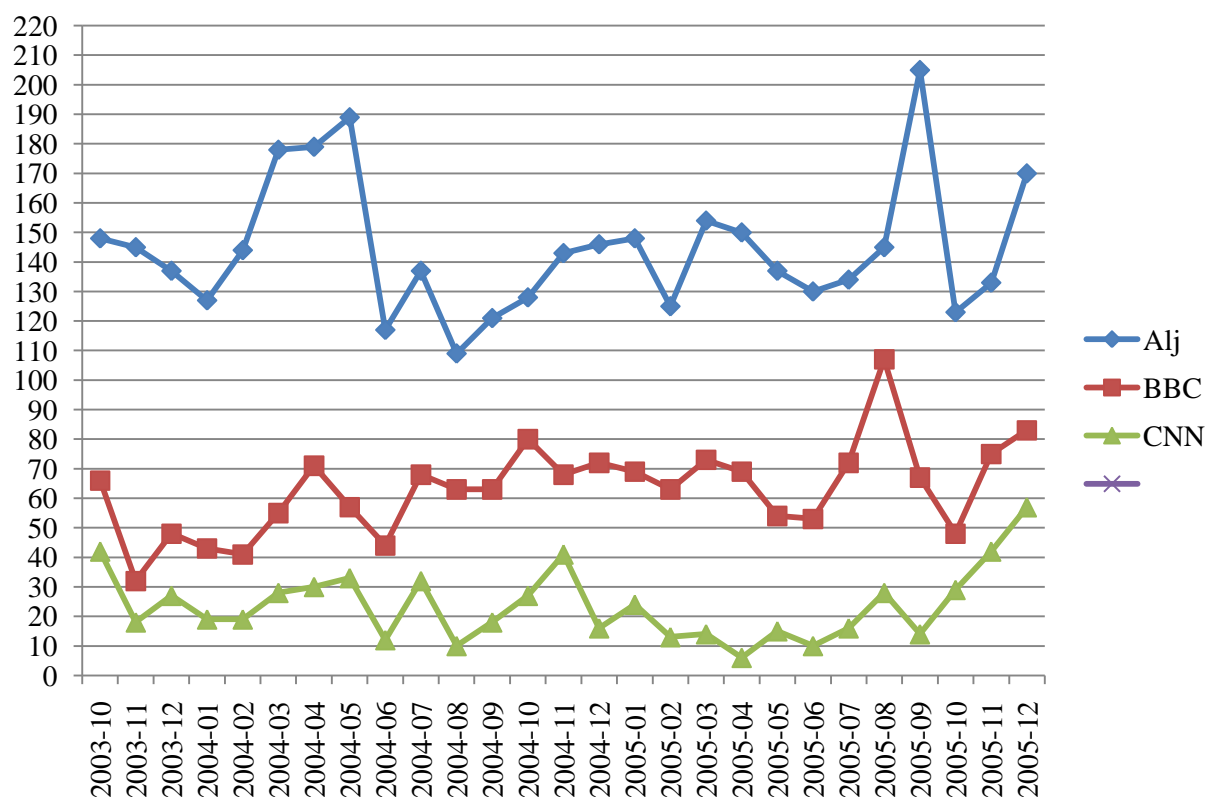


Figure 2.1. Number of news articles related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict per month on Al-Jazeera, BBC, and CNN news websites.

The finding that Al-Jazeera devotes much space to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is hardly surprising since this conflict is the top priority of its Arabic-speaking audience. It is a little surprising, however, that the BBC devotes significantly more space to the conflict than the CNN. Considering the special relationship between the United States and the participants in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Chomsky, 1999) and how much this issue influences American foreign policy (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2007), one would expect the developments of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to receive greater media attention in the United States than in Britain. Even though this data is not sufficient to make a conclusion regarding the level of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict on the CNN's scale of newsworthiness, this initial finding shows that the

readers of news reports on the CNN website usually get significantly less information about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict than the readers of the BBC or Al-Jazeera.

Keyword Categorization

The manual analysis of the three key keyword lists obtained from Al-Jazeera, the BBC and the CNN corpora led to the identification of five main categories under which most of the key keywords fall. These categories are labeled *participants in the conflict*, *political aspect of the conflict*, *military aspect of the conflict*, *occupation practices*, and *key locations*. In all the tables below, words are listed in the order of their key-keyness, or the number of texts in which the word is key. Words that are key in the three corpora are in bold type, and words that are key only in one corpus are underlined. The remaining words are key in two of the study corpora. The words that appear in brackets before some of the key keywords are frequent associates that should provide some extra information about how the word is used in context.

Participants in the Conflict

Words in this category generally refer to people, organizations, political parties, and countries that are involved in one way or another in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Table 2.2 shows the participants most frequently mentioned in the Al- Jazeera, BBC, and CNN news articles. A close look at the three lists shows that the major participants in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict include people from what Chomsky (1999) calls the “fateful triangle”: the United States, Israel, and the Palestinians. From the American side, *Bush* is a key participant in all corpora. *Colin Powell* is only key in the BBC and CNN, while *Rice* is only key in Al-Jazeera and CNN. The keyword *administration* on the lists from Al-Jazeera and CNN, is often modified by the word *American* in Al-Jazeera and the word *Bush* in the CNN.

Table 2.2

Participants in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Al-Jazeera	Israel, Israeli, <u>president</u>, Authority, <u>Movement</u>, Sharon, Abbas, Qurei, Islamic , security (council), Hamas, Palestinian, Israelis, Abu, Ariel, <u>American</u>, Fatah, Likud, Bush, Ahmed, <u>factions</u>, Arafat, Mofaz, Palestinians, Rice, <u>European</u> (Union), Shalom, apparatus, Barghuthy, Yassin, Jihad, (United) Nations, (American) Administration, <u>Zuhri</u>, Olmert, Dahlan, Sheik, <u>the Quartet</u>, Rantissi, Annan, <u>Jordan</u>, members, organization
BBC	Israel, Palestinian, <u>Mr</u>, Sharon, Palestinians, Hamas, Abbas, Israelis, Arafat, UN, Jihad, Jewish, Yassin, Qurei, Ariel, Labour, Fatah, Egypt, US, Sheikh, Bush, Shalom, Islamic, Jews, Syria, Egyptian, Mofaz, Powell, <u>UNRWA</u>, Arab, Abu, <u>Ms</u>, Rantissi, <u>Syrian</u>, Party, <u>Vanunu</u>, <u>Yasser</u>, <u>Mahmoud</u>, minister, Olmert, Prime, Haaretz, Iran, <u>family</u>, council, children, <u>Rabbis</u>, <u>girl</u>, <u>Shaath</u>, <u>Abed</u>, security, Ahmadinijad, <u>Ambassador</u>, <u>authors</u>, Barghouti, Israeli, Likud, <u>Orthodox</u>, <u>people</u>, Knesset
CNN	Palestinian, Israeli, Israel, Palestinians, Sharon, Hamas, Abbas, Arafat, Jihad, Israelis, Bush, Islamic, Authority, Qorei, <u>Erakat</u>, Likud, Jewish, Fatah, Organization, officials, Gissin, Party, Ariel, Jews, cabinet, Abu, Knesset, Muslim, Prime, Labor, Muslims, Rantisi, Rice, Yassin, Hezbollah, Powell, Iran, Olmert, Syria, (Bush, Abdullah, Palestinian) administration, Ahmadinajad, Egypt, Egyptian, Haaretz, Iranian, Lebanon, minister, PLO, Annan, Arab, Gillerman, Iraq, leader, Palestine

From the Israeli side, all lists show as key participants *Israel, Israelis, Ariel Sharon, Olmert, Knesset*, and the Israeli political party *Likud*. Former Israeli Foreign Affairs Minister Silvan *Shalom* and former Defense Minister Shaul *Mofaz* are only key in Al-Jazeera and the BBC. Spokesman for Ariel Sharon Ra'anana *Gissing* and Israel's ambassador to the UN Dan

Gillerman are only key in the CNN corpus. *Jews*, the Israeli political party *Labor*, and the Israeli newspaper *Haaretz* are only key in the BBC and CNN. Finally, Mordechai *Vanunu*, an Israeli nuclear technician who revealed information about the Israeli nuclear weapons program, is only key in the BBC.

From the Palestinian side, all lists show as key participants *Palestinians*, *Palestinian*, former President of the Palestinian Authority *Yasser Arafat*, current President *Mahmoud Abbas*, former Prime Minister *Ahmed Qurei*, and the assassinated leaders of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) *Sheikh Ahmed Yassin* and Dr. Abd El-Aziz *Rantisi*. All lists also show as key participants the three major Palestinian movements: *Fatah*, *Hamas*, and *Islamic Jihad*. *Abu Zuhri*, Hamas spokesperson, and *Dahlan*, a former Fatah leader in Gaza, are only key in Al-Jazeera corpus. Marwan *Barghouti*, a Fatah leader who has been imprisoned in Israel since 2002, is key in Al-Jazeera and BBC lists. *Muslims*, *Arab*, *Palestine*, and *PLO* appear only on the CNN list. The keyword *Palestine*, on the CNN list, is mostly used when referring to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Other participants include *United Nations* (UN), which is key in Al-Jazeera and the BBC corpora. *Annan*, *Security* (Council), *European* (Union), *Jordan*, and the *Quartet* are key in Al-Jazeera. *Egypt*, *Syria*, *UNRWA*, *Iran*, and the Iranian President *Ahmadinijad* are key in the BBC corpus. In addition to *Ahmadinijad*, *Iran*, and *Annan*, the CNN list also shows *Iraq* and *Lebanon* as key participants.

In addition to pointing out the key figures in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, these lists of key participants can point out several issues that require a more thorough contextualized analysis. One question is how much space is devoted to each side's view on the daily happenings in the conflict. Hard news reporters usually refrain from crudely expressing their

own opinions, but they might instead resort to devoting more space for news sources that support these opinions and limiting the space of other sources that might tell a different version of the story. One thing we can notice from these lists of key participants, for example, is that while the spokesperson of former Israeli PM Ariel Sharon and Israel's UN ambassador are only key in the CNN corpus, Hamas spokesperson Abu-Zuhri is only key in Al-Jazeera. Another issue that can be triggered by these lists is that of the Israeli nuclear program. Vanunu, the Israeli nuclear technician who leaked the Israeli nuclear secrets, is only key on the BBC. This might indicate that this issue receives more attention on the BBC and raises the question of how the coverage of this program compares with that of the Iranian nuclear program on the news websites examined here. It is worth noting that the associates of the key keyword *Iran* include the words *nuclear*, *destruction*, and *Israel* in the CNN corpus and the words *nuclear* and *Israel* in the BBC corpus. This indicates that the Iranian nuclear program is usually framed as a threat to Israel.

Political Aspect of the Conflict

Table 2.3 shows the key keywords that can be categorized under the political aspect of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. These words can be further subcategorized under four main themes: the peace process, international law, internal political affairs, and diplomatic routine. Under the peace process subcategory, words referring to Bush's Road-Map for Peace are key in all corpora. These include the key-keywords *Map*, *Road*, *Roadmap*, and *Peace*. Also related is the word *establishing*, which is key only in Al-Jazeera and is mostly used in reference to the establishment of a Palestinian state. Finally, *Geneva*, which appears only on the BBC list, refers to the Geneva Accord—an unofficial agreement reached by a number of Israeli and Palestinian politicians in December 2003.

Table 2.3

Key Keywords Referring to the Political Aspect of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

	Al-Jazeera	BBC	CNN
Peace Process	map, road, <u>establishing</u> (state)	peace, roadmap, <u>Geneva</u> (Accord)	map, road, peace
International Law		(veto, barrier, Yassin) resolution, court	court, <u>international</u> (barrier), resolution
Internal Affairs	elections, <u>holding</u> , <u>participation</u> (elections) <u>legislative</u> (council)	vote, <u>cabinet</u> , <u>coalition</u>	elections, vote, election, <u>indictment</u>
Diplomatic Routine	<u>visit</u> , <u>announcement</u> , <u>relationships</u>	<u>talks</u> , <u>meeting</u>	<u>remarks</u>
Other		(anti, France) <u>Semitism</u>	

Words under the international law subcategory are *resolution* and *court* on the BBC and CNN lists, and *international* on the CNN list. *Resolution* is used in both corpora to refer to UN resolutions concerning issues like the assassination of Palestinian activists by Israel, the demolition of homes in Gaza, and the construction of the West Bank Wall. One of the strong associates of *resolution* in the BBC corpus is the word *veto*. A brief analysis of the concordance lines of *veto* shows that it is mostly used in reference to the use of the US veto power in the Security Council to block a resolution condemning Israel for the extrajudicial assassination of

Hamas leader Sheik Ahmed Yassin and to block another resolution calling on Israel to dismantle the West Bank Wall. The key-keywords *court* and *international* are often used in reference to the International Court's resolution calling on Israel to remove the West Bank Wall and to compensate the Palestinians for any damage done (International Court of Justice [ICJ], 2004).

The third subcategory labeled *internal affairs* includes words that are not directly related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict but rather to political activity within mostly the Israeli and the Palestinian government systems. Most of these words have to do with political parties and elections. The words *elections*, *Likud*, *participation*, and *legislative council* are keywords in Al-Jazeera corpus; the words *cabinet*, *coalition*, and *vote* are key in the BBC corpus; and the words *elections* and *vote* are key in the CNN corpus. The key-keyword list from the CNN also includes the word *indictment*, the concordance lines of which revealed that it is mostly used in reference to bribery charges that were filed against former Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. A few instances of the word *indictment* also occur in the context of the charges filed against Steven Rosen and Keith Weissman, two senior officials of AIPAC who were indicted on August 4, 2005 for disclosing classified Pentagon information to Israel. A few more instances refer to the indictment of an Islamic charity organization operating in the United States on charges of "supporting terrorism".

The fourth subcategory labeled *diplomatic routine* includes key-keywords which refer to customary diplomatic activities such as meetings, visits, and talks. Examples of these words include *visit*, *relationships*, and *announcement* in Al-Jazeera corpus; *talks* and *meeting* in the BBC corpus; and *remarks* in the CNN corpus.

One more word on the BBC list that did not neatly fit any of the four subcategories above, but that can still be categorized under the political aspect of the conflict, is the word

Semitism. Associates of *Semitism* in the BBC corpus include *France*, *French*, *Jews*, *Jewish*, and *Sharon*. This clearly indicates that *anti-Semitism* is used here in the context of Mr. Sharon's comments about "the spread of the wildest anti-Semitism" in France a mentioned in the historical overview above.

Military Aspect of the Conflict

Table 2.4 shows the key keywords that refer to the military aspect of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. These words can be further categorized under four themes: agents of violence, methods violence, outcomes and victims of violence, and finally words that refer to a break from violence. Agents of violence are the individuals, groups, or organizations that are responsible for the acts of violence taking place in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. On the key keyword list from Al-Jazeera we can see the words *forces*, *Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades*, *security*, and *resistance*. The list from the BBC includes the words *militants*, *militant*, *army*, *bomber*, *troops*, *soldiers*, and *military*. The list from the CNN includes the words *IDF* (Israeli Defense Forces), *terrorist*, *militants*, *forces*, *troops*, *bomber*, *terrorists*, and *soldier*. In general, words referring to the Israeli side on the BBC and CNN are more neutral than those used to refer to the Palestinian side. Words like *forces*, *troops*, *soldiers*, *military*, *soldier* and *IDF* do not normally reflect the user's positive or negative attitude towards the participants referred to. The word *forces* in Al-Jazeera corpus, however, is quite often preceded by the word *occupation*, which imparts a negative meaning to the whole phrase. On the other hand, words referring to the Palestinian side are generally more evaluative. Al-Jazeera generally uses the positive word *resistance* to refer to Palestinian fighters; the BBC prefers the less negative words *militant* and *militants*; while the CNN uses the negative words *terrorist* and *terrorists* as well as *militant* and *militants*.

Table 2.4

Key Keywords Referring to the Military Aspect of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

	Al-Jazeera	BBC	CNN
Agents of Violence	(Israeli, occupation, security) forces, Al-Aqsa , Brigades, Martyrs, (Palestinian, Hamas) <u>resistance</u> , Al-Qassam	(Palestinian, Islamic, Hamas) militants, militant, army, Aqsa, Brigades, Martyrs, (suicide, Palestinian) bomber, troops, soldiers, military, bombers, soldier	<u>IDF</u> , terrorist, military, militants, Aqsa, forces, Qassam, militant, troops, soldiers, bomber, <u>police</u> , army, bombers, terrorists, soldier
Methods of Violence	firing, <u>car</u> , <u>fidā'iya</u> , operation, (state, Israeli, what he called) terrorism, assassination	suicide, attack, attacks, <u>raid</u> , rocket, operation, bombing, rockets, nuclear, shot, violence, <u>intifada</u> , strikes, assassination, missile	attacks, attack, suicide, terror, <u>fired</u> , <u>fire</u> , rocket, rockets, (suicide, Palestinian) terrorism, bombing, <u>blast</u> , missile, <u>helicopter</u> , <u>airstrike</u> , targeted, bombings, <u>mortar</u> , nuclear, violence, <u>weapons</u>
Outcomes/ Victims Of Violence	<u>was/were martyred</u> , <u>injury</u> , <u>death</u> , martyr, wounded	killed, killing, fired, <u>Gilad</u> , burial, <u>Iman</u>	Killed, wounded, (Israeli) <u>civilians</u> , burial, killing, <u>responsibility</u>
Break From Violence	<u>calm</u> , truce	truce, ceasefire	cease (fire)

The second category labeled “methods of violence” refers to the types of operations as well as the weapons used to carry out the acts of violence. Only the BBC and CNN key keyword lists include words that refer to the weapons used in the attacks. These include *missile*, *rocket*, and *rockets*. The BBC and CNN lists also include the word *nuclear* which does not appear on the keyword list from Al-Jazeera. Other weapons that appear only on the CNN keyword list are *mortar*, *helicopter*, and the generic word *weapons*. Finally, one word on the key keyword list from Al-Jazeera that was hard to classify under one of the categories without looking at its concordance lines is the word *car*. A concordance of *car* in Al-Jazeera corpus shows that it is often used in the context of military operations, especially as a target to Israeli missile attacks.

Other words in this subcategory describe the kind of military operations employed. The words *operation*, *assassination*, and *terrorism* are key in Al-Jazeera corpus. The words *suicide*, *attack*, *raid*, *operation*, *bombing*, *strikes*, and *assassination* are key in the BBC. The words *attacks(s)*, *suicide*, *terror*, *terrorism*, *bombing(s)*, *blast*, *airstrike*, and *violence* are key in the CNN. Some of these words might seem more neutral than others. Words like *operation*, *raid*, *attack*, *airstrikes*, and *strikes*, for instance, do not seem to reflect the user’s attitude in the same way as the words *terrorism*, *assassination*, and *terror* do. Some of the seemingly neutral words, however, might be used in combination with other evaluative words that would reflect the user’s positive or negative attitude towards the kind of operation described. One of the strong associates of the word *operation* in Al-Jazeera corpus, for example, is the word *fidā’īya*, an Arabic word which tentatively means sacrificing one’s own life in order to save or protect others. Another key keyword used to modify the word *operation* in Al-Jazeera corpus is *istishhadeya*, the Arabic adjective derived from the word *shahid* (martyr). On CNN and BBC, on the other hand, words that are regularly used to describe Palestinian operations include *suicide*, which

appears on both lists, and the word *terrorist*, which appears only on the CNN list. Another word that reflects a negative attitude towards some kinds of military operations is the word *assassination*, which appears only on the Al-Jazeera and BBC lists. It is mostly used to refer to the assassination of Hamas leaders Ranrissi and Yassin by the Israeli forces. Another point that is worth highlighting here is the different use of the word *terrorism* in Al-Jazeera and the CNN corpora. In the CNN corpus, *terrorism* usually associates with words like *Palestinian*, and *suicide*, obviously indicating its regular use to describe violence committed by Palestinians. In Al-Jazeera corpus, on the other hand, *terrorism* associates with words like *Israeli* and *state*, clearly indicating that it is used to describe Israeli violence. The word is also associated with an Arabic phrase which means “what he called” in English. This is a reporting strategy that Al-Jazeera seems to use when reporting the words of some political figures who might use some terms they do not agree with, like using the word *terrorism* to describe Palestinian violence. This example indicates the risk involved in making generalized judgments regarding the use of a given evaluative term in a corpus based on its appearance in a list of keywords before gathering more corroborating contextual clues. The lists of associates and collocates may offer some initial contextual clues. Identifying all the themes and patterns of such terms, however, requires a close analysis of their expanded concordances and, if necessary, the whole texts in which they are used.

The remaining few words in the military aspect of the conflict can be categorized under two themes: outcomes and victims of the acts of violence and a break from violence. Words like *wounded*, *injury*, *killed*, *death*, and *martyred* all refer to some of the outcomes of violence; and words like *martyrs* and *civilians* refer to the victims of violence. The three lists also include words that refer to calls for a break from violence. These include words like *calm*, *truce*, and

ceasefire. Words that refer to the individuals or communities affected by violence are especially important for the ideological study of discourse. The word *shuhada'* (martyrs), which appears only on the key keyword list from Al-Jazeera, reflects a religious ideology which bestows a high religious status upon certain individuals who lost their lives in the conflict. The word *civilians*, which appears only on the CNN key keyword list, also reflects a positive attitude which considers certain individuals or communities who have been affected by violence as innocent bystanders who are not legitimate targets to the acts of violence. The mere use of these two words would also imply a negative attitude towards those who committed the acts of violence being described. The word *civilians*, which is key only in the CNN corpus is mostly used to refer to Israelis; and the word *martyrs*, which is key only on Al-Jazeera, is only used to refer to Palestinians.

Occupation Practices

Table 2.5 shows words categorized under the theme of “Israeli occupation practices”. These include words that refer to acts of annexation of and withdrawal from Palestinian lands as well as words that refer to the impact of these acts on the daily lives of the Palestinian population. Perhaps the first observation one can make here is that while the word *occupation* appears on top of the Al-Jazeera keyword list and towards the end of the BBC list, it does not appear at all on the CNN keyword list. Neither does the CNN list include any variation of the word *occupation*, like the word *occupied* which appears only on the BBC list and is normally followed by the word *territories* in reference to the West bank and the Gaza strip. This finding confirms Ackerman’s (2001, para. 4) observation that “the word *occupation* has become almost a taboo for American reporters” and that the term “occupied territories”, once routinely used to

refer to the West Bank and Gaza, has become overwhelmingly left out from major American news networks reporting on the Middle East.

Table 2.5

Key Keywords Referring to Israeli Occupation Practices

Al-Jazeera	occupation, (separation, isolating, court) wall , withdrawal , <u>separation</u> , <u>prisoners</u> , <u>lands</u> , settlements , (disengagement, Gaza, Sharon) plan , <u>release</u> (prisoners), <u>evacuation</u> (settlements), <u>measures</u> , settlement, <u>human</u> (rights), settlers , <u>prisoner</u>
BBC	settlements , settlers , (court, annexation, suicide) barrier , (disengagement) plan , withdrawal , fence, <u>settler</u> , pullout, <u>occupied</u> (territory, territories), (homes, buildings) demolitions, land, checkpoint, occupation, unilateral (withdrawal), <u>outpost</u> , (settlers, settlements, Dekalim) protesters
CNN	Settlements , barrier , plan , disengagement, settlers , withdrawal , pullout, (security, terrorist, court) fence, (Gaza, settlements) protesters, settlement, checkpoint, <u>control</u>

Many words in table 2.5 can be grouped under the theme of Sharon's disengagement plan which involved withdrawal from the Israeli settlements in Gaza and the building of the West Bank Wall. These words include *wall*, *withdrawal*, *lands*, *settlements*, *plan*, *evacuation*, *settlement*, and *settlers* on Al-Jazeera list; *settlements*, *settlers*, *barrier*, *plan*, *withdrawal*, *settler*, *pullout*, *unilateral*, and *protestors* on the BBC list; and *settlements*, *barrier*, *settlers*, *withdrawal*, *pullout*, *fence*, *protesters*, *settlement* on the CNN list. The words associated with some of the key keywords on this list can provide some clues about how each of the news websites

representing the Israeli plan. Concerning the West Bank wall, all websites seem to provide some attention to the legal aspect of the construction of the wall since the word *court*, which refers to the International Court of Justice, is associated with the word *wall*, *barrier*, or *fence* in the three corpora. The BBC and CNN, however, seem to also highlight the Israeli justification that security is the main purpose of the construction of the wall. In fact, the word *security* associated with *barrier* in the CNN and BBC corpora and with *fence* in the CNN corpus is often used in both corpora as part of the name of the wall “a security barrier/fence”, a naming favored by Israel according to the 2006 BBC glossary of Middle East terminology.

The remaining words on the key keyword lists of occupation practices show a few aspects of the mundane aspects of the occupation. The words *prisoners*, *prisoner*, *release*, *measures*, *human* on Al-Jazeera list; *demolitions* and *checkpoint* on the BBC list; and the word *checkpoint* on the CNN list seem to highlight some of the daily human rights violations, including the taking of prisoners, home demolitions, and restricting movement by Israeli checkpoints. A closer look at the concordance lines of *checkpoint* on the BBC and CNN, however, reveals that the word *checkpoint* is often used as a location where some event took place rather than in the context of reporting Palestinian difficulties at Israeli checkpoints.

Key Locations

Table 2.6 shows the places that are key in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. *Jerusalem*, the control of which has been one of the most sensitive issues in the conflict, is not surprisingly key in all corpora. Palestinian refugee camps (e.g. *Jenin*, *Khan Yunis*, and *Beit Hanoun*) and cities (e.g., *Rafah*, *Nablus*, and *Ramallah*) are frequently referred to in the three corpora, probably indicating that these are hot spots in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict since they are quite often the targets of the Israeli army land and air raids.

Table 2.6

Key Locations in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Al-Jazeera	<u>Tel Aviv</u> , Gaza , Strip, Rafah , Jenin , Beit , Middle (East), Crossing , (Maale) Adumim, <u>Jericho</u> , Tulkarem, <u>Green</u> (Line), (Al-Aqsa) Mosque, (Beit) <u>Hanoun</u> , Sederot, <u>Lahya</u> , Jabalya (camp for refugees), Nablus, (Khan) Yunis , (West) Bank , refugee (camp), Jerusalem
BBC	Gaza , Strip, West (Bank), Rafah , Jerusalem , camp, border, Beit , Jabalya, Ramallah, Jenin , Haifa, Sederot, crossing , <u>Damascus</u> , Maale Adumim, (Gush) Katif, Erez, compound, Nablus, (Middle) East (Jerusalem), (Neve) <u>Dekalim</u> , (Aqsa) Mosque, (Khan) Younis
CNN	Gaza , West (Bank), Rafah , Ramallah, camp, Jerusalem , Tulkarem, Beit , border, Nablus, Crossing , (Khan) Yunis , refugee, Erez, Haifa, <u>hospital</u> , Jenin , compound, (Gush) Katif

On the Israeli side, places that are frequently referred to include *Sederot*, key only in the Al-Jazeera and BBC corpora. Sederot is also a frequent hotspot in conflict because it is often a target of the Palestinian homemade rockets since the outbreak of the second Intifada in 2000.

Gush Katif, a bloc of 17 Israeli

settlements in Gaza which were evacuated in August 2005 as part the disengagement plan, appears only on the BBC and the CNN lists, probably indicating that that the two news websites devoted much space to covering the evacuation. On Al-Jazeera, on the other hand, more emphasis seems to be given to the still very active settlement policies in the West Bank since

Maale Adumim, one of the large Israeli settlements near Jerusalem, is key only in Al-Jazeera corpus. Finally, from the Israeli side, the Israeli capital *Tel Aviv* appears only on the Al-Jazeera and is mostly used to refer to the State of Israel as a whole rather than the city of Tel Aviv.

Conclusion

The main goal of this article is to conduct an initial corpus-based exploration of the coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in three corpora compiled from the websites of Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and CNN news networks. This article is also the first step in a larger project aiming to contribute to the recent body of research (e.g., Baker et al, 2008; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Orpin, 2005) seeking to adopt techniques from corpus linguistics in the study of the ideological use of language in social and political contexts. The article mainly employs frequency and keyword techniques and shows how each of them can be a useful tool for the study of language ideology in a large corpus of texts. The article also shows the limitations imposed by the nature of these two corpus-based techniques.

The comparison of basic corpus-based frequency data used in this study demonstrates two interrelated concepts frequently discussed by critical linguists (e.g., Fowler, 1991); namely, the process of news selection and newsworthiness. According to Fowler, “real events are subject to conventional processes of selection: they are not intrinsically newsworthy, but only become ‘news’ when selected for inclusion in news reports” (p. 11). Since news media cannot report all the events that take place in the real world, and since each news media chooses to present only a small number of events based on its own criteria of newsworthiness, viewers of different news media usually get different partial views of the world. News media also decide how much space to devote for the coverage of a given issue, thus controlling the amount of information their audiences receive about it. The amount of exposure to information about a particular event or

issue is in turn very likely to impact the attitudes and beliefs of the audience towards it. Viewers who are exposed to limited information about a certain issue, for example, are more likely to be indifferent to its daily events than those who receive constant updates about the issue in question. The corpus-based frequency technique adopted in this study provides an efficient and simple way for comparing the amount of information about a certain issue that audiences of different news media are exposed to. Comparing the number of words and the number of articles related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the Al-Jazeera, BBC, and CNN corpora shows that the readers of the CNN news website receive very limited amount of information about the conflict compared to the amount of information received by the readers of Al-Jazeera or the BBC. This finding confirms Ackerman's (2001) claims about the dearth of reporting on the conflict in US media. This lack of significant attention to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in a major American media source is particularly surprising considering the crucial role the United States is playing in the conflict and considering the unlimited political, financial, and military support provided by the US to Israel (Chomsky, 1983; Mearsheimer & Walt, 2007). According to Chomsky (1983, p. 12), the main consequence of such limited attention to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in American media is "that the people who are expected to pay the bills [Americans financing Israeli military and settlements activities] are kept largely in the dark about what they are financing".

The other corpus-based technique employed in this study—the keyword and key-keyword analysis—also proved that it can be valuable for the purpose of (critical) discourse analysis. One benefit of the automated keyword approach is that it can effectively identify the recurring topics in a large set of texts, thus saving the researchers a tremendous amount of time if they were to identify these topics by conducting manual propositional analysis (e.g., Kintsch &

Van Dijk, 1978). In addition, the categorization of the resulting keywords under different themes helps the researcher to see the multiple aspects of the issue s/he is investigating before delving into a deeper analysis of it. In this study, the keyword analysis resulted in the identification of five interrelated categories or themes: participants in the conflict, political aspect of the conflict, military aspect of the conflict, occupation practices, and key locations.

In addition, the current study demonstrates how the comparison of keywords across the study corpora can help the CDA analysts generate various hypotheses regarding the ideological use of language in the corpora they are investigating. One advantage of generating hypotheses in this way is that it provides an empirical basis for the topics selected for analysis rather than relying exclusively on the researcher's conviction about what constitutes a topic worthy of investigation. In the following section of this article, I briefly list some of the hypotheses and research questions that can be generated from the comparison of keyword lists extracted from the Al-Jazeera, BBC, and CNN corpora.

One question based on the analysis of the keywords under the participants in the conflict category is how much space is devoted by each news source to representatives of the Israeli and the Palestinian sides. One hypothesis that can be formed from the comparison of the lists of participants is that while Al-Jazeera allows the voice of some Palestinian groups such as Hamas to appear in the news reports covering the conflict, these voices seem to be consistently excluded from the BBC and CNN news reports. This hypothesis is based on the observation that Hamas spokesperson Sami Abu Zuhri appears as a key participant only in Al-Jazeera corpus. Similarly, it can be hypothesized that CNN devotes much space to officials representing the Israeli side based on the observation that the spokesperson of former Israeli PM Ariel Sharon and Israel's UN ambassador are only key in the CNN corpus.

Another question that can be generated from the comparison of the keyword lists is how the violence committed by the different participants in the conflict is represented in Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and CNN. Strong hypotheses can also be generated based on the analysis of the keyword lists. The fact that CNN frequently uses words such as *terror*, *terrorism*, *terrorist*, and *terrorists* indicates that CNN represents the violence in the conflict as a type of terrorism committed by one side (most probably the Palestinians) and a response to terrorism from the other side (the Israelis). The fact that Al-Jazeera, on the other hand, emphasizes words like *occupation*, *resistance*, and *fidā'iyya* indicates that Al-Jazeera is probably presenting the Israeli violence as part of an illegal occupation and Palestinian violence as a response to occupation. Finally, the BBC seems to adopt yet a different representation of violence. It is obvious that there is frequent reference to Israeli occupation since the word *occupation* is key in the BBC corpus. However, it does not seem that Palestinian violence is positively described as *resistance*, nor does it seem to be frequently described as *terrorism* since neither word is key in the BBC corpus.

Other topics worthy of further investigation based on the comparison of keyword lists include representation of Israeli or Palestinian victims of violence, the representation of the peace process and the attitudes of the Palestinian and Israeli sides towards the proposed peace settlements, the representation of the Israeli West Bank settlements, and the representation of the Israeli West Bank wall. With some of these topics, it is possible to form some hypotheses about how they are addressed in context based on the comparison of the keyword lists and the study of the lists of associates that are generated by the key keyword technique. In the case of other topics, however, it might be necessary to check samples of collocation lists and concordance lines before forming this kind of hypothesis. In this regard, the keyword analysis is supposed to

be an initial step informing the researcher of the topics that are deemed to be important in the corpora under investigation and are therefore worthy of further contextualized analysis.

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CHAPTER 3

TERRORISM IN THE COVERAGE OF THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT ON AL-JAZEERA, BBC, AND CNN NEWS WEBSITES: CORPUS-BASED CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

“If the twentieth century taught us anything about language, it is that words have consequences.

They have the power to persuade, encourage and enrage.”

(Phil Rees, 2005, p. 3)

Introduction

Language plays a significant role in “the production, maintenance, and change of social relations of power” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 1). Having the power to control discourse, which can be succinctly defined as “language-in-action” (Blommaert, 2005, p. 2), gives the party in control “the power to sustain particular discursive practices with particular ideological investments in dominance over other alternative (including oppositional) practices” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 2). The use of the word *terrorism* in the media is a good illustration of this language/power relationship. According to Perdue (1989, p. 4), *terrorism* is a “label of defamation” used as a means of “organizing both perceptions and reactions of others in the world community” against those to whom the word is applied. Those labeled as terrorists “may become international lepers . . . the nature of their movement; its objectives; ideology, and historical reason for being will be dismissed out of hand.” The use of this powerful word, however, is not determined by universally accepted standards; rather, as Perdue points out, double standards in how it is applied tend to emerge when the conflicting parties do not have equal standing. The party that has more power and easier access to sophisticated international media has the privilege of defining what

constitutes terrorism; and as a result, “the guerrilla tactics of the powerless are more apt to be labeled terrorist than martial force on the part of an established state” (p. 3).

One of the current conflicts in which the word *terrorism* is frequently used is the one between the Israelis and the Palestinians. In a previous corpus-based study, in which I extracted the important keywords from three corpora of news articles compiled from the websites of Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and CNN news networks, *terrorism* appeared as a keyword in Al-Jazeera and CNN corpora, but it was not frequent enough in the BBC corpus to show up as a keyword. Since the automated routine which was used to extract these keywords defines them as “items of unusual frequency in comparison to a reference corpus” (Scott and Tribble, 2006), this finding means that *terrorism* is significantly more frequent in the coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in Al-Jazeera and CNN news articles than one would expect in a more diverse sample of news discourse. It also means that *terrorism* frequency in the BBC news articles covering the conflict is not significantly higher than its frequency in the reference corpus used for the comparison. This finding raises two main questions which will be addressed in the current study:

1. How does the frequency of *terrorism* compare across the three study corpora—Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and CNN? Even though the data from the keyword study show that *terrorism* is key in Al-Jazeera and CNN but not in the BBC, one cannot conclude that *terrorism* is less frequent in the BBC than in Al-Jazeera or CNN unless the same reference corpus was used to extract keywords from each of the study corpora. In the keyword study referred to above, the same reference corpus—the Reuters corpus—was used to extract the keywords from the BBC and the CNN, but a different corpus—Arabic Newswire—was used to extract the keywords from Al-Jazeera. Thus, we can safely conclude that *terrorism* is less frequent in the BBC than the

CNN, but we cannot be sure how the frequency of *terrorism* in the BBC or the CNN corpora compares with that in Al-Jazeera corpus. A direct comparison of these frequencies across the three study corpora is, therefore, needed.

2. How is the word *terrorism* used in the context of news reports covering the Israeli-Palestinian conflict on the websites of Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and the CNN networks? This question is important to investigate for two reasons. First, investigating it will allow us to see how a word that is essentially considered “a label of defamation” is used in the hard news genre, which—according to many journalists—is a genre that “concerns events potentially available to analysis or interpretation and consists of ‘factual presentations’ of events deemed newsworthy” (Tuchman, 1997, p. 176). Of course, it has been demonstrated time and again that this journalistic ideal is far from true (e.g., Fowler, 1991). Like all forms of language, language in the news reflect the values, beliefs, ideologies, preferences ...etc. of those who produce them or those who finance their production. The purpose of this study, therefore, is not to expose bias in news reports because we know that it exists, but to find out how the media manipulate the language to present their points of view.

The second reason this question is important is that the context around the word *terrorism* is very likely to contain clear instances of the language/power relationship. In the case of Al-Jazeera and CNN, for example, if we consider statements made about each network’s stance vis-avis the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, we would expect each network to employ this “label of defamation” for significantly different purposes. Since Al-Jazeera is generally believed to side with the Palestinians (e.g., Zayni, 2005), and CNN is generally believed to side with the Israelis (e.g., Ratzkoff & Jhally, 2004), it would be interesting to see if this same word is used differently by each media outlet to represent events taking place in the course of the conflict.

By investigating these questions in the Al-Jazeera, BBC, and CNN corpora, this study aims to contribute to the recent research seeking to effectively combine critical discourse analysis (CDA) and corpus linguistics (e.g., Baker et al, 2008; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Orpin, 2005) and to add a multi-cultural/bilingual dimension to the analysis. To my knowledge, there have not been any published accounts to date of corpus-based CDA studies of Arabic news discourse. I believe the Arabic perspective on many of the current issues, especially the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, is very important to include in studies concerned with language/power relationships. This study hopes to contribute new insights in this regard. Before describing the analysis conducted to answer the questions outline above, the following section will discuss the theoretical and methodological frameworks underlying this research.

Theoretical and Methodological Frameworks

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Studying how the word *terrorism* is used in the media is for the most part a study of the struggle over the control of discourse. Since, as mentioned above, there are no universally-accepted standards determining the appropriate use of *terrorism*, opposing parties in a conflict (in this case Palestinians and Israelis or the allies of each side) strive to impose their own definition of which acts of violence are to be sanctioned or justified and which are to be outlawed by being labeled as *terrorism*. The theoretical area of applied linguistics most suited to the study of these issues is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

CDA is primarily interested in studying “the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (van Dijk, 2001, p. 352). An overarching theme in CDA is how opinions, attitudes, and ideologies are expressed through language (e.g., van Dijk, 1998a, 1998b), and one of its ultimate

goals is to expose the manipulative strategies adopted by dominant groups to maintain social inequalities and injustices (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; van Dijk, 1996, 2006). CDA is especially interested in studying the language of the mass media since it is through the discursive practices in the mass media that the dominant groups seek to enforce and perpetuate their ideologies (Fairclough, 2001). The mass media could also be the site where dominated groups, provided they get access to it, can challenge the current sociopolitical dominance (Garrett & Bell, 1998).

Table 3.1

In-Group/Out-Group Polarized Representation (Based on van Dijk, 1998b)

Positive in-group representation	Negative out-group representation
3. Emphasizing the good properties /actions	3. Emphasizing the bad properties /actions
4. Mitigating the bad properties / actions	4. Mitigating the good properties /actions

This study is especially informed by van Dijk's (1998b) discussion of the concept of *group ideologies*. The main social function of these ideologies is "the coordination of the social practices of group members for the effective realization of the goals of a social group, and the protection of its interests" (van Dijk, p. 24). According to van Dijk, especially when conflicting group interests are involved, the typical content of group ideologies tends to be structured in a polarized way: "Self and Others, Us and Them ... We are Good and They are Bad" (p. 25). The polarized structure of group ideologies might result in the polarization of discourses so that the in-group and their friends or allies receive positive description, while the out-group and their friends or allies receive negative description. As illustrated in 3.1, van Dijk suggests that this

polarized representation follows an abstract evaluative structure which he calls the *ideological square*. According to this model, a positive self or in-group representation is a result of emphasizing the good properties/actions of the in-group members and mitigating their bad properties/actions. The Other or the out-group, on the other hand, receives negative representation as a result of emphasizing their bad properties/actions and mitigating their good properties/actions.

Traditionally, CDA researchers carried out detailed analyses which went beyond the texts being analyzed and incorporated the historical, political, and social contexts in which the texts were produced (Baker et al., 2008). This type of multi-dimensional analysis was believed to be “especially relevant to detailed analysis of a small number of discourse samples” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 230). The practice of analyzing a small number of texts or text fragments, however, triggered criticisms against CDA methodology (e.g., Stubbs, 1994, 1997; Koller & Mautner, 2004) and raised concerns regarding the representativeness of the texts selected for analysis and the possibility of revealing reliable patterns and tendencies based on the small texts or text fragments analyzed. Stubbs (1997) suggested that incorporating corpus linguistics methodology into the CDA analysis would enhance its reliability since it would enable the researcher to manipulate a large corpus of data. Several studies took up Stubbs’s suggestion and effectively incorporated corpus techniques in the study of the ideological use of language (e.g., Baker, 2005; Baker et. al. 2008; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Orpin, 2005). The current study will also utilize some corpus-based methodology to study the ideological use of *terrorism*.

Corpus Linguistics

Corpus linguistics utilizes a variety of quantitative and qualitative methods to perform different types of analysis of large collections of electronically stored texts that occur in natural

settings. This analysis is facilitated by the use of special software programs. This study will make use of frequency lists, collocation lists, collocation networks, and concordances. Every one of these tools can contribute to CDA analysis.

Frequency Lists

A Frequency list is a very basic corpus tool which lists all the words in a corpus of texts together with their overall frequency. These basic lists can help reveal the speaker's or writer's patterns of lexical choices. Lexical choices are among the features CDA analysts focus on in the study of the ideological use of language (e.g., Fairclough, 2001; van Dijk, 1998b) since, according to Stubbs (1996, p. 107), "no terms are neutral. Choice of words expresses an ideological position". Trying to uncover a few patterns of lexical choices in a large collection of texts is a daunting task if done manually. This basic corpus tool makes this task much faster, easier, and more reliable.

Collocation Lists and Networks

Collocation is "a lexical relation between two or more words which have a tendency to co-occur within a few words of each other in running text" (Stubbs, 2001, p. 24). Collocation lists display the words (collocates) that tend to occur around a given word or phrase we are studying, thus revealing patterns of lexical association of that particular word or phrase. Since CDA is mainly interested in revealing "the ideology coded implicitly behind the overt proposition" (Fowler, 1996, p. 3), collocation lists can be quite valuable since they show how a word can acquire meanings that are different from or even at odds with its literal one as a result of its patterns of association with some other words over a large amount of text (Hunston, 2002). In addition, by studying a list of the words that tend to co-occur with a particular word of

interest, the analyst can get a good idea about the kind of discourse(s) it tends to occur in (e.g., Baker, 2006, p. 104).

In addition to collocation lists, this study also makes use of collocation networks (Baker, 2006, McEnery, 2006). A collocation network is usually presented in a chart format in which a link is plotted between the word under investigation (the node word) and each of its collocates. The chart also plots links among the collocates that tend to attract each other. The chart can also show the direction of the relationship—for example, whether word A attracts word B, word B attracts word A, or both attract each other—by using directional arrows (see McEnery, 2006, p. 177-183 for examples). These plots usually result in the identification of a number of sub-networks which reveal the different themes in which the node word tends to occur.

While the web diagram usually used to present the collocation network is a powerful way of visually showing the collocation relationships, it becomes hard to see clear sub-networks in the diagram if a large number of collocates is included into the diagram since several of these words would tend to participate in multiple sub-networks. It even gets more complex if the analyst is interested in showing the direction of the collocation relationship. This difficulty arose when plotting the collocation networks of the word *terrorism* in each corpus in this study. To address the problem, I used a grid or a table format (See Appendices A-E) which allows the reader to more easily trace the networks forming around each of the collocates. Perhaps another solution using the original web format could be to plot a separate diagram for each sub-network forming around the node word.

Concordances

A concordance is a list of every instance of a word or phrase in the corpus with an expandable context up to a whole text view. A concordance is an essential tool for CDA because

it allows the researcher to go beyond the analysis of lexical items, which could be misleading when analyzing ideologies. Opinions can be explicitly expressed in the form of clauses and sentences, but they can also be implicitly implied over longer stretches of texts (van Dijk, 1998). Concordances, which allow the expansion of the context of keyword up to a whole text if necessary, can provide the analyst with sufficient contextual elements to recreate the whole context (Brown and Yule, 1982). In the following section, I will describe the corpora used in this study and discuss how the corpus tools described above have been used in the analysis.

Methodology

Corpora

Table 3.2

General Statistics of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Study Corpora

	Al-Jazeera	BBC	CNN
Number of words	1,681,254	711,787	315,192
Number of news reports	3,903	1704	640
Number of days collected	823	823	823
Average news articles per day	4.74	2.07	0.77
Average article length by words	431	418	492

The data for this research is drawn from three news corpora: the Al-Jazeera Arabic corpus, the BBC English corpus, and the CNN English corpus. Each corpus includes news

reports and analyses covering the Israeli-Palestinian conflict over a period of 27 months, from October 2003 to December 2005. The relevant articles were retrieved from the online news archives of the BBC and CNN networks using the query terms *Israel*, *Israeli(s)*, *Palestine*, and *Palestinian(s)* and using their Arabic equivalents on Al-Jazeera website. Search results were manually checked, and news reports that were not directly related to the conflict were discarded. Table 3.2 shows some of the general statistics of the corpora. There were 3903 relevant reports on Al-Jazeera, 1704 on the BBC, and 640 on CNN over that period. Every news report was saved in a separate text file in each corpus. The total number of words is 1,681,254 words in Al-Jazeera Arabic corpus, 711,787 words in the BBC English corpus, and 315,192 in CNN English corpus.

Frequency

The first task in analyzing the use of the word *terrorism* in the coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict on the Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and CNN news websites was to compare the overall frequency of words in the *terrorism* word family, henceforth *terrorism* words, across the three corpora. The purpose of frequency analysis is to compare the relative importance of the terrorism theme in the coverage of the conflict across the three news websites. Wordlists showing the frequency of all the words in each of the three corpora were first created using the Wordlist function of the Wordsmith Tools 4.0 software package (Scott, 2004). *Terrorism* words on each list were then identified and their raw frequencies extracted. The BBC and CNN wordlists comprised the words *terrorism*, *terror*, *terrorist*, and *terrorists*. The Arabic equivalents of these words have more than one form and appear as separate entries in the wordlist. The word for *terrorism*, for example, appears twice—once in the indefinite form (*irhab*) and once in the definite form (*al-irhab*). In the case of Al-Jazeera, therefore, the multiple forms of each word

were first extracted and their frequencies added before calculating the total frequencies of *terrorism* words in the three corpora. Because the Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and CNN corpora have different lengths, the resulting raw frequencies were normalized (Biber, Conrad, and Reppen, 1998), or adjusted in order to obtain more comparable numbers. The basis of norming chosen was 100,000 words since the BBC and CNN corpora each contain fewer than one million words. The normed numbers obtained by dividing the raw frequency by the total number of words in the corpus and then multiplying by a 100,000 show how often *terrorism* words occur per a hundred thousand words in each corpus.

In addition to comparison of the frequencies of *terrorism* words across the three study corpora, another comparison was made between the total frequency of these words in each corpus and their total frequency in a reference corpus—a large corpus that contains a great variety of texts from a particular genre or language variety and is, therefore, more representative of that genre (Baker, 2006). Frequency data from the BBC and CNN corpora were compared to similar data extracted from the Newspapers section of the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA). The Newspapers part consists of different sections from 10 American newspapers from 1990 until 2008 (Davies, 2008). Because there was a significant increase in the use of *terrorism*-related words in the COCA after September 11th, I only extracted data from the 2003-2005 part of the corpus, which is more comparable to the time range of the BBC and CNN corpora. This section of the corpus contains about 12 million words. The *terrorism* data from the Al-Jazeera corpus was compared to the Arabic Newswire Part1 corpus which consists of Arabic news articles from the Agence France Presse (AFP) from May 13, 1994 to December 20, 2000, and contains 76 million words. Unfortunately, no Arabic reference corpus compiled over the same period as the Al-Jazeera corpus was available at the time of doing this analysis.

Collocation Analysis

The next step in the analysis was to obtain an initial semantic profile of *terrorism* in the coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict on Al-Jazeera, BBC, and CNN websites by analyzing its collocates in the three corpora. Because *terror* and *terrorism* seem to be used interchangeably in the BBC and CNN news reports, the collocates of both words were extracted and analyzed. The two English words have only one Arabic equivalent (*irhab*) which, as pointed above, appears in the definite and indefinite forms. The collocates of both forms were also extracted and analyzed. The collocation lists were extracted using Wordsmith Tools 4.0 (Scott, 2004) from a span of five words to the left and five words to the right of the node words. All lists were sorted according to the collocation strength as measured by the log-likelihood statistic (for a comparison of different collocation tests, see McEnery, Xiao & Tono, 2006, p. 210-220). Only the top 50 collocates, from which grammatical words were first excluded, were considered for the analysis. The relatively infrequent indefinite form of the word *terrorism* on Al-Jazeera yielded only seven lexical collocates, all of which were considered.

After extracting the individual collocates of *terrorism* and *terror*, collocation grids for each of them were then created in an attempt to identify the different themes in which they occur in each corpus. Each collocation grid was created by plotting all the collocates of the node word (*terrorism* or *terror*) on the vertical and the horizontal axes (as shown in Appendices A-E). The words that tend to co-occur with each of these collocates (for example, the collocates of the word *Hamas* in Appendix E) were then extracted and searched to see if this word shares any collocates with the *terror/terrorism*. The collocation list of *Hamas*, for example, shows that it shares the collocates *organizations*, *infrastructure*, *claimed*, *Palestinian*, *responsibility*, *group*, *authority*, and *Islamic* with the word *terror*. Number 1 and 2 that appear on the grid show the direction of

the collocation relationship. Number 2 denotes a bi-directional relationship; that is, the word on the horizontal axis and the word on the vertical axis appear in each other's collocation lists. The relationship between *Hamas* and *terror*, for example is bidirectional because *Hamas* occurs in the collocation list of *terror*, and *terror* occurs in the collocation list of *Hamas*. A number 1, on the other hand, indicates a uni-directional relationship—that is, the word on the horizontal axis occurs in the collocation list of the word on the vertical axis, but not vice versa. The word *organizations* in Appendix E, for instance, occurs in the collocation list of *Hamas*, but *Hamas* does not occur in the collocation list of *organizations*. The number that appears next to each collocate on the vertical axis of the grid indicates the total number of times this word attracts or is attracted (i.e., appearing on the collocation list of) the other collocates of *terror/terrorism*. High numbers would, therefore, indicate that the word is an important collocate of the original node word (*terror/terrorism*) since it also attracts or is attracted by many of its other collocates. These important collocates are also called *nucleus collocates* (Baker, 2006). Identifying the important themes in which the node word tends to occur is probably best done by following the collocation relationships forming around these nucleus collocates. Looking at the collocation relationships around the word *Hamas* in Appendix E, for example, shows that the word *terror* frequently occurs in the context of pointing out that *Hamas* is a *Palestinian/Islamic organization/group* that frequently *carries out* and *claims responsibility* for *terror attacks*. Identifying the sub-networks forming around the word *terror* in this way helps generate strong hypotheses regarding its use in context.

Concordance Analysis

The hypotheses made in the previous step were tested and more contextual information about the use of *terrorism* was gathered by manually scanning the concordance lines of *terrorism*

and *terror* in the BBC and CNN corpora and the definite and indefinite forms of *irhab* in Al-Jazeera corpus. The concordance lines were extracted using the concordance function of Wordsmith Tools 4.0 (Scott, 2004), which allows for context expansion up to a whole text view. Smaller samples of the resulting concordance lines were then extracted following the every ‘*n*th’ sampling convention where *n* is the result of dividing the total number of concordance lines by the number of lines desired in the sample (Sinclair, 1999). The purpose of this sampling technique is to identify most or all the patterns of use related to the keyword without analyzing every instance of it in the corpus. This sampling technique ensures that the smaller samples extracted for analysis are distributed evenly over all parts of the corpus. When analyzing the concordance lines of *terrorism* in CNN corpus, for example, a sample of 30 lines was first created by selecting every 7th line, in this case numbers 1, 8, 15, 22 and so on up to 204. These were analyzed and their tentative patterns identified before selecting and analyzing a second set on the same basis. Items in the second set fit existing patterns, suggested modifications or expansions to existing patterns, or suggested the creation of new patterns. This process continued until the new sets of concordance lines added little or nothing to the existing patterns. The same sampling technique was followed to study the patterns of *terrorism* in all corpora.

Results

Frequency

Table 3.3 shows the raw and normed frequencies of *terrorism* words in the Al-Jazeera, BBC, and CNN corpora. It also shows the normed frequencies of these words in the COCA and the Arabic Newswire reference corpora. At a first glance, it seems that *terrorism* words in each study corpus are significantly more frequent than in the corresponding reference corpus; they are 3.2 times more in Al-Jazeera, 3.4 times more in the BBC, and 13.2 times more in CNN. This

Table 3.3

Frequency of *Terrorism*-related words in the Al-Jazeera, BBC, and CNN Corpora

Corpus	Different Word forms referring to <i>terrorism</i>	Frequency	Total number in the corpus	Normed frequency (per 100,000 words)	Frequency in reference corpora (per 100,000 words)
Al-Jazeera	<i>Terrorism/terror</i>	806	1164	68	21
	<i>Terrorist</i>	295			
	<i>Terrorists</i>	63			
BBC	<i>Terrorism</i>	242	747	105	30.5
	<i>Terror</i>	214			
	<i>Terrorist</i>	207			
	<i>Terrorists</i>	84			
CNN	<i>Terrorism</i>	210	1267	408	30.5
	<i>Terror</i>	265			
	<i>Terrorist</i>	595			
	<i>Terrorists</i>	197			

observation implies that the terrorism theme occurs more often when covering the Israeli-Palestinian conflict than one would expect in a varied sample of news discourse. Considering the periods covered in the reference corpora used here, however, this observation might not be quite accurate about Al-Jazeera. As mentioned above, the Arabic Newswire Corpus covers the period from 1994 to 2000—that is, before the September 11 events and other terrorist attacks in Europe that would be expected to boost the use of *terrorism* words in the news. To see if the time period covered in the reference corpus would make a significant difference, I compared the frequency of *terrorism* words in the COCA in the period from 1994 to 2000, the same period

covered in the Arabic Newswire, to their frequency in the period from 2001 to 2005, the period used as a reference to the BBC and CNN data. While the average normed frequency in the 2001-2005 period was 30.5 per 100,000 words, it was only 4.2 per 100,000 words in the 1994-2000 period—that is, *terrorism* words increased 7.2 times during the later period. Assuming that the Arabic reference corpus would show a similar or a close rate of increase if it were compiled over the same period, one would expect a normed frequency of about 150 per 100,000 words –almost twice as many as the number of *terrorism* words in Al-Jazeera corpus. Of course, this raises a question about this high rate of frequency of *terrorism* words in the AFP Arabic news reports, but it is beyond the scope of this study to investigate it here.

Another important observation in the frequency data is that *terrorism* words occur at a very high rate in CNN corpus—six times higher than Al-Jazeera and 3.8 times higher than the BBC. This frequency rate implies that compared to the coverage of the BBC and Al-Jazeera, CNN coverage emphasizes the terrorism theme when reporting on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It is also worth noting that although, as explained in the introduction, *terrorism* is a keyword in Al-Jazeera corpus but not in the BBC corpus, it actually has higher normed frequency in the BBC (105 per 100,000 words) than in Al-Jazeera (68 per 100,000 wrds).

Semantic Profile of ‘Terrorism’: Collocation and Concordance Data

Table 3.4 shows the top lexical collocates of *terrorism* and *terror* in the Al-Jazeera, BBC, and CNN corpora. Collocates that are shared by the three corpora are in bold, collocates that are unique to a particular corpus are underlined, and those that are shared by two corpora are in italics. *Terrorism* and *terror* collocation networks also appear in Appendices A-E. Collocates for the indefinite form of *terrorism* in Al-Jazeera were too few to form a useful network. The numbers that appear in black circles on the collocation grids show the direction of the collocation

Table 3.4

Top Lexical Collocates of *Terrorism* and *Terror* in Al-Jazeera, BBC, and CNN Corpora

Al-Jazeera		BBC		CNN	
<i>al-irhab</i>	<i>irhab</i>	<i>terrorism</i>	<i>Terror</i>	<i>terrorism</i>	<i>Terror</i>
what he called combating fighting war on violence is called against stopping she called end <u>definition</u> <u>world</u> <u>American</u> <u>she/it calls</u> Palestinian <u>Washington</u> <u>incitement</u> <u>efforts</u> <u>challenge</u> <u>condemnation</u> <u>result</u> <u>effort</u> <u>supports</u> <u>authority</u> <u>do</u> <u>putting</u> <u>administration</u> <u>confronting</u> <u>international</u> <u>plan</u>	<u>state</u> <u>systematic</u> <u>assassination</u> <u>policy</u> actions Israel <u>operation</u>	war against on fight <u>said</u> <u>state</u> <u>disclose</u> Palestinian combat <u>failing</u> <u>giving</u> <u>convicted</u> <u>anti</u> <u>information</u> <u>act</u> <u>Syria</u> <u>dismantle</u> stop <u>Palestinians</u> <u>security</u> <u>must</u> <u>our</u> end Israel <u>says</u> <u>Israeli</u>	war against <u>attacks</u> fight on <u>acts</u> stop <u>said</u> end action <u>infrastructure</u> <u>activities</u> Israel violence <u>organizations</u> <u>right</u> <u>steps</u> <u>must</u> <u>act</u> Palestinian <u>Palestinians</u> <u>spokesman</u> <u>groups</u> <u>state</u> <u>Israeli</u> <u>told</u> <u>security</u>	against on fight war combat <u>crack</u> <u>down</u> <u>serious</u> <u>regarding</u> <u>advancing</u> action <u>incitement</u> <u>suicide</u> violence <u>protect</u> <u>continue</u> stop <u>because</u> <u>our</u> end <u>do</u> <u>international</u> <u>take</u> <u>process</u> Palestinian Israel <u>peace</u>	<u>attacks</u> fight <u>organizations</u> <u>infrastructure</u> <u>e dismantle</u> <u>activity</u> <u>groups</u> <u>claimed</u> Palestinian <u>cells</u> <u>act</u> <u>Hamas</u> <u>carry</u> <u>responsibility</u> <u>planning</u> war stop <u>Israeli</u> <u>targets</u> <u>Israelis</u> <u>operating</u> <u>numerous</u> <u>said</u> <u>group</u> <u>civilians</u> fighting <u>organization</u> <u>authority</u> <u>law</u> combat <u>Jerusalem</u> <u>bombing</u> <u>Islamic</u> <u>terrorists</u> <u>Jihad</u> Israel <u>Palestinians</u>

relationship. Number 1 shows that the relationship is mono-directional; that is, the word on the horizontal axis attracts the word on the vertical axis, but not vice versa. Number 2 shows a bi-directional relationship, in which case both words attract each other. In appendix E, for example, the grid shows that the word *Hamas* in the CNN corpus has a bidirectional relationship with the words *terror*, *claimed*, *planning*, *group*, *organization*, and *Islamic* and a mono-directional relationship with *organizations*, *infrastructure*, *Palestinian*, and *carry (out)*. In this section I will first describe the collocates that are shared by all corpora then move on to generate a semantic profile of *terrorism/terror* in each corpus by analyzing their collocation lists and networks as well as their concordance lines.

Shared Collocates

The lists of collocates of *terrorism/terror* from the three corpora share 11 collocates. Some of these collocates like *combating*, *fighting*, *stopping*, *end*, and *violence* show some of the semantic properties of terrorism that are currently agreed upon by different parties: that it is a type of illegitimate violence that should be combated and put to an end. Other shared collocates like *war*, *on*, and *against* show that the cliché expression ‘*war on/against terror/terrorism*’ is frequently used in the three corpora. Another feature that seems to be shared in the use of *terrorism* on the three news websites is that it usually occurs in the context of reporting some politicians’ comments on the covered events. This is revealed by collocates like *s/he called/calls* and *is called* in the Al-Jazeera list; *said*, *told*, and *spokesman* in the BBC list; and *said* in CNN list.

One of the remaining shared collocates, *Palestinian*, raises the question of whether the word *terrorism* is usually directly modified by the word *Palestinian* in the three corpora. This also raises the question of whether *terrorism* is ever directly modified by words that refer to the

Israeli side. To answer these questions, I extracted all the pre-modifiers of *terrorism* in the BBC and CNN corpora and all the post-modifiers—since modifiers occur in a post-position in Arabic—from Al-Jazeera corpus. Table 3.5 shows the pre/post-modifiers referring to the Israeli or the Palestinian side and their frequencies (F) in each corpus. The percentage row (%) shows the total number of pre/post-modifiers referring to each side as a percentage of the overall frequency of the word *terrorism* in each corpus.

Table 3.5

Words Referring to the Israeli or Palestinian Sides Before/After *Terrorism/Terror* in Al-Jazeera, BBC, and CNN Corpora

Al-Jazeera				BBC				CNN			
Israeli	F	Palestinian	F	Israeli	F	Palestinian	F	Israeli	F	Palestinian	F
Israeli	4	Palestinian	22	Israeli	3	Palestinian	14	State	1	Palestinian	18
Zionist	4	Islamic	2	Jewish	3	Islamic	1			Islamic	5
Official	2			State	15					Arafat's	1
Jewish	6									Hamas	6
State	27										
Occupation	1										
Total	44		24		21		15		1		30
%	6.6%		3.6%		4.6%		3.2%		.2%		6.3%

As shown in the table, modifiers referring to the Israeli side are used modify *terrorism* 6.6% of the time in Al-Jazeera, 4.6% in the BBC, and .2% in CNN. Modifiers referring to the

Palestinian side occur 3.6% in Al-Jazeera, 3.2% in the BBC, and 6.3% in CNN. The table also shows a contrast in the number of different words used by Al-Jazeera and CNN to refer to the Israeli and the Palestinian sides. While Al-Jazeera uses 6 words to refer to the Israeli side (*Israeli, Zionist, official, Jewish, State, occupation*) and only two words to refer to the Palestinians (*Palestinian, Islamic*), CNN uses 1 word to refer to Israel (*state*) and 4 words to refer to the Palestinians (*Palestinian, Islamic, Arafat's, Hamas*). These findings should not imply, however, that using these labels is a convention followed by these news websites since very often, as mentioned above, these labels occur in direct quotations from politicians or others deemed quotable by the media.

'Terrorism' on Al-Jazeera

One of the features that clearly stand out in the collocation list and networks of *terrorism* in Al-Jazeera corpus is the frequent use of what Stubbs (1996, p. 208) calls *surface markers of detachment*. These are words or phrases writers use in order to dissociate themselves from or to show a lack of commitment to some words or phrases that they use. In English, writers use phrases such as *so-called*, *so to speak*, and *quote unquote* in order to indicate “that the meaning of a word or phrase is problematic: its meaning lacks general acceptance, or is technical, or is unknown to the hearer, or differs among different speakers” (Stubbs, 1996, p. 209). Similar expressions of detachment in Arabic include phrases that can be literally translated as *what s/he called* and *what s/he described as*. As shown in table 3.4 above, words—such as *what, he called, she called, he calls, she calls, is called*²—that make up some of these Arabic surface markers of detachment are very strong collocates of *terrorism* in the Al-Jazeera corpus. In addition, Al-Jazeera collocation networks of *terrorism* (see Appendix A) show that these expressions attract most of the other collocates of *terrorism*: *s/he called*, for example, attracts 13

² Each of these forms appears in Arabic as one word inflected for passive, tense, gender ...etc.

of the other 20 collocates of *terrorism* and appears in the collocation lists of 11 of them. These markers of detachment can, therefore, be considered *nuclear nodes* (McEnery, 2006, p. 21)—or words that are central to the collocation network of *terrorism* in the Al-Jazeera corpus. This indicates that Al-Jazeera reporters are almost constantly questioning the appropriate use of the word *terrorism* by those who are reported using it.

The critical attitude adopted by Al-Jazeera towards the use of the word *terrorism* is also indicated by the word *definition*, one of the collocates of *terrorism* that appears only in the Al-Jazeera corpus. Manual scanning of the concordance lines in which *terrorism* and *definition* co-occur shows that it is used in the context of reporting the disagreement of some political figures over what *terrorism* means. It also occurs when reporting someone calling for a clear definition of *terrorism*. One of these examples refers to the failure of a world summit at the UN to agree on a definition of terrorism. Here is an example from the concordance lines of *terrorism* followed by its English translation:

1. ويتركز الخلاف حول تعريف الإرهاب وتحديدًا حول كيفية تعريف العمليات الفدائية الفلسطينية، والعمليات العسكرية التي تقوم بها إسرائيل في الأراضي الفلسطينية المحتلة.

The focus of the dispute is over the **definition** of **terrorism** and specifically over how to **define** the Palestinian commando operations and the military operations carried out by Israel in the occupied Palestinian territories.

Another nuclear collocate within the collocation network of *terrorism* in Al-Jazeera corpus is the word *authority*. It has bidirectional connection with *terrorism*, *Palestinian*, *Washington*, *administration*, and *he/she called* and unidirectional connection with *fighting*, *war*, *stopping*, *do*, *against*, *end*, *efforts*, *condemning*. One scenario indicated by this network of collocates is that the Palestinian Authority is usually expected, most importantly by the

American administration, to condemn, stop, put an end to, and fight what the American Administration consider acts of terror. Manual scanning of the relevant concordance lines shows that American and Israeli officials usually blame the lack of progress in the peace process on the failure of the Palestinian Authority to stop what they see as acts of terror committed by Palestinian groups. This blame is sometimes accompanied by a call on Israel to stop its settlement activities, as in the example below:

2. طالب الرئيس الأميركي جورج بوش إسرائيل بوقف التوسع الاستيطاني وإزالة النقاط الاستيطانية العشوائية وفي مؤتمر صحفي مع رئيس السلطة الفلسطينية محمود عباس في واشنطن، حث بوش السلطة على التصدي لما أسماه الإرهاب حتى يتسنى السير قدما في عملية السلام بالشرق الأوسط.

American President George Bush called on Israel to stop settlement expansion and to remove the random outposts. At a news conference with Palestinian **Authority** President Mahmoud Abbas in **Washington**, Bush urged the **Authority** to combat **what he called terrorism** in order to move forward in the peace process in the Middle East.

Another important collocate that appears on top of the list of the indefinite form of *terrorism* is the word *state*. Other relevant collocates on the same list are *systematic*, *assassination*, *policy*, and *operation*. Manual analysis of the corresponding concordance lines shows that they are usually used when reporting comments on the Israeli policy of assassinating military as well as political leaders of Palestinian groups, most notably Sheikh Ahmed Yassin the paraplegic spiritual leader of Hamas and Dr. Abdel Aziz al-Rantissi the cofounder of Hamas. The following example appears as a title of an article reporting the results of a survey given in Norway after the assassination of Yassin:

3. أكدوا عدم نزاهة أميركا

غالبية النرويجيين ترى أن إسرائيل تمارس إرهاب دولة

They emphasized the bias of America

The majority of Norwegians believe that Israel practices state terrorism

The term *state terrorism* is also used in other situations including comments on the Israeli West Bank wall, Israeli frequent incursions into Palestinian territories, and Israeli army policy of home demolitions.

Terrorism on the BBC

Analysis of the collocation lists and networks of *terror* and *terrorism* in the BBC corpus shows several different themes in which these words are used. Like Al-Jazeera, the BBC reports Israeli and American politicians who frequently blame the Palestinians for the deadlocked peace process. This theme can be identified from one of the collocation networks revolving around the words *Palestinian* and *Palestinians* which, in addition to *terror* and *terrorism*, attract words like *stop*, *dismantle*, *end*, *action*, *steps*, *violence*, and *must*. Studying the relevant concordance lines shows that while the BBC does not question the appropriateness of the use of the T-words as explicitly as Al-Jazeera does, it frequently avoids commitment to them by resorting to direct quotations. Here is an example:

4. US State Department official David Satterfield “underscored security **steps** the **Palestinians must** make to **end terror** and **violence**”, an official said.

Another strategy sometimes followed by the BBC is to provide extra background information explaining the Palestinian point of view, as in the example below:

5. While Israel’s prime minister insists the problem starts and ends with **Palestinian terrorism**, the **Palestinians** see it differently. They say the attacks against Israel are a result of almost 40 years of occupation of Palestinian lands.

A common theme in which the word *terrorism* occurs in the BBC corpus is the justification of some Israeli or American officials of Israeli activities that trigger international criticism. Justifying the order to bulldoze 50 homes in Gaza by an Israeli military leader—who was about to be arrested upon arrival in Britain for war crimes—an Israeli official is reported as saying:

6. “They could do this tomorrow to any officer who has served in the Israeli army over the past five years and has fought the hard fight against **terror**.”

Other examples include justifying an air attack in Gaza that killed 10 people and injured dozens,

7. The Israeli army described the earlier strikes as a major part of what they termed their war against **terrorism**.

justifying the building of a wall around the West Bank and condemning the ruling of the World Court against it,

8. “The ruling totally ignores the reason behind the construction of the security barrier which is Palestinian **terrorism**.”

and the justification of George Bush of the assassination of Yassin and 9 bystanders.

9. Questioned over the killing of Sheikh Yassin last week, President Bush said that Israel had a “right to defend itself from **terror**”.

As mentioned in the frequency data above, the word *terrorism* is also used sometimes to refer to acts of violence committed by Israel. Most of these instances occur in the context of reporting (non-American and non-Israeli) comments on the assassination of Hamas leaders. In most of these cases, *terror/terrorism* is preceded by the word *state*. Instances of *state terrorism* are usually quoted, as in the following example:

10. A spokesman for the Arab League, Hossam Zaki, said the organization condemned the attack, describing it as “state *terrorism*”.

A few instances of the word *terror/terrorism* occur in the context of analysis articles aiming to provide clarifying background information about important concepts and/or participants frequently mentioned in the conflict. One of these articles was triggered by Israeli claims that there is a connection between Al-Qaeda and Hamas and that they are fighting the same kind of war the US is fighting in Iraq and Afghanistan. Some of the background information provided by this article includes the following quotation:

11. Hamas is a Palestinian nationalist movement that was founded to fight the Israeli occupation. Its stated goal is to strike only Israeli targets, and there is no evidence that it has ever conducted military operations outside of Israel and the Palestinian territories.

Terrorism on CNN

Terrorism/terror is mostly used in CNN corpus in the context of a Western war on terror. Officials cited the most use the term as a monolithic threat facing the “free world”, including Israel. In the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the point is frequently made that the terror threat is the only obstacle facing a peaceful settlement of the conflict. While these claims are challenged in different ways by Al-Jazeera and the BBC, CNN does very little to question them. Sources that might give a clear counterargument are rarely cited and clear background information about the conflict is rarely provided.

One of the collocation networks of *terrorism/terror* in the CNN corpus forms around the words *Palestinian* and *authority* which in addition to *terror* and *terrorism* attract *crack* (*down, on*), *take* (*action, against*) *dismantle* (*infrastructure*), *stop*, and *violence*. This network is very

similar to one of the networks of *terrorism/terror* in the Al-Jazeera and the BBC corpora and shows that the sources cited by the CNN frequently demand that the Palestinian authority should take action against violence committed by some Palestinian groups. Yet, while Al-Jazeera frequently uses surface markers of detachment and the BBC frequently uses direct quotations to indicate that they might not agree with what the reported sources are saying, the CNN usually reports the statements without any signs of disagreement.

12. If the Palestinians take comprehensive action to stop the terrorism, violence and incitement, we will be able to move forward in contacts on implementing the road map.

13. In the past, Sharon has flatly stated that the Palestinian Authority must stop terrorism -- which would require cracking down on militant groups in the West Bank and Gaza -- before negotiations could resume.

Another network of collocates forming around the word *Hamas* shows the kind of background information frequently provided about the Palestinian group. *Hamas* attracts *claimed, responsibility, Israeli (civilians), Palestinian (group), carry/carried (out, numerous, attacks)*. The quotation below shows a typical formulaic statement usually provided about Hamas in CNN reports:

14. Hamas is a Palestinian Islamic fundamentalist organization whose military wing has admitted responsibility for terrorist attacks against Israeli civilians. The United States and Israel consider it a terrorist group.

This particular statement is provided in a news article reporting the assassination of Hamas leader Rantissi. In contrast with the reporting of the assassination events by Al-Jazeera and the BBC, CNN avoids reporting comments that described these events as “state terrorism”. Instead,

formulaic background information like the above is emphasized and large space is devoted to Israeli officials to respond. The way the following title is worded shows that the main focus of one of the articles on the assassination of Rantissi is to highlight the Israeli justification for the assassination:

15. Ambassador: Hamas leader was 'doctor of death'

U.N. resolution would condemn 'extrajudicial executions'

When Israeli attacks claim the lives of Palestinian civilians who are not members of any group, Israeli officials who usually blame “the terrorist” are frequently cited (see example 15). In contrast to Israeli victims who are frequently described as *civilians*, Palestinian victims are usually described as *bystanders* (see example 16).

16. “I hope that Palestinian terrorists will stop using civilians as human shields,” Genut said. “And I hope that Palestinian Authority will take finally the moral and strategic decision to dismantle infrastructure of **terrorism**.”

17. Such Israeli operations have been directed against members of Palestinian terrorist groups—who have claimed responsibility for attacks on Israeli civilians—but have sometimes killed bystanders as well.

In such cases, CNN usually devotes more space to reporting the response of the Israeli official than to the actual event. Titles of such reports are also usually worded in a way that hides the agent responsible for the violence. The title of the report a part of which quoted above is:

18. Palestinian sources: 14 dead in Gaza

To conclude, the results section presented frequency, collocation, and concordance data in an attempt to shed some light on the use of *terrorism* in Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and CNN corpora. Frequency data shows that *terrorism* has the highest frequency in CNN and the lowest

frequency in Al-Jazeera. Collocation and concordance data show the main themes and patterns of use of the word *terrorism* in each corpus. In the following section, these results will be discussed in light of the CDA concepts outlined above.

Discussion

In this section, I will discuss the findings reported above in light of the CDA concepts of struggle over the control of discourse and van Dijk's (1998b) *ideological square* framework. At least in the case of CNN and Al-Jazeera, the data show a subtle struggle over the control of discourse representing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. CNN generally adopts the official Israeli/American version of the story that seeks to impose the label of terrorism on Palestinian acts of violence. Al-Jazeera, on the other hand, seems to generally adopt a defensive position contesting the official Israeli/American use of this label. The two representations are in line with what is commonly believed about the positions of the two networks on the conflict. Like most American media, CNN is believed to take the Israeli side partly because of pressures from influential pro-Israel lobbying and media watchdog organizations (see Mearsheimer and Walt, 2007, p. 169-178). Al-Jazeera, on the other hand, is believed to position itself as a counter-force to the official Arab indifference towards the plight of the Palestinians and to the pro-Israeli Western media (Zayani, 2005). In the case of the BBC, which is generally believed to take a more balanced stance towards the conflict compared to CNN (e.g., Ratzkoff & Jhally, 2004), the data show that it is not as involved in the conflict over the use of the term *terrorism* as CNN or Al-Jazeera.

In the following section, I will discuss how data from each news source fit van Dijk's (1998b) *ideological square* framework. As shown in table 3.1, a positive representation of the in-group members and/or their allies involves emphasizing their good properties/actions and

mitigating their bad properties/actions. On the other hand, a negative representation of the out-group members and/or their allies involves emphasizing their bad properties/actions and mitigating their good properties/actions. Since the focus of this study is on the word *terrorism*, which usually occurs in the context of reporting acts of violence (bad actions), it is easier to see examples of mitigating the bad actions of the in-group and examples of emphasizing the bad actions of the out-group. However, a few examples of emphasizing the good actions of the in-group and mitigating the good actions of the out-group do occur sometimes in the expandable context of *terrorism* concordances.

In the case of the CNN reports, the pattern of a positive representation of the in-group and their allies (by emphasizing their good actions and mitigating their bad actions) typically applies to representing the Israeli side. One strategy adopted to mitigate Israeli acts of violence is avoiding the use of the word *terrorism* to describe these acts even if the victims are civilians. The CNN reports would also rarely cite someone who might describe Israeli acts of violence as *terrorism* or *state terrorism*. Israeli acts of violence are also sometimes mitigated by emphasizing that they are directed against “terrorists” while obscuring the status of civilian victims by using words like bystanders (#16). Another strategy is to devote much space to Israeli or American officials who usually provide justifications for the acts of violence committed by Israel and present the Israeli side in the position of self-defense (e.g., # 15 & 16). The CNN reports also sometimes include background information that provides this kind of justification (e.g., #14). In terms of emphasizing the good actions of the in-group, there are a few examples in the context of the word *terrorism* showing Israel as the party who seeks peace, which is blockaded only by “Palestinian terrorism” (e.g., #12).

The representation of the Palestinian side in the CNN reports, on the other hand, typically fits that of the negative representation of the out-group and their allies (by emphasizing their bad actions and mitigating their good actions). The most obvious example of emphasizing Palestinian bad actions is the exclusive application of the defamation term *terrorism* to Palestinian violence. This is further emphasized by highlighting that the victims are civilians (#14 & 17). Acts of violence committed by Palestinians are also emphasized (or not mitigated) by rarely providing any justification for them. In the context of the word *terrorism*, for example, the data show no reference to Israeli occupation as a major cause of the use of violence. The virtual absence of reference to the Israeli occupation is not unique to the immediate contexts of the word *terrorism*. In another study conducted on the same corpora used here, words in the *occupation* word family were found to be rare in the whole CNN corpus. Compared to *terrorism* words frequency of 408 per 100,000 words, *occupation* words frequency is only 40 per 100,000 words. The virtual absence of occupation from the story serves two purposes. First, it mitigates or even hides the bad actions of the Israeli side, thus making it easier to gain support for Israel among American audience who would generally view occupation as a negative thing. Second, the absence of occupation takes away the only reason some Palestinians are resorting to violence. Presenting Palestinian violence in a vacuum without reasons is very important for the ideal portrayal of the outsider “as irrational or crazed, exercising a twisted thirst for blood” (Perdue, 1989, p. 9). With regards to mitigating the good actions/properties of the out-group, a good example here is the frequent denial of the civilian status of the many non-combatant Palestinian victims that fall in Israeli attacks.

The data from Al-Jazeera, on the other hand, show that the network is mainly concerned about countering the image commonly presented in Western media about the conflict. It is still

clear that the network is interested in the positive representation of the Palestinians (in-group) and the negative representation of the Israelis (out-group). The main strategy adopted to perform the former task, however, does not quite fit neither of the two options on van Dijk's (1998b) ideological square model; namely, emphasizing the good properties/actions of the in-group or mitigating their bad properties/actions. Instead, Al-Jazeera is mainly questioning the validity of the negative representation of the in-group. This questioning is done in two ways: frequently using surface markers of detachment to signal that the meaning of the word *terrorism* is problematic and by explicitly reporting voices questioning its definition. The reason this questioning strategy does not fit under mitigating the bad properties/actions of the in-group is that most instances of *terrorism* do not occur in the context of reporting specific Palestinian acts of violence which Al-Jazeera seeks to mitigate; rather, it mostly occurs when citing politicians or other entities who use the term as a label that should naturally and normally apply to Palestinian violence. It is this naturalization and normalization that Al-Jazeera seems to be questioning and resisting. The conspicuous existence of this questioning or resistance strategy in Al-Jazeera reports, and not on the CNN for example, reflects an important aspect of the power structure of the different participants in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Sources frequently cited applying the *terrorism* label to the Palestinians are usually powerful political entities who would fall under what Fowler (1991, p. 22) calls *highly privileged sources* who represent official authorities. These are top priority sources that are frequently tapped by journalists and Al-Jazeera reporters cannot afford to ignore them even if they do not agree with the statements they make. For CNN, on the other hand, it is much easier to ignore the weak voices of Hamas or other Palestinian groups who might describe Israeli violence as *terrorism*.

Data from Al-Jazeera corpus also show that the network adopts other strategies for the positive representation of the in-group and the negative representation of the out-group. These include emphasizing the bad actions/properties of the out group. An example of this is the pervasive use of the word *occupation* in Al-Jazeera corpus. Compared to *terrorism* words frequency of (68 per 100,000) *occupation* words occur at a rate of 608 per 100,000. In addition to highlighting the “bad action” of the Israeli side, frequent reference to *occupation* provides a reason for Palestinian violence. Another strategy that contributes to the negative representation of the out-group on Al-Jazeera network is reporting other voices that go beyond resistance of applying the terrorism label to Palestinians using it to label Israeli acts of violence. Interestingly, the network tends to highlight these views more if they are Western (like in quotation # 3 above). This is probably because Western views are less likely to be perceived as biased compared to similar views from the Arab World.

Lastly, the data from the BBC show an example of a party that is less involved in the conflict. Frequency data of *terrorism* words (105 per 100,000) are very close to those of *occupation* words (120 per 100,000). This shows that in general the BBC seems to be adopting a restrictive policy regarding the use of evaluative words. According to a BBC editor the policy is that “terrorist was a banned word unless it was in the mouth of someone else” (Rees, 2005, p. 8). *Terrorism* does occur frequently on the BBC network when reporting politicians. The network, however, often provides appropriate background information that balances the representation and presents the other point of view.

Conclusion

This paper combined concepts and research methods from Critical Discourse Analysis and corpus linguistics to study how media discourse can be framed in different ways to serve the

political stance adopted by different media outlets in order to influence public attitudes towards participants in the events covered. The focus of this investigation was the use of the word *terrorism* in three corpora of news reports compiled from Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and CNN news networks websites. Using data from frequency lists, collocation lists and collocation networks, and concordances, the paper reveals three different ways of representing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict based on the position of each network towards the conflict: CNN generally adopts the dominating Western/Israeli position, Al-Jazeera largely contests that position, and the BBC comes across as mainly less involved in the conflict than the other two networks.

The main contribution of this study is the incorporation of a multi-cultural/bilingual dimension into the analysis. By analyzing data from three different cultures (American, Arab, and British) in two different language (Arabic and English), this research has been able to contrast three different perspectives on the issue of terrorism in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

As with the recent research seeking to combine CDA and CL research methods, this study demonstrates that the use of corpus techniques in Critical Discourse Analysis can be very beneficial. A significant contribution of CL that is demonstrated by the current study is the use of empirical bottom-up approaches to guide the analysis from the very beginning. The selection of the term *terrorism* for analysis was justified by its appearance in the automated keyword analysis rather than the subjective selection of the researcher. In addition, the electronically generated frequency lists provided fast and valuable information regarding the aspects of the conflict that are prioritized by different media—such as the focus on the terrorism theme on the CNN and on the occupation theme on Al-Jazeera. The collocation lists and networks employed here also proved valuable in providing a general profile of the word *terrorism* and pointing at

areas that warrant further contextualized analysis using the concordancer. The concordance analysis, in turn, was a powerful tool for a comprehensive contextualized study of how *terrorism* is used in each corpus. Conclusions made regarding the use of *terrorism* in each of the corpora studied here are, therefore, more reliable than conclusions made based on the analysis of a few texts.

The use of corpus tools, however, is not without limitations. One limitation of corpus-based methods is the lack of interpretative frameworks that can provide explanations for the findings obtained in the analysis. CDA theories and conceptual frameworks, such as the ideological square framework used here, are essential to incorporate into the corpus-based analysis for us to understand the ideologies underlying the results of the analysis. Another limitation of CDA approaches is the difficulty of making any conclusions beyond what can be seen in the data. That is, once the researcher chooses a certain term for the analysis, he/she will have very limited view of other phenomena that do not occur in the immediate vicinity of the issue being investigated. When focusing on studying the word *terrorism*, for example, I could only see a few examples in the expandable contexts of the concordances regarding the peace process and the attitude of different participants in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict towards it. Even though the few examples I have come across on the CNN show that the Israeli side is the one that is constantly looking for peace, I could not draw the conclusion that this is one way the Israeli side is positively represented on the CNN. A more comprehensive study that looks specifically at all occurrences of this issue is needed before such a conclusion can be made. This limitation of the concordancer, however, comes with an advantage; namely, the heuristic function of the concordance (Koller & Mautner, 2004). Investigating concordances usually

draws the researcher's attention to other phenomena going on in the text and raises questions that require follow up analysis.

Further work that complements the research conducted here is still needed. The finding, for example, that the word *terrorism* usually occurs in quotations from sources considered to be important sources of information raises the question of which sources of information are routinely relied upon by each media outlet and how much space is devoted to sources representing the different sides involved in the conflict. Additionally, a more detailed qualitative CDA analysis should focus on a small number of news reports covering specific acts of violence committed by Israelis and Palestinians. Such a comparison is needed to see if it would yield similar patterns to the ones revealed by the broader analysis conducted in the current study.

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CHAPTER 4

OCCUPATION AND SETTLEMENTS IN THE COVERAGE OF THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT ON AL-JAZEERA, BBC, AND CNN NEWS WEBSITES:
CORPUS-BASED CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

“The settlements established in the territories are there forever, and the future frontiers will include these settlements as part of Israel” (Moshe Dayan 1969, quoted in Neumann, 2005, p. 107).

Introduction

The Israeli settlements in the Palestinian territories, the construction of which has been going on since the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza in 1967, play a crucial role in the ever-intensifying conflict between the Israelis and the Palestinians. The settlements, which are illegal under international law, occupy large portions of Palestinian land and jeopardize a peaceful resolution of the conflict based on the widely accepted two-state solution (Cook, 2006; Neumann, 2005)

Because of the central role of the settlements in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, their media coverage, especially in the US and Britain, has received considerable attention from academic and political commentators. One concern about the coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in American media is the failure of major news outlets to indicate that the settlements are built on occupied territories. Ackerman (2001) analyzed 99 news stories in which the West Bank and Gaza were mentioned and found that the reporters failed to use words such as *occupied* or *occupation*, which would clarify the status of the territories, in more than 90% of the reports on the ABC, NBC, and CBS news networks and about 80% of the reports on the CNN. Citing examples from CBS and NBC news, Ackerman also points out that Gaza and the West Bank are

at times referred to as parts of Israel. Similarly, British journalist Robert Fisk (2001) criticizes CNN for succumbing to pressures from some pro-Israeli groups over its references to Israeli settlements. Fisk quotes a CNN memorandum instructing its journalists to stop referring to Gilo, an Israeli settlement near Jerusalem, as a “Jewish settlement” and to use the words “Jewish neighborhood” instead (para. 3). In another study focusing on the reporting of the conflict in the *New York Times* over a period of more than six years, Friel and Falk (2007) observe that the newspaper has consistently ignored Article 49 (6) of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which consists only of 19 words that succinctly “outlaw all of Israel’s settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, and which easily fit into any newspaper editorial or news article” (p. 145).

Comments on settlement coverage in British media are not consistent. While some commentators believe that British media tend to highlight the illegality of the settlements and their key role in the conflict (Ratzkoff & Jhally, 2004), others focusing on the BBC coverage (e.g., Barko, 2008; De Rooij, 2002) see little attempt from the BBC to do that. However, in a glossary³ of terminology used as guide for its reporters of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the BBC states “when writing a story about settlements we can aim, where relevant, to include context to the effect that ‘all settlements in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, are considered illegal under international law, though Israel disputes this’” (BBC, 2006).

To my knowledge, so far nothing has been written about the way the Israeli *settlements* are presented in the Arab media. Whereas it is certainly important to study how different issues in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are presented in Britain and the United States, two of the most important international players who might be able to influence a lot of what is going on in the conflict, it is equally important to study how the same issues are presented in the media targeting the Arab audience to whom the conflict is the most important political preoccupation (Zayani,

³ Out of this glossary, 24 terms are made available to the public on the BBC website

2005). This study, therefore, investigates the coverage of the Israeli settlements in Arab, American, and British media, represented by Al-Jazeera, CNN, and the BBC respectively.

Goals of the Current Study

In a previous corpus-based keyword study by the author, words such as *settlements* and *settlers* were found to be key in three news corpora compiled from the news websites of Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and CNN networks. This result shows that settlement-related issues were frequently recurring topics on Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and the CNN websites over the period of time covered in the corpora. The main purpose of the current study is to investigate two of the issues raised about the coverage of the Israeli occupation and Israeli settlements: (a) the frequency of *occupation*-related words and (b) a more contextualized analysis of the word *settlements* in the same corpora used for the keyword study. The study combines concepts and research methods from critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics, and is designed to contribute to the discussion of how discourse can be framed and worded to represent political stances, to influence public attitude, and to control access to information. The main questions this study investigates are listed below:

1. How frequent are *occupation*-related words in the coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict on Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and CNN news websites?
2. What contexts does the word *settlements* tend to occur in?
3. How clear is the international law status of the settlements in the coverage of Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and CNN news websites?
4. How clear is the role played by the settlements in the conflict in the coverage Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and CNN news websites?

The theoretical and methodological frameworks of critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics which inform the research conducted in this study are discussed in the following section.

Theoretical and Methodological Frameworks

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

This study is mainly informed by theoretical and methodological frameworks from Critical discourse Analysis (CDA) and corpus linguistics. CDA is primarily interested in studying “the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (van Dijk, 2001, p. 352), and one of its the ultimate goals is to expose the manipulative strategies adopted by dominant groups to maintain social inequalities and injustices (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Van Dijk, 1996, 2001, 2006). To expose this manipulation, CDA is not simply interested in accounting for what is present in a text; what is absent from the text is believed to be just as significant (Fairclough, 1995; Kress & Leeuwen, 2001). This interest in what is absent from a text is based on the view in systemic-functional linguistics of a text as a system of options amongst which the text producer selects what best supports his/her positions. What is excluded or omitted from a text could be deliberately kept away from the readers to control what they know about the subject and hence what their attitudes towards it are. One way to find out what is absent from a text is to conduct contrastive analysis of different texts that might reveal the different options available to present the same thing (e.g., Leeuwe, 1993). The investigation of issues related to the Israeli settlements in news articles from Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and CNN in the current study identifies the multiple options available to present those same issues and highlights the selections made by text producers.

Another CDA concept informing the analysis conducted in the current study is its view of discourse as being historical. According to this principle of CDA, “discourse is not produced and cannot be understood without taking the context into consideration” (Wodak, 1996, p. 19). The discourse historical approach of CDA analysis (Wodak, 2001) is especially concerned with integrating the historical context into the interpretation of discourse. The historical context of the Israeli settlements is, thus, referred to in the discussion section of this paper to interpret some of its findings.

Finally, this study also relies on van Dijk’s (1998b) concept of *group ideologies* and *ideological square* framework. Group ideologies are defined as “[the] political or social systems of ideas, values or prescriptions of groups or other collectivities, and have the function of organizing or legitimating the actions of the group” van Dijk (1998a, p. 3). van Dijk (1998b) proposes that especially when conflicting group interests are involved, the typical content of group ideologies tends to be structured in a polarized way: “Self and Others, Us and Them ... We are Good and They are Bad” (p. 25). The polarized structure of group ideologies might result in the polarization of discourses so that the in-group and their friends or allies receive positive description, while the out-group and their friends or allies receive negative description. Van Dijk (1998b) suggests that this polarized representation follows an abstract evaluative structure which he calls the *ideological square*: emphasizing the good properties /actions of the in-group, emphasizing the bad properties /actions of the out-group, mitigating the bad properties /actions of the in-group, mitigating the good properties /actions of the out-group. In relation to the data presented here, the ideological square framework is used to interpret how the different Israeli or Palestinian actions are represented in Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and CNN.

Corpus Linguistics

This study also utilizes some of the automated tools of corpus linguistics which have been useful in addressing some of the criticisms leveled at the mainly qualitative methodology of CDA (Baker et. al, 2008). Two issues raised against CDA that can be addressed by corpus linguistics include the arbitrary selection of texts (Koller & Mautner, 2004) and the analysis of a small number of texts (Stubbs, 1994, 1997). These criticisms raise questions about the representativeness of the texts selected for analysis and the possibility of revealing reliable patterns and tendencies based on small texts or text fragments.

The corpus techniques that will be used here to help address these issues are: (a) frequency lists and (b) concordances. Frequency lists are useful for critical discourse analysis as they can easily identify the writer/speaker's pattern of lexical choices, which is an important aspect of studying the ideological use of language (e.g., Fairclough, 2001; van Dijk, 1998b). Even though identifying patterns of lexical preference could be effectively studied manually, there is a limit to how much text we can manually analyze. Using automated frequency tools, we can analyze significantly more texts produced over long periods of times, thus allowing for even more patterns to emerge. The other corpus tool that is used in this research is the concordance, a list of every instance of a word or phrase in the corpus with an expandable context up to a whole text view. A concordance is essential to CDA because of its emphasis on going beyond analyzing lexical items to the propositions, contexts, and the whole texts in which they occur (van Dijk, 1998b). The following section discusses how these tools are used for the purpose of the current study.

Methodology

Corpora

The data for this research is drawn from three news corpora: the Al-Jazeera Arabic corpus, the BBC English corpus, and the CNN English corpus. Each corpus includes news reports and analyses covering the Israeli-Palestinian conflict over a period of 27 months, from October 2003 to December 2005. The relevant articles were retrieved from the online news archives of the BBC and CNN networks using the query terms *Israel*, *Israeli(s)*, *Palestine*, and *Palestinian(s)* and using their Arabic equivalents on Al-Jazeera website. Search results were manually checked, and news reports that were not directly related to the conflict were discarded. Table 4.1 shows some of the general statistics of the corpora. There were 3903 relevant reports on Al-Jazeera, 1704 on the BBC, and 640 on the CNN over that period. Every news report was saved in a separate text file in each corpus. The total number of words is 1,681,254 words in Al-Jazeera Arabic corpus, 711,787 words in the BBC English corpus, and 315,192 in the CNN English corpus.

Table 4.1

General Statistics of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Study Corpora

	Al-Jazeera	BBC	CNN
Number of words	1,681,254	711,787	315,192
Number of news reports	3,903	1704	640
Number of days collected	823	823	823
Average news articles per day	4.74	2.07	0.77
Average article length by words	431	418	492

'Occupation' Frequency

To compare the frequency of words in the *occupation* word family (henceforth, *occupation* words) across the three corpora, wordlists showing the frequencies of all the words in corpus were first created using the Wordlist function of the Wordsmith Tools 4.0 software package (Scott, 2004). *Occupation* words on each list were then identified and their raw frequencies extracted. Because Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and the CNN corpora have different lengths, the resulting raw frequencies were normalized (Biber, Conrad, and Reppen, 1998), or adjusted in order to obtain more comparable numbers. The basis of norming chosen was 100,000 words since each of the BBC and the CNN corpora contains less than one million words. The normed numbers, obtained by dividing the raw frequency by the total number of words in the corpus and then multiplying by a 100,000, show how often *occupation* words occur per a hundred thousand words in each corpus.

In addition to comparing the frequencies of *occupation* words across the three study corpora, another comparison was made between the total frequency of these words in each corpus and their total frequency in a reference corpus—a large corpus that contains a great variety of texts from a particular genre or language variety and is, therefore, more representative of that genre (Baker, 2006). Frequency data from the BBC and CNN corpora were compared to similar data extracted from The Reuters Corpus Volume 1, which consists of 810,000 English language news stories from August 20, 1996 to August 19, 1997 and contains 218 million words. The *occupation* data from the Al-Jazeera corpus was compared to the Arabic Newswire Part1 corpus, which consists of Arabic news articles from the Agence France Presse (AFP) from May 13, 1994 to December 20, 2000, and contains 76 million words.

'Settlements' Concordance Analysis

The typical contexts in which the Israeli settlements occur on Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and the CNN were identified by manually scanning the concordance lines of the word *settlements* extracted from each corpus. The concordance lines were extracted using the concordance function of Wordsmith Tools 4.0 (Scott, 2004), which allows for context expansion up to a whole-file view. Analyzing the concordances proceeded using a sampling technique that uses the every '*n*th' convention where *n* is the result of dividing the total number of concordance lines by the number of lines desired in the sample (Sinclair, 1999). The purpose of this technique is to identify most or all the patterns of use related to the keyword without having to analyze every instance of it in the corpus by studying a number of smaller samples containing concordance lines extracted from all parts of the corpus. To study the typical patterns of use of the word *settlements* in Al-Jazeera corpus, for example, I first extracted a concordance containing 1452 lines—all instances in the corpus. Since these lines occur in the order of the running texts, I created a subset of 25 lines distributed over the whole corpus by selecting every 58th line starting from line number 1. These were analyzed and their tentative patterns identified before selecting and analyzing a second set on the same basis starting from line number 2. Items in the second set fit existing patterns, suggested modifications or expansions to existing patterns, or suggested the creation of totally new patterns. This process continued until the new subsets of concordance lines added little or nothing to the existing patterns.

Results of the *occupation* words frequency analysis and the *settlements* concordance analysis are presented below.

Results

The results section is divided into two parts: a brief subsection presenting the *occupation*-words frequency data and a longer section in which the identified themes of the word *settlements* are presented with illustrating quotes from the news reports in each corpus. Discussion and interpretation of the data in the two parts are provided in the discussion section of this paper.

'Occupation' Words Frequency

Table 4.2

Frequency of *Occupation* Related Words in the Study and Reference Corpora

	Al-Jazeera	BBC	CNN	Arabic Newswire	Reuters Corpus
<i>occupation</i>	8888	271	72	10470	3096
<i>Occupied</i>	1288	535	49	25130	4325
<i>Occupying</i>	5	26	4	24	712
<i>Occupy</i>	41	16	0	12700	962
<i>occupiers</i>	19	8	0	185	227
Total	10241	856	125	48509	9322
Normed Frequency (per 100,000 words)	609.1	120.2	39.7	61	4.2

Table 4.2 shows the raw and normed frequencies of *occupation* words in the study corpora (Al-Jazeera, BBC, and the CNN) and the reference corpora (the Arabic Newswire and the Reuters). The first thing one can observe in this table is that *occupation* related words are

significantly higher in each study corpus than in the corresponding reference corpus. Compared to the Reuters, *occupation* words are about 28 times more frequent in the BBC and about 9 times more frequent in the CNN. Compared to the Arabic Newswire reference corpus, these words are about 10 times more frequent in the Al-Jazeera corpus. This finding is not surprising since the reference corpora are made of more varied news reports, the vast majority of which do not involve any kind of occupation situations.

Another observation that is more important for the purpose of comparing the news outlets studied here is the significant discrepancy in the frequency of *occupation* related words across the three study corpora. At a normed frequency per 100,000 words, *occupation* related words occur at a rate of 609.1 uses per 100,000 words in the Al-Jazeera corpus, 120.2 per 100,000 words in the BBC, and 39.7 per 100,000 words in the CNN corpus. The rate of these words in Al-Jazeera, therefore, is about five times higher than in the BBC and about 15 times higher than in the CNN. Comparing the BBC and CNN, BBC uses occupation words three times more than the CNN does. The implications of these frequency patterns of occupation words are analyzed below in the discussion section.

Thematic Analysis of 'Settlements': Concordance Data

Analyzing the concordance data of the word *settlements* in the Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and the CNN corpora shows that the word occurs in three major themes or contexts: the Israeli disengagement plan, the expansions of West Bank settlements, and the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. The word *settlements* is also used to refer to locations where events take place. This section provides an outline of these different themes. Representative quotations from Al-Jazeera (together with their English translations), the BBC, and CNN are presented in this respective order under each theme. It should be noted that the different themes described here do not form

mutually exclusive categories but rather different aspects of use that interact to form one semantic profile of the word in each corpus. As with the occupation frequency data, the significance and implications of the different ways of presenting these same themes will be addressed in the discussion section below.

'Settlements' in the Israeli Disengagement Plan

The majority of the instances of *settlements* in the three study corpora occur in the context of covering the Israeli disengagement plan. News reports covering the disengagement are concerned with announcing and describing the plan, explaining the motives for disengagement, describing reactions to the plan, describing the evacuation process, and providing explanatory background details for the Israeli plan. These subthemes are listed below with quotations showing how they are presented on each news website.

Announcing/describing the disengagement plan.

Quotations from Al-Jazeera:

1. شارون يروج لخطة بديلة عن خارطة الطريق

Sharon promotes an alternative plan to the Roadmap

2. وأعلن شارون . . . عن خطوات أحادية الجانب تتضمن تفكيك بعض المستوطنات مع التأكيد على أن إسرائيل لن تنسحب من جميع الأراضي الفلسطينية إلى حدود العام 1967

Sharon . . . announced unilateral steps which include dismantling some settlements while emphasizing that Israel would not withdraw from all Palestinian territories to the borders of 1967.

3. موفاز يؤكد التمسك بالكتل الاستيطانية في الضفة

إسرائيل تدشن انسحاب غزة بتسليم أوامر إخلاء المستوطنات

Mofaz confirms adherence to the settlement blocs in the West Bank

Israel launches Gaza pullout by handing in orders of settlements evacuation

4. وأكد قادة الفصائل الفلسطينية . . . أن الانسحاب الإسرائيلي لن يكون كاملا من قطاع غزة دون إنهاء سيطرة الاحتلال على المعابر والحدود وإطلاق سراح المعتقلين

The leaders of Palestinian factions . . . emphasized that the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip would not be complete without ending the control of the occupation over the crossings and borders and releasing the detainees.

Quotations from the BBC:

5. The disengagement plan includes a unilateral withdrawal from Gaza and parts of the West Bank, but the permanent retention of several large settlements in the West Bank. Most of the 400,000 settlers in the West Bank and East Jerusalem would stay put.
6. It will maintain control of the borders, airspace and coastline of Gaza, which is home to about 1.5m Palestinians.

Quotations from CNN

7. Sharon's government proposes a "disengagement" plan that includes a provision for Israel to pull out all Jewish settlements and troops from Gaza and all but six blocs of Jewish settlements from the West Bank.
8. Sharon announced plans last year to close 21 settlements and move about 8,000 Israelis from Gaza, which is also home to about 1.3 million Palestinians.
9. Sharon's withdrawal proposal -- which would unilaterally withdraw Israeli military and settlements from Gaza and some regions, but not all, of the West Bank --has

been praised by President Bush but was voted down in a Likud party referendum May 2.

Motives for the disengagement plan.

Quotations from Al-Jazeera:

10. ويقول المحللون السياسيون إن شارون يأمل أن يخفف الانسحاب من غزة الضغوط الدولية التي تطالب إسرائيل بانسحابات أكبر من الضفة

Political analysts say that Sharon hopes that the Gaza withdrawal will ease the international pressures which call on Israel to make larger withdrawals from the West Bank.

11. ووصفت وسائل الإعلام الإسرائيلية الخطة التي أعلنها شارون المؤيد للمستوطنات بأنها ليست لفتة سلام ولكنها محاولة محتملة لوضع حدود دولة فلسطينية في حال فشل محادثات خارطة الطريق التي تدعو لانسحاب إسرائيلي من الأراضي المحتلة

Israeli media described the plan announced by Sharon, who is a supporter of settlements, that it is not a gesture of peace but an attempt to define borders of a Palestinian state in the event of failure of the road map talks, which call for Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories.

12. بعد مرور 56 عاما على قيام إسرائيل التي لم يعترف أي زعيم من زعمائها طيلة هذه المدة بحدود لها صرح وزير الدفاع الإسرائيلي الجنرال شاول موفاز أن مستوطنات الضفة الغربية قد تمثل الحدود النهائية لإسرائيل وأضاف موفاز في تصريحات صحفية أن الجدار العازل يضمن أمن هذه المستوطنات "التي تشكل عمقا إستراتيجيا وحدوديا يمكن الدفاع عنه". وأشار إلى أن قرار الحكومة بشأن خطة الانفصال هام جدا وسيؤدي إلى تحسين أمن واقتصاد إسرائيل

56 years after the establishment of Israel, whose borders have not been recognized by any of its leaders all that time, Israeli Defense Minister General Shaul Mofaz announced that the Israeli West Bank settlements may represent the final borders of

Israel. Mofaz added in press statements that the barrier ensures the security of these settlements, “which constitute a strategic depth and defensible border”. He pointed out that the government's decision on the disengagement plan is very important and will improve the security and economy of Israel.

13. الانسحاب من غزة هو فكرة "شارونية" محضه، الهدف من ورائها قطع الطريق أمام أي تسوية سياسية مستقبلية، خاصة في ظل مشاريع لا تقبل بها إسرائيل كـ "خارطة الطريق" و "وثيقة جنيف"

The withdrawal from Gaza is purely a “Sharonian” idea aiming to block any future political settlement, especially in light of projects which are not accepted by Israel such as the “road map” and “the Geneva document”

14. وأضاف شارون أن إسرائيل لا يمكنها مواصلة فرض سيطرتها على أكثر من مليون فلسطيني، مشيراً إلى التزايد المستمر في عدد الفلسطينيين وهو أمر لا تتحمله إسرائيل

Sharon added that Israel cannot continue to impose its control over more than a million Palestinians, pointing to the continued increase in the number of Palestinians, which Israel cannot bear

Quotations from the BBC:

15. In other words, Israel would impose its own borders with the Palestinians, without negotiation. And that would involve withdrawing from Gaza and the West Bank those settlements which Israel can least afford to protect.
16. Mr Mofaz said the pullout would allow Israel to keep hold of its large West Bank settlements - which are viewed as illegal under international law - extending its future borders deep into Palestinian territory.
17. Mr Sharon says the move will boost Israel's security

18. Today's threat, Mr Sharon appears to have concluded, requires Israel to divest itself of territory that is home to large Palestinian populations, while maintaining its hold on the large settlement blocks, East Jerusalem and its hinterland.

Quotations from CNN:

19. The evacuations of all 21 settlements in Gaza and four small areas of the West Bank are an effort to restart the peace process with Palestinians. The pullout is the largest peacetime operation in Israel's military history.
20. "A process that the Israel government ... took upon itself in order to extend our hand in peace to the Palestinians," Meir said. "This is what Israel is willing to do in order to live in peace with the Palestinians."
21. "I hope that this enormous effort we are making, that everyone can witness the major sacrifice that we accomplished," said Olmert, adding that departing residents had lived there for decades.

Reactions to the Disengagement Plan.

Quotations from Al-Jazeera:

22. وصف الرئيس الفلسطيني ياسر عرفات تصريح رئيس الوزراء الإسرائيلي بإمكانية إزالة مستوطنات يهودية بأنها تمثيلية. وقال إن الحقيقة هي أن البناء في المستوطنات والجدار ماضي دون توقف وهو ما يصادر "أكثر من 85% من أراضينا بالضفة".
- Palestinian President Yasser Arafat described Israeli prime minister's announcement of the possibility of removing Jewish settlements as theatrics, and he said the truth is that the construction in the settlements and the wall is going on without stopping, and this confiscates "more than 85% of our lands in the [West] Bank".
23. السلطة الفلسطينية على قناعة تامة بحتمية الانسحاب الإسرائيلي من غزة، لكنها تتخوف من النتائج المترتبة عليه، بالذات تلك المتعلقة بالضفة الغربية، . . . "التمن سيكون باهظاً، حيث سيتكثف الاستيطان وتصادر

المزيد من الأراضي ويحاصرها الجدار ويحولها إلى معتقلات كبيرة وبالتالي يقتل حلم إيجاد دولة متصلة بين الضفة والقطاع"

The Palestinian Authority is fully convinced of the inevitability of Israeli withdrawal from Gaza, but it fears the consequences, particularly those pertaining to the West Bank . . . "The price will be heavy: settlement activity will be intensified, more land will be confiscated, and the wall will surround it, turning it into large detentions and thus killing the dream of creating a contiguous state over the [West] Bank and the [Gaza] Strip"

24. واحتفالاً بما تعتبره حركة المقاومة الإسلامية (حماس) اندحاراً للاحتلال الإسرائيلي نظمت الحركة مساء الاثنين في مدينة غزة مهرجاناً جماهيرياً للاحتفال بالانسحاب الإسرائيلي من قطاع غزة

In celebration of what it considers a defeat of the Israeli occupation, the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) held a public festival Monday evening in Gaza city celebrating the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip.

25. كما هدد المستوطنون المتطرفون بنقل المعركة إلى الشوارع وتوعدوا بتنظيم مظاهرة تضم مائة ألف شخص تتوجه إلى المستوطنات

Extremist settlers have threatened to transfer the battle into the streets and vowed to organize a march of a hundred thousand people to go to the settlements.

26. وأكد الباحث في الشؤون الإسرائيلية غسان ريمawi أن إسرائيل دولة يحكمها الحاخامات وأنه يصعب أن يحدد أي زعيم مهما كان موقعه حدود الدولة. وأشار إلى أن "الطرح التوراتي يحدد حدود الدولة من النيل إلى الفرات ولهذا فإن المسألة دينية حضارية في جذورها، لكنها سياسية أمنية مؤقتة في نظر شاؤول موفاز"

Israeli affairs specialist, Ghassan Rimawi [an Israeli researcher], emphasized that Israel is a country governed by the rabbis, and that it is difficult for any leader regardless of his position to define the borders of the state. He pointed out that the

“biblical proposition defines the borders of the state from the Nile to the Euphrates, so the issue has civilization and religious roots, but it is a temporary political security one in the eyes of Shaul Mofaz.”

Quotations from the BBC:

27. While welcoming any withdrawal from any occupied land, Palestinians fear disengagement will enable Mr. Sharon to consolidate Israel's hold on the West Bank, through the construction of its separation barrier and the expansion of large settlements there.
28. To journey through Gaza alongside the settlements is to witness a completely contrary image to the one I [reporter] encountered in the settlements. To the Palestinians, Neve Dekalim and the other settlements are to blame for the death, danger and absolute disruption which accompany their everyday lives.
29. Some settlers burnt their belongings. “I don't want to leave anything for the Palestinians, anything I own they could enjoy,” Yaakov Mazal-Tari, a farmer at Rafiah Yam, told Reuters news agency.

Quotations from CNN:

30. “Any attempts by Israel to trade off the settlements in the Gaza Strip to expand the settlements in the West Bank will destroy all the peace efforts and kill the 'road map,' ” said chief Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erakat . . . “The settlements in the West Bank are illegal as the settlements in Gaza and continue to be an obstacle to peace.”
31. In that meeting, Bush endorsed Sharon's plan to withdraw all Jewish settlements and troops from Gaza and all but six blocs of Jewish settlements from the West Bank. Thursday, Palestinian Authority President Yasser Arafat rejected the plan.

32. Tens of thousands protest Israeli withdrawal plan

Sharon denounces 'calls for civil war'

Evacuation process.

Quotations from Al-Jazeera:

33. استمرا الإجراء القسري لمستوطني غزة

شارون يؤكد استمرار الاستيطان ويؤاسي مستوطنيه

Forced eviction of Gaza settlers continues

Sharon affirms the continuation of settlement and consoles his settlers

Quotations from the BBC:

34. Palestinian officials want Israel to raze the settlements before leaving. They say the suburban-style, detached houses with gardens - which take up about 20% of the Gaza Strip - are unsuitable for the overcrowded territory, which is home to 1.3m Palestinians.

Quotations from CNN:

35. Israel has to dismantle the military infrastructure in the region and demolish homes, a move requested by the Palestinian Authority. That process began Sunday, as homes in the former settlements of in Dugit and Peat Sadeh were reduced to rubble.
36. Unarmed Israeli soldiers entered two synagogues in Jewish settlements on Thursday after hundreds of protestors refused to evacuate the building. The emotional evictions come as Israel ends its 38-year presence in Gaza.

Background information about Israeli Disengagement.

Quotations from Al-Jazeera:

37. رئيس الوزراء الإسرائيلي أرييل شارون -مهندس فكرة الانسحاب من غزة . . . تمسكه بالتجمعات

الاستيطانية في الضفة وعدم الاستعداد للتفاوض حول مدينة القدس ورفض عودة لاجئي 1948 ديارهم. وقال

شارون إن التجمعات الاستيطانية بالضفة الغربية ستبقى وسيتم وصلها جغرافيا بإسرائيل، مؤكداً أن هذه المواقف كانت موضع اتفاق بينه وبين الرئيس الأميركي جورج بوش

Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon –architect of the idea of withdrawal from Gaza—reaffirmed . . . his adherence to the Israeli settlement blocs in the West Bank, his lack of willingness to negotiate about Jerusalem, and his rejection of the return of the 1948 refugees to their homes. Sharon also said that the West Bank settlement blocs will remain and will be linked geographically to Israel, emphasizing that these positions have been the subject of agreement between him and President George W. Bush.

38. ويبتلع الجدار الإسرائيلي مساحات كبيرة من الضفة الغربية ويقطع أوصال المناطق والمدن الفلسطينية ويجعل من قيام دولة فلسطينية قابلة للحياة أمراً بالغ الصعوبة

The Israeli wall swallows large chunks of the West Bank and dissects the Palestinian areas and cities, making the establishment of a viable Palestinian state very difficult

Quotations from the BBC:

39. Israel has occupied Gaza and the West Bank since 1967. About 400,000 Israelis live in the territories, in settlements deemed as illegal under international law, although Israel disputes this.
40. The international community considers all settlements in Gaza and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, as illegal under international law, though Israel disputes this.
41. Mr. Heiman said more than 246,000 settlers now lived on what he called occupied land. This figure does not count the 200,000 Israeli Jews who live in East Jerusalem, which Israel has annexed. The international community does not recognize this

annexation, considering East Jerusalem occupied territory and part of the West Bank.

Quotations from CNN:

42. Israel seized the West Bank from Jordan and Gaza from Egypt in 1967 during the Six-Day War and began building settlements there soon after. There are now about 230,000 Israelis living in West Bank settlements, and Gaza is home to about 7,500 Jewish settlers.
43. Israel plans to remove Jewish settlers, and the Israeli troops who guard them, from Gaza and parts of the West Bank by mid-August. Israel has controlled the 138-square-mile territory since capturing it from Egypt during the 1967 Six-Day War.
44. Israel seized Gaza during the 1967 Six-Day War, and began building settlements there soon after.
45. The Israeli disengagement plan also includes the building of a barrier -- already under construction -- that Israel says will block Palestinians from attacking Israel from the West Bank. Palestinians call the barrier a land grab, saying it leaves many Palestinians cut off from farms, schools and hospitals as it winds its way through portions of the West Bank.
46. In Phase 1 of the road map, Palestinians must end attacks against Israel, and Israel must freeze the development of settlements and dismantle those established since March 2001. The six settlement blocs named by Sharon were built before March 2001.

In the Context of West Bank Settlements Expansions

Quotations from Al-Jazeera:

47. وفي تحد إسرائيلي جديد للنداءات الدولية بتجميد البناء في المستوطنات الموجودة في الأراضي الفلسطينية طرحت الحكومة الإسرائيلية الخميس مناقصات لبناء أكثر من 300 وحدة سكنية في مستوطنتين يهوديتين بالضفة الغربية

In a new Israeli defiance of international calls to freeze construction in the settlements in the Palestinian territories, the Israeli government issued tenders on Thursday for the construction of more than 300 housing units in two Jewish settlements in the West Bank.

48. ورغم أن مسؤولين أميركيين كبارا أعربوا عن قلقهم إزاء مشروع توسيع مستوطنة معاليه أدوميم، لم يصل بوش إلى حد الانتقاد المباشر للمشروع

Even though senior U.S. officials have expressed concerns about the project of expanding the settlement of Maale Adumim, Bush did not go to a direct criticism of the project

49. أوروبا تنتقد إسرائيل لاستئناف النشاط الاستيطاني
سفير واشنطن بإسرائيل يؤكد دعم بلاده لبقاء المستوطنات

Europe criticizes Israel's resumption of settlement activity

Washington's ambassador to Israel stresses his country's support to the existence of the settlements

Quotations from the BBC:

50. International law views the settlements as illegal and past peace accords stipulated that nothing should be done to prejudice final status negotiations with the Palestinian side that would decide their fate.

51. Mahmoud Abbas would have wanted the threat of sanctions - not just strong words - on Israel's "expansion" of West Bank settlements and the continued construction of the barrier.

Quotations from CNN:

52. The Ma'aleh Adumim expansion plans have been approved by different Israeli governments over the past five years. But last month, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice called for a "full stop" to Israeli settlement activity in the West Bank, saying it could jeopardize the Middle East peace process.

In the Context of the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process

Quotations from Al-Jazeera:

53. ويفيد تقرير بأن إسرائيل شيدت 143 مستوطنة ومواقع استيطانية أخرى في الضفة الغربية وقطاع غزة منذ احتلالهما في عام 1967، وتضاعف عدد المستوطنين ليصل إلى نحو 370 ألفا في السنوات العشر التي تلت توقيع اتفاقية أوسلو للسلام مع الفلسطينيين

A report indicates that Israel has built 143 settlements and outposts in the West Bank and Gaza Strip since the occupation in 1967, and the number of settlers has doubled to about 370 thousand in the ten years following the signing of the Oslo peace agreement with the Palestinians

54. واتهم لاجئون فلسطينيون في الأراضي المحتلة وفي الشتات وثيقة جنيف بإسقاط حق العودة وعدم إزالة كافة المستوطنات من الأراضي الفلسطينية

Palestinian refugees in the occupied territories and the diaspora accused the Geneva Accord of dropping the right of return and failing to remove all settlements from the Palestinian territories

Quotations from the BBC:

55. The decision violates the roadmap peace plan, under which Israel agreed to freeze all settlement building. Israel has nevertheless continued to expand settlements since the road map was approved in June 2003.
56. On a hill east of Jerusalem stands the settlement of Maale Adumim, the fate of which is emerging as one of the thorniest and most critical issues dividing Israel and the Palestinians. The Israeli settlement watchdog Peace Now says that would be a disaster for the Palestinians because it would cut off east Jerusalem from the rest of the West Bank and prevent the creation of a contiguous Palestinian state.
57. "Does [Maale Adumim] stand in the way of a Palestinian state? I hope so. It should prevent a Palestinian state. There won't be peace through land for peace. Only peace for peace. People who believe in land for peace are dreaming."

Quotations from CNN:

58. But little progress with the road map has been made because of repeated Palestinian terrorist attacks on Israeli civilians and Israeli strikes on Palestinian extremist group members that also have killed and injured bystanders.
59. Bush said "realities on the ground" dictated that Israel should be able to keep some settlements in any future peace agreement. Bush praised Sharon for his withdrawal proposal.

Settlements as Locations

Quotations from Al-Jazeera:

60. وقد جاء إطلاق المقاومة الفلسطينية قذائف على مستوطنات قطاع غزة أمس ردا على استشهاد ثلاثة فتيحة فلسطينيين برصاص الاحتلال في رفح

The launch of mortar shells by Palestinian resistance on Gaza settlements yesterday was in response to the martyrdom of three Palestinian teens shot by the occupation in Rafah.

Quotations from the BBC:

61. Israel says such raids are intended to stop mortar and rocket attacks on nearby Jewish settlements and Israeli territory. Palestinian militants have been carrying out such attacks regularly, although few have caused casualties.

Quotations from CNN:

62. A military spokesman added the strike came after Palestinian militants fired mortars at Israeli settlements in the territory.

Discussion

The *occupation* words frequency data and the *settlements* concordance data reveal some of the strategies adopted by news media to control for the positive or negative representation of the different participants in the events reported. This section discusses the implications of the data presented above in light of the historical context in which the events reported occurred and in light of the CDA concepts described above.

Occupation Frequency

The frequency data of *occupation* related words in the three corpora shows that they are overwhelmingly more frequent in Al-Jazeera corpus (609 per 100,000 words) than in the BBC corpus (120 per 100,000 words) and the CNN corpus (39 per 100,000 words). The significance of these frequency patterns becomes clearer if we compare them to the frequency patterns of *terrorism*-related words extracted in a related study from the same corpora. *Terrorism* words occur at a rate of 68 uses per 100,000 words in Al-Jazeera corpus, 105 per 100,000 words in the

BBC corpus, and 408 per 100,000 words in the CNN corpus. Whereas the *occupation* and *terrorism* frequency patterns in the BBC corpus look very close, these words have opposite frequency patterns in Al-Jazeera and the CNN corpora. For Al-Jazeera, the main emphasis of the coverage is on the occupation theme while terrorism issues are backgrounded. For the CNN, the opposite is true: the terrorism theme is in the foreground while occupation is virtually absent. These patterns of *occupation/terrorism* frequencies perfectly fit van Dijk's (1998b) concept of *ideological square*. Al-Jazeera, generally considered a supporter of the Palestinian side (Zayni, 2005), emphasizes the "Bad" actions (the occupation) of the out-group (Israel). This emphasis would also serve as justification for the in-group's (Palestinians) "Bad" actions (violence), which would usually be described on Al-Jazeera as resistance to the occupation rather than terrorism. On the other hand, the CNN, generally considered a supporter of Israel, mitigates or hides the occupation as a "Bad" action of the allies of the in-group and emphasizes the "Bad" action of the enemies of the allies and labeling it as terrorism. While the virtual absence of the concept occupation in the CNN reports serves in not taking away from the overall positive representation of the Israeli side, it also serves in the negative representation of the Palestinian side as irrational people who commit acts of violence for no apparent reason. In contrast to Al-Jazeera and the CNN, frequency patterns of *occupation* and *terrorism* in the BBC corpus probably imply that the BBC is less ideologically involved in the conflict than either Al-Jazeera or CNN.

Themes of the Word Settlements

The concordance analysis of the word *settlements* in the Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and CNN corpora shows that the word basically occurs in the same contexts in each corpus. There are multiple ways, however, to represent these same themes, and these depend on the pattern of choices made by the text producers about what information to include and what to exclude as

well as what linguistic forms to use to express the information that is included. In order to understand the significance and implications of the different choices made by Al-Jazeera, the BBC and CNN to represent the different themes that evolve around the word *settlements*, it is important to know the basic historical background of the Israeli settlements and the Israeli-Palestinian peace process.

Brief History of the Settlements

Israel, which had been established in 1948 on about 78% of the historical Palestinian land, captured the remaining Palestinian territories—Gaza and the West Bank—in a military campaign in 1967. In the same year, the Security Council passed Resolution 242 emphasizing “the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war” and calling on Israel to withdraw to its pre-1967 borders (UN, 1967). Since then, there has been a near unanimous international consensus calling for a peaceful settlement of the conflict based on a two-state solution: an Israeli state on the pre-1967 borders and a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza (Finkelstein, 2005). Immediately after the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, however, Israel adopted a settlement policy with the aim of annexing more Palestinian lands (Chomsky, 1999).

Following the Palestinian Intifada in 1987, peace talks between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) started in Oslo based on the two-state solution (Cook, 2006). During the peace negotiations in Oslo between 1993 and 2000, however, Israel intensified its land confiscation and settlement construction efforts, raising the number of Israeli settlers in the West Bank from 250,000 to 380,000 (Finkelstein, 2003, p. xix). The West Bank settlements separate the Palestinian territories one from the next, preventing the establishment of a contiguous Palestinian state (Cook, 2006).

In 2003, another peace initiative—the Road Map for Peace—was endorsed by the quartet of the US, the EU, the UN, and Russia. The initiative outlined a series of steps that were supposed to lead to the establishment of a Palestinian state in the occupied territories by 2005 (United States Department of State [USDS], 2003). In response to the Road Map, former Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, who was known for his great support of settlement activities, announced his unilateral disengagement plan in November 2003. According to this plan, Israel unilaterally withdrew from all settlements in the Gaza Strip and from four isolated settlements in the West Bank. The plan also involved building a wall in West Bank to annex the large Israeli settlement blocs into Israel.

'Settlements' in the Israeli Disengagement Plan

The data show that very similar choices are made in the reports from Al-Jazeera and the BBC to represent the Israeli disengagement plan. Both generally show more concerns about the negative aspects of the plan. The CNN, on the other hand, usually makes choices that highlight the positive aspects of the plan and mitigate its negative sides.

Quotations 1 to 9 show what each news website focuses on when announcing or describing the Israeli plan. Descriptions of the plan on Al-Jazeera emphasize the retention of Israel of the large settlement blocks in the West Bank (# 2 & # 3), the continued Israeli control of Gaza borders and crossings (# 4), and the continued detention of Palestinian prisoners (#4). Al-Jazeera also describes the plan as an alternative to the Roadmap (#1), implying that the plan was a way to go around the Roadmap peace process initiative rather than a way to cooperate with it. The BBC also emphasizes the permanent retention of the large settlement blocs in the West Bank (#5) and points out the continued control of Gaza borders and airspace by Israel (#6). Descriptions of the plan on CNN, on the other hand, mainly focus on highlighting the good

aspect of the plan—evacuating the Gaza settlements (#7 - #9). The part of the plan concerning the retention of the large settlements in the West Bank is either excluded (#8) or presented in a way that makes it look insignificant (#7). In quotation 7, saying that Israel would evacuate “all but six blocs of Jewish settlements from the West Bank” leaves an impression that what Israel was giving up is a lot more significant than what it was retaining.

Similar patterns appear when reporting the motives for the Israeli disengagement. On Al-Jazeera, it is clearly stated that the purpose for the disengagement is not to advance the peace process (#11). The Israeli motives provided are reducing international pressure on Israel to withdraw from important West Bank settlements (#10), improving Israeli security and economy (#12), blocking future political settlements not satisfying to Israel (#13), and overcoming the Palestinian demographic problem (#14). Israeli motives provided on the BBC are imposing Israeli borders without negotiations (#15), tightening Israeli grip on large West Bank settlements (#16), boosting Israel’s security (#17), and addressing the demographic threat (#18). On NN, the Israeli plan is mainly presented as an effort to restart the peace process with Palestinians (#19), and as a major sacrifice from Israel to make peace (#20, 21). Interestingly, the motives cited on the different websites are mostly based on statements made by Israeli officials. What each news network chooses to include or exclude from the report is again what defines the way the Israeli motives are represented. While CNN focuses mainly on reporting what would positively represent Israel as the party that seeks peace and makes sacrifices for it, Al-Jazeera and the BBC report statements and details about the plan that show that this is not the case and that Israel is mainly concerned about gaining tighter control of the large West Bank settlements.

Quotations 22 to 32 show the Israeli and Palestinian reactions to the Israeli disengagement plan. Israeli settlers’ protests against the plan as well as Israeli polls showing

support for the plan are reported on all news websites. The official Palestinian rejection or fear of the consequences of the plan is also reported on all websites. The main difference between Al-Jazeera and the BBC on the one hand and CNN on the other is that Al-Jazeera and the BBC provide reasons for the Palestinian fear or rejection. Quotations 22 and 23 from Al-Jazeera and 27 from the BBC state that the Palestinian suspicion or rejection of the plan is due to the continued settlement expansions and the building of the wall in the West Bank. On CNN, the Palestinian rejection is sometimes presented without any explanation. In quotation 31, Arafat's rejection of the plan is provided without any explanation after a very positive description of the plan. Quotation 30 reports the complaints of a Palestinian official about the plan. However, his general statements that the plan would "destroy all the peace efforts and kill the road map" are never explained by providing the necessary background information about how the retained settlements leave only fragmented territories on which no viable Palestinian state can stand. The omission of a reason for the Palestinian rejection (especially of a plan presented so positively) is another instance of presenting the Palestinian side as irrational and as the party that is blocking a peaceful settlement of the conflict. In addition, the absence of a clear reason for this rejection serves in hiding the negative sides of the Israeli plan, which would have a negative impact on the overall positive representation of Israel on the CNN.

A similar example of how the omission of information might affect the representation can be seen in quotations 34 from the BBC and 35 from CNN. Both quotations occur in the context of reporting the details of evacuating the Israeli settlements in Gaza, and both quotations describe the Palestinian request that the homes of the settlements be demolished. The only difference between the two is that the BBC provides the reason for the Palestinian request: "the suburban-style, detached houses with gardens - which take up about 20% of the Gaza Strip - are

unsuitable for the overcrowded territory, which is home to 1.3m.” Presenting the Palestinian request to demolish the settlements homes without explanation on the CNN might again contribute to the representation of the Palestinian side as irrational. For an average reader who might not know much about the situation in Gaza, the request of home demolition would not make much sense. Hiding the reason behind this request also hides that one instance of injustice that was going on in Gaza: 7000 Israeli settlers using up 20% of Gaza, which is home to 1.3 million Palestinians and is one of the most overcrowded place in the world.

There are still smaller things going on in the quotations under the evacuation process. Reports covering the details of the evacuations on Al-Jazeera still keep the continuation of the Israeli settlement activity in the background (#33). Quotation 36 from the CNN shows an emphasis on the humanistic aspect of the evicted settlers as can be seen from the words “emotional evictions”. This is in line with representing the plan as a major sacrifice by Israel. The same quotation also shows how CNN sometimes mitigates the illegality of the Israel occupation of Gaza by using words like *presence* instead of *occupation*.

Quotations 37 to 46 illustrate the typical background information provided by Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and CNN in news reports covering the Israeli disengagement. The background provided by Al-Jazeera usually focuses on pointing out the current major problems that are blocking a peaceful solution of the conflict without providing much history about them. It points, for example, to the Israeli rejection of the Palestinian right of return (#37) without referring to how it started in 1948. It also points out to the problems of Jerusalem and of the West Bank settlement blocs and how they are preventing the creation of a viable Palestinian state (#37) without referring to how these two problems started in 1967. In addition, Al-Jazeera rarely points out the illegal status of the settlements under international law. One reason this might be

the case could be the consideration of the audience addressed. Since Al-Jazeera addresses an Arab audience to whom the conflict is a top priority, Al-Jazeera reporters might assume that their audience already has this basic background knowledge and that there is no need to provide it. Referring to the illegality of the settlements under international law might also be unnecessary information for this kind of audience who does not need to be convinced of this illegality.

Providing relevant background information to the audience of the BBC and CNN, on the other hand, should be necessary. In the reports covering the disengagement, the BBC routinely provides background information that looks very similar to the statement about the settlements in the BBC guide (BBC, 2006), emphasizing the illegality of the settlements under international law and pointing out that Israel disputes this (#39 & #49).

On CNN, on the other hand, the status of the settlements under international law is rarely pointed out. The fact that they are illegal only occurs once in the CNN data (#30) in a comment by a Palestinian politician. The CNN report does not provide any clarifying background information to confirm or deny what he said. The generic background information provided routinely about the settlements on the CNN (#42 & #43) states that “Israel seized the West Bank from Jordan and Gaza from Egypt in 1967 during the Six-Day War and began building settlements there soon after.” Without providing any more background about the 1948 war in which Egypt ended up controlling Gaza and Jordan controlling the West Bank, an average American reader who might not know much about the history of the conflict will understand this to mean that Gaza is an Egyptian land and the West Bank is a Jordanian land. A just solution from the perspective of this same reader would be to give Gaza back to Egypt and to give the West Bank back to Jordan. In fact, this is one of the scenarios some Israelis are proposing as a solution after totally blocking the two-state solution by the settlements (see Cook, 2006, p. 160).

Another contrast between the background information provided by the BBC and CNN can be seen in quotes 41 from the BBC and 42 from CNN. In the former quotation, the BBC report provides clarification of the number of West Bank settlers given by an Israeli official, who does not include the number of East Jerusalem settlers. Israel annexed East Jerusalem in 1967, and the Israeli official considers East Jerusalem part of Israel and its Jewish population regular Israeli citizens who should not be counted as settlers. The BBC report, however, clearly points out that “the international community does not recognize this annexation, considering East Jerusalem occupied territory and part of the West Bank.” In quotation 42, a CNN report provides a number of West Bank settlers which excludes about 200,000 East Jerusalem settlers, thus implicitly acknowledging the illegal annexation.

The background details quotations from CNN also confirm some of the points made above about the tendency of CNN to mitigate what could be a negative representation of Israel. Quotations 42, 43, and 44 show a preference for using less charged verbs like *controlled* and *seized* instead of *occupied*, which Al-Jazeera and the BBC tend to use. Also when referring to the Israeli wall, while Al-Jazeera states that it “swallows large chunks of Palestinian lands and dissects the Palestinian areas and cities . . .” (#38) and the BBC points out that the borders imposed by the wall would extend Israel’s future borders “deep into Palestinian territory” (#16), the CNN points out that the wall “winds its way through portions of the West Bank”.

Finally, in commenting on the retention of six settlement blocs by Israel (#46), CNN cites phase 1 of the Roadmap, which requires Israel to “freeze the development of settlements and dismantle those established since March 2001.” The report then states that “the six settlement blocs named by Sharon were built before March 2001”, probably implying that the Israeli retention of the settlement blocs is not in violation of the Roadmap. CNN is again manipulating

what information to include and what to exclude here in order to mitigate Israeli “Bad” actions. For one thing, phase1 of the Roadmap required the immediate dismantling of the settlements built after 2001, but it never stated that Israel could retain any of the settlements. For another, phase 2 of the Roadmap proposes steps “to enhance maximum territorial contiguity” for the purpose of creating an independent Palestinian state, including “further action on settlements in conjunction with establishment of a Palestinian state with provisional borders” (USDS, 2003). Thus, even though the Roadmap does not explicitly mention that the settlements should be dismantled, this should be implicitly understood since these settlements are preventing the territorial contiguity mentioned in the document (Cook, 2006). In addition, instead of referring its readers to the vague Roadmap, another option CNN could have taken to clarify the status of the settlements is to refer to relevant UN resolutions (e.g., 242 and 338) or to the Fourth Geneva Convention, which outlaw all settlements.

In the Context of Settlement Expansions

Quotations 47 to 52, which occur in news articles mainly concerned about reporting Israeli settlement expansions, show similar patterns to those explained above. In this context, Al-Jazeera still does not provide a broad historical background about the status of the settlements under international law. However, it highlights that settlement expansions are acts of defiance of the international community (#47). The American weak stance against or support of the settlements is also frequently presented (#48, 49). Quotations from the BBC show that the BBC still highlights the illegal status of the settlements (#50). It also sometimes hints at the weak American denunciation of the expansions (#51). In the case of the CNN reports, there is still no reference to the legal status of the settlements or settlement expansions. Even though some

American officials are quoted as saying that the expansions “could jeopardize” the peace process, CNN does not provide any explanation about how the expansions would do that (#52).

In the Context of the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process

News reports about the Israeli-Palestinian peace process usually refer to the settlements because of their important role in the process. On Al-Jazeera, the point is frequently made that the settlements constitute a major obstacle to peace. Quotation 54, for example, reports that one of the reasons Palestinian refugees reject the Geneva Accord is its failure to dismantle all settlements. Al-Jazeera also uses the settlement situation to emphasize the negative representation of Israel as a party that cannot be trusted. In quotation 53, Al-jazeera highlights the contradiction between the Israeli participation in peace talks that were supposed to lead to a freeze in settlement activity and the simultaneous increase in settlement activity that led to the doubling of the number of settlers in the West Bank. On the BBC, the negative role of the settlements in the peace process is highlighted by pointing out that settlement expansions are in violation of past peace agreements (#55). There is more emphasis in the BBC reports on how some of these expansions are dissecting the Palestinian territories in a way that makes the creation of a contiguous Palestinian state—the ultimate goal of the peace process—almost impossible (#56 & 57). That negative key role of the settlements is not clarified in the CNN reports. The failure of the peace process is generally attributed to violence (#58). Quotation 59 in which Bush is cited praising Sharon’s disengagement and supporting Israel’s retention of some settlements. No clarification is provided about how the retained settlements would impact the goal of the peace process—the creation of a Palestinian state.

Settlements as Locations

The last context—settlements as locations—shows some instances of how reported events can be worded in a way to favor one side or the other. Settlements usually occur in the context of reporting some acts of violence. In the example from Al-Jazeera (#60), a Palestinian mortar attack on Israeli settlements is reported as a response to the killing of three Palestinian teens by Israel. In this example we can also see how Al-Jazeera usually uses the word *occupation* instead of words like *Israeli army/soldiers*, thus always keeping the illegality of the Israeli presence in the Palestinian territories in the picture. The example from CNN (#62), on the other hand, reports an Israeli spokesperson describing an Israeli airstrike against Gaza as a response to the firing of mortars at Israeli settlements by Palestinian groups. The BBC also cites an Israeli source making a similar statement to that on the CNN. The BBC report adds, however, that “Palestinian militants have been carrying out such attacks regularly, although few have caused casualties.”

Conclusion

The analysis of the *occupation* words frequency and the detailed contextualized analysis of the word *settlements* in the three corpora compiled from Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and CNN revealed some instances of how language in the news could be manipulatively used to control for the negative or positive representation of the different participants involved in the events reported the analysis also contributes to the recent research seeking to combine corpus linguistics techniques and critical discourse analysis methods and concepts to study the ideological use of language. In these concluding remarks, I will outline the main contributions of this study, point out some limitations, and discuss some recommendations and future research directions.

The main contribution made by this study is adding an important multi-cultural and bilingual dimension to the analysis of CDA. Analyzing data from three different cultures (American, Arab, and British) in two different languages (Arabic and English), this research has been able to capture different perspectives on the issues related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This kind of multi-cultural and bilingual analysis is important for the purpose of CDA, especially with regards to its view of text as a system of choices (Leeuwen, 1993) the text producer makes from amongst a number of options. Doing a systematic contrastive analysis of texts produced on the same topic in different cultures and in different languages is a powerful tool for identifying the wide range of options available for text producers. In addition to enriching the analysis by including these different perspectives, this type of contrastive analysis allows the researcher to compare different real alternatives together instead of presenting only one perspective and comparing it against an ideal alternative in the researcher's mind.

In addition to adding a multi-cultural/bilingual dimension to the analysis, this study also contributes another instance to the recent research (e.g., Baker et. al, 2008; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Orpin, 2005) which explores ways to effectively combine CDA and CL methods and techniques. As with this previous research, the current study demonstrates that CDA research can be informed by the most basic corpus tools. In the current study, the importance of the topics selected for study was established apriori through the use of the keyword technique, which identified the key topics in the corpora. Basic techniques such as frequency lists also proved useful in showing some initial patterns of polarized representation, as in the case of *terrorism* and *occupation* words frequency patterns. The use of concordances also proved to be valuable since it facilitated a thorough investigation of issues related to the Israeli settlements topic in three corpora that would have been difficult if not impossible to explore manually. The use of

the expandable context function of the concordance software facilitated the identification of patterns not only in the immediate vicinity of the keywords, but in the complete texts in which they occurred. Patterns regarding themes and background information provided about certain issues could easily be accessed using the concordance.

I have to acknowledge, however, that the use of corpus linguistics in CDA studies is not without limitations. Even though the concordance allows researchers a thorough view of what they choose to look for, it allows them only scarce and incidental view of other issues. When investigating the different themes in which the word *settlements* occurred, for example, I was able to get a profile of how and when it is used; but I could not, for example, get a full picture of how the Israeli or Palestinian attitudes towards the peace process were represented. Even though the concordances of the word *settlements* included incidental examples of issues related to the peace process, a thorough study that focuses only on issues related to the peace process is required to get a comprehensive picture about its representation in the corpora.

That said, I believe that there is still much to be done to get a full picture of how the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is represented in the study corpora used in this study. One important topic that arose in the analysis carried out in this study is the Israeli-Palestinian peace process and how the attitudes of the different participants in the conflict are represented. Another issue is the representation of the acts of violence committed by the different participants. It would be interesting to see if different media outlets mitigate or emphasize those acts of violence based on the party committing them. I also believe that it is very important for researchers familiar with Hebrew to include into the analysis Israeli newspapers targeting Israeli audience.

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CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The research conducted in this dissertation had two main goals: a methodological goal, aiming to contribute to the recent research interested in using corpus-based methods in critical discourse analysis, and a practical goal, aiming to learn more about the language used to cover the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in three popular news media in the Arab World, Britain, and the United States. The analyses were conducted using corpora compiled from Al-Jazeera Arabic, CNN English, and the BBC English news websites. The two guiding research questions were:

3. What topics tend to recur in the coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict on Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and the CNN news websites?
4. How are some of the important issues in the conflict represented in each corpus?

The first question sought to survey the corpora compiled from the news websites mentioned above and to identify topics that are key in the conflict and therefore deserve further detailed analysis. *Terrorism* and *settlements* were among the key topics in the corpora, and each was investigated in depth in a separate chapter. This concluding chapter provides a summary of the research findings, outlines contributions of this dissertation, discusses implications, and highlights some future directions and recommendations for subsequent research.

Summary of the Results

Chapter 2 of the dissertation is primarily a quantitative analysis that provides a general profile of the data in each corpus and highlights the key topics that tend to recur in the coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict on each news website. The initial comparison of the number of articles and number of words compiled in each corpus over the same period of time shows that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict receives the most attention and space on Al-Jazeera and the least

attention and space on the CNN, confirming what some commentators claim about the dearth of reporting about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in American media (e.g., Ackerman, 2001; Chomsky, 1999). The keyword analysis resulted in the identification of five interrelated categories under which keywords were grouped: participants in the conflict, political aspect of the conflict, military aspect of the conflict, occupation practices, and key locations. Comparing the keyword lists revealed an initial overview of what topics tend to be emphasized or downplayed in each corpus. The keyword analysis provided the basis on which the topics for chapter 3 and chapter 4 were selected.

Chapter 3 analyzes how the word *terrorism* is used in each of the three corpora. Three types of corpus-based analyses were conducted: comparison of frequency information, collocation analysis, and concordance analysis. The comparison of frequency information reveals that the terrorism theme receives the greatest emphasis on CNN and the least emphasis on Al-Jazeera. Collocation and concordance analysis of *terrorism* reveals the different themes in which the word occurs in each corpus. It also shows how the word is manipulated differently by each news media so that the discourse representing the conflict is in line with their political and ideological orientations. *Terrorism* is usually used by sources cited in the news to refer to acts of violence by some Palestinian groups, but rarely to refer to Israeli acts of violence. The data analysis reveals that Al-Jazeera usually resists the use of the terrorism label in this way, that CNN seems to endorse this kind of use, and that the BBC is generally more cautious about this usage.

Chapter 4 conducts a comparison of frequency data of occupation-related words and a detailed concordance analysis of the word *settlements*. The frequency data show that the occupation theme is highly emphasized by Al-Jazeera corpus, downplayed by CNN, and receives

more attention on the BBC than CNN. Concordance analysis of *settlements* shows that the word occurs in three themes: the Israeli disengagement plan, the expansions of West Bank settlements, and the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. It is also used to refer to locations where events take place. A close contrastive analysis of how these themes are represented in each corpus reveals different strategies adopted by different news media to control for the positive or negative representation of different participants in the conflict.

Contributions of This Research

Through the research presented in this dissertation, I hope to make useful contributions to the topic of the study, the materials investigated, and the methodology adopted for the analysis. First of all, this dissertation contributes to the very small body of linguistic research done to investigate the linguistic representation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the media. In spite of the tremendous impact this conflict has not only on the Israelis and the Palestinians, but also on the politics of many other countries including the United States (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2007), very little attention has been given by linguists or discourse analysts to studying the language used to talk about it. Even though a few studies exist that focus on a specific aspect of the conflict (e.g., Lindquest, 2003), a specific news media (e.g., Barkho, 2008), or even a specific article by one author (e.g., Amer, 2009), to my knowledge this is the first study that seeks to investigate different aspects of the conflict in three relatively large corpora. I hope this research will draw attention to the many aspects of this conflict that can be the subject of extensive linguistic research with the ultimate goal of helping us see how language is used to guide and constrain our understanding of world events.

In terms of the materials selected for the analysis, to my knowledge no published studies to date have extensively used data from the growing online news genre. Polls on news consumption (e.g., Pew Research Center [PRC], 2004, 2008), consistently show that while newspaper audience is declining, the numbers of online news consumers are steadily growing. One of the contributions of the current study, therefore, is using materials from this increasingly important genre. The materials used for the study are also unique in that they are drawn from the websites of three influential news media—Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and CNN—selected for this study based on credibility surveys (Globsacn, 2006; PRC, 2004). Another important feature of the data used in this research is its inclusion of materials from three different cultures and in two different languages. By using news reports from the local version of the BBC, the local version of CNN, and the Arabic version of Al-Jazeera, the materials bring together three different perspectives on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, thus enriching the analysis.

This research is also designed to make contributions to critical discourse analysis and to corpus linguistics. As with recent research aiming to strengthen the CDA analysis by using corpus-based methodology (e.g., Baker et. al, 2008; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Orpin, 2005), this study demonstrates that corpus-based methods can be valuable at the different stages of CDA analysis. At the stage of selecting a topic for the analysis, the corpus-based keyword technique used in this study demonstrates that it is a very productive way of locating the key issues that are important in the discourse of a particular subject. In addition, contrasting keyword lists from different corpora as was done in chapter 2 of this dissertation can point to areas where the text producers' ideologies could be affecting the language used. Analysts can generate hypotheses which could then be investigated further. At the data analysis stage, this study also demonstrates that basic frequency lists in addition to collocation and concordance

analyses are also valuable resources for CDA purposes. At the very basic level, using frequency information about the words *terrorism* and *occupation* in chapters 3 and 4 showed a pattern of polarized representation. This kind of polarized lexical representation can only reliably appear when many a large database of texts is considered, and it is even more revealing when done contrastively as it was done in this study. The concordance tool used in chapters 3 and 4 was also very useful for providing a comprehensive profile of the words *terrorism* and *settlements* and for capturing enough contexts to make reliable conclusions regarding the revealed patterns. Finally, the collocation lists and collocation networks used in chapter 3 were very powerful and fast tools for revealing the trends related to the use of the word *terrorism* in each corpus.

In addition to contributing to the field of critical discourse analysis by using corpus linguistics, this research also contributes to the field of corpus linguistics by incorporating concepts from CDA. As powerful as the analytical corpus tools are, the theoretical foundations of corpus linguistics do not provide the kind of frameworks needed for interpreting the ideological implications of its finding. This research demonstrates that the some of the theoretical frameworks of CDA can be a very good fit for the kind of evidence provided by the corpus-based analysis. The ideological implications of the findings of frequency, collocation, and concordance analyses obtained in chapter 3 and 4, for instance, could only become clear when interpreted in light of some CDA concepts such as Van Dijk's (1998) ideological square framework. It is my conviction at the end of this study, therefore, that corpus linguistics does need critical discourse analysis just as much as critical discourse analysis needs corpus linguistics.

Another minor methodological contribution this research makes to corpus linguistics is the new format used in chapter 3 to present the collocation networks of the word *terrorism*.

While the web diagram introduced by McEnery (2006) and Baker (2006) is a powerful way of visually showing the collocation relationships, it becomes hard to see clear sub-networks in the diagram if the analyst decides to include a large number of collocates into the diagram since several of these words would tend to participate in multiple sub-networks. It even gets more complex if the analyst is interested in showing the direction of the collocation relationship. The grid format introduced in chapter 3 could be one way to address these problems. Another way I would like to suggest here also could be the use of a separate web diagram for each sub-network forming around the node word.

Implications

Methodological Implications

One of the major concerns regarding the use of corpus-based methods in critical discourse analysis is the possible loss of contextual information. There are a few steps the researcher can take to ensure that this does not happen. First of all, the use of corpus tools does not waive the requirement frequently emphasized by CDA researchers that the analyst needs to incorporate as much information as possible about the political, social, and historical context of the issue they are investigating. Without this kind of knowledge, it is going to be hard for the researcher to identify where the language could be used manipulatively. To make contexts easier to identify, an important step in corpus design is to put each individual text in a separate file with as much information as possible about the author of the text, the date it was written, and any other contextual information that might be available. Another important step during the analysis of concordance lines is for the researchers to keep expanding the context they are looking at (up to a whole text view if necessary) until they get a conclusive evidence regarding the pattern they are finding.

Another relevant methodological implication is that multiple corpus-based studies might often be necessary for the researcher to get a thorough understanding of the different aspects of manipulation that exist in a particular corpus. Although corpus-based techniques can provide a comprehensive profile of the term or issue the researcher has selected for analysis, many other issues are hidden from view. This would require multiple searches focusing on different aspects and issues in order to obtain the same thorough view traditional CDA methods allow the analyst to obtain of a small number of texts.

Practical Implications

As has been often demonstrated (e.g., Fowler, 1991), this study confirms that news reports are not as factual as many journalists like to believe (cf. Tuchman, 1997) and as the ethical statements of most news media say. News media have points of view that are shaped by many different factors, and these points of view are reflected in the texts they present to their audience. One obvious practical implication for this is that readers who are interested in getting as close to the facts as possible should consult multiple sources, especially ones that might have contradictory views on the issues presented.

Another implication that applies to long complex conflicts like the one in the Middle East is that the media cannot be thorough educational sources about these kinds of conflicts. The media are entangled in reporting the day to day events of the conflict and are very constrained about how much background information they can give. Even media outlets that strive to provide clarifying background information to events being reported, this background information remains fragmented and incomplete. For people who are interested in thoroughly understanding the events that are going on in such conflicts, it is essential to read in other sources such as book-

length studies that focus on the historical, political, religious, and economic backgrounds of a conflict.

In addition to the above mentioned implications for news consumers, the current research can have significant implications for the producers of news. When news writers become aware that their language can be subjected to such a close analysis in order to identify the aspects of bias in it, it is very likely that they will monitor the language they are using more carefully to avoid these aspects of bias. When asked about the reason the BBC has a glossary of terms to be used as a guide for BBC reporters covering the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, a BBC editor said that “the language is part of that conflict and people read into your use of language, a sense that they know where you’re coming from in your use of one particular word rather than another word” (in Barkho, 2008, p. 281). It is my conviction, therefore, that the more discourse analysts carry out this kind of critical analysis of media language the greater the possibility of having a positive impact on the news media. An important factor that can significantly affect the level of this impact, however, is how accessible this critical research is to a wider audience of lay news readers. I think it is very important that critical discourse analysts start targeting a non-academic audience by writing up the findings of their research in a way that avoids much of the technical jargon that might turn their non-academic audience away. It is eventually this wider non-academic audience that would put more significant pressure on the news media to watch out for bias in their language.

Pedagogical Implications

The findings of this research also have pedagogical implications, especially for language programs interested in consolidating the critical reading skills of their students. For such programs, the strategies adopted by news media to manipulate the discourse in a way that serves

their ideological orientations should be explicitly discussed in the classroom. One of the effective strategies adopted by some news media to manipulate the representation is to exclude from the text the content that does not serve well the ideological goals or the political orientation of the institution. One way to train students to detect this practice is to let them read about certain issues from multiple perspectives and to have them find examples of missing content from one text or the other and to discuss the impact of the absence of this particular information on the overall representation of the issue.

Pedagogical implications of this research can also extend to the teaching of writing. By exposing students to biased as well as more balanced samples of writing, teachers can highlight the aspects of bias and point out the characteristics of a more balanced representation for students to use as models for their own writing.

Future Directions and Recommendations

A thorough understanding of the language used to represent the Israeli-Palestinian conflict requires much more research than the few studies reported in this dissertation. Some future research directions are outlined below:

1. As shown in chapter 2 of this dissertation, there are still many issues that need to be investigated in the same corpora used in the research reported in this dissertation. One of the important issues that is also pointed out in chapter 3 has to do with the sources frequently cited by different media outlets and how the selection of sources to be quoted correlates with the overall positive or negative representations of the different participants in the conflict as demonstrated by the research reported here. Other key issues in the conflict that also require closer analysis include the representation of the peace process and the attitudes of the different participants towards it and the representation of the West Bank wall. Indeed, a useful study

would compare the ways in which different "walls" (the Great Wall of China, the Berlin Wall, the West Bank Wall, the walls between the U.S. and Mexico) are described by the media.

2. In addition to investigating these issues using corpus-based methodology, there is also a need to carry out more qualitative CDA analysis in order to triangulate the findings of the corpus research. It would be useful, for example, to analyze a small number of articles focusing on reporting acts of violence committed by Israelis and Palestinians to see if some of the general patterns of mitigating the "Bad" actions of the in-group and emphasizing those of the out-group are present at the different levels of textual representation (e.g., lexis, grammar, implications...etc.).

3. The impact of the language used or the audience addressed on the representation of certain issues is also an important aspect to address. This can be done by comparing the coverage of the Al-Jazeera Arabic website to the coverage of the English version, or to compare the English versions of the BBC and CNN to their Arabic versions.

4. It is also important to compare the coverage of the conflict in the same media outlet over different time periods. For example, comparing the coverage of the CNN before and after the September 11th events can show how those events might have impacted the representation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Another diachronic comparison can be made between the coverage of the BBC of the conflict before and after the BBC made available a glossary of important terms and facts about the conflict to be used as guide by the BBC reporters to ensure the impartiality of the BBC coverage of the conflict (BBC, 2006).

5. There is also a need to investigate the coverage of the conflict in other media outlets, including Israeli media. Since the claim is sometimes made that the coverage of the conflict can be more critical of Israel in Israeli newspapers such as Haaretz than in American newspapers, it

would be especially useful to compare this coverage in important American and Israeli newspapers such as the New York Times and Haaretz. A three-way comparison of the coverage of the conflict in some comparable Arab, Israeli, and American media outlets would also be useful.

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Appendix B

Collocational Grid of *Terrorism* in the BBC Corpus

	terrorism	war	against	on	fight	said	state	disclose	Palestinian	combat	failing	giving	convicted	anti	information	act	Syria	dismantle	stop	Palestinians	security	must	our	end	Israel	says	Israeli
terrorism (39)	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
war (11)	2	2	2	1		1			1								1								2		1
against (20)	2	2	2	1		1	1		1					1						1			2		2		2
on (11)	2			2		1			1						1		1		1	1			1				
fight (4)	2		1		2				1																		1
said (17)						2			1						1					1	2				2		2
state (11)	2					1	2														1				2		1
disclose (4)	2							2							1												
Palestinian (19)	2						1		2						1						2	1			2		2
combat (2)										2				1													
failing (3)								1			2				1												
giving (2)	2											2															
convicted (2)													2														
anti (3)														2											1		1
information (8)	2														2												
act (6)	2		1			1										2											
Syria (6)						1											2								2		
dismantle (3)																		2									
stop (11)	2		1						1										2	2					2		1
Palestinians (16)	2						1											1	2	2	2	1			2		1
security (12)						2			2											2	2				2		2
must (9)																1			1			2		1			
our (7)			2			1															1		2		1		
end (8)			1				1		1															2		2	1
Israel (30)	2	2	2			2	2		2							1	2	1	2	2	2	1		2	2	2	1
says (8)									1											1		1			2		2
Israeli (20)			2			2			2				1								2					2	

Appendix C

Collocational Grid of *Terror* in the BBC corpus

	terror	war	attacks	fight	acts	stop	said	end	action	infrastructure	activities	Israel	violence	organizations	right	steps	must	act	Palestinian	Palestinians	spokesman	groups	state	Israeli	told	security
terror (32)	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
war (9)	2	2	1				1					2							1					2		
attacks (21)			2				2	2				2	1				1		2	2	1	2		2		1
fight (5)	2			2			1												1					1		
acts (4)	2				2		1						1													
stop (14)	2		1			2	1					2	1						2	2				1		
said (25)			2				2		1			2	2						2	2	2			2		2
end (11)	2		2					2				2	2						1				1	1		
action (7)	2								2										1					2		
infrastructure (3)							1			2														1		
activities (3)											2										1			1		
Israel (32)		2	2			2	2	2	1			2			2		2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2
violence (17)							2	2				1	2						2	2		1		2		1
organizations (2)													2		2											
right (5)												2			2				2							
steps (3)																2				1						1
must (9)						1						2						1								
act (5)							1											2								
Palestinian (13)	2		2			2	2					2	2	1	2		1	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	2
Palestinians (13)			2			2	2					2	2							2						
spokesman (11)							2					1									2			2	1	
groups (11)			2			1						1							2			2				
state (10)							1					2					1		2		1		2			
Israeli (29)		2	2				2		2			2	2						2		2	2		2	2	2
told (7)												2												2		
security (15)							2					2					1		2	1	1			2		

Appendix D

Collocational Grid of *Terrorism* in CNN Corpus

	terrorism	against	on	fight	war	combat	crack	down	serious	regarding	advancing	action	incitement	suicide	violence	protect	continue	stop	because	our	end	do	international	take	process	Palestinian	Israel	peace
terrorism (43)	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1
against (9)	2	2																		1						1	1	
on (10)	2		2										1													1	1	
fight (4)	2	1		2																		1						
war (8)	2	1	1		2						1																1	
combat (2)	2					2																						
crack (6)	2		1				2	1																		2		
down (5)	2		1					2																		1		
serious (2)									2			1																
regarding (3)	2				1					2																		
advancing (3)											2														1			
action (7)	2	1										2						1								1		
incitement (2)		1											2															
suicide (5)	2													2													1	
violence (8)	2	1													2											2	1	
protect (4)																2				1						1	1	
continue (7)	2	1	1														2									1	1	
stop (9)	2	1	1												1			2								1	1	
because (2)																			2						1			
our (7)																		1		2						1		2
end (6)	2				1										1											2	1	
do (2)																							2					
international (3)	2																							2			1	
take (4)		1										1													2			
process (6)																									2			
Palestinian (22)	2					2								1	2									1	2	2		2
Israel (12)																										1		
peace (7)																	1			2					1	2		

Appendix E

Collocational Grid of *Terror* in CNN Corpus

	terror	attack(s)	organizations	infrastructure	dismantle	activity	groups	claimed	Palestinian	Hamas	responsibility	planning	war	stop	carry(-ied)	Israeli	targets	Israelis	numerous	group	civilians	fighting	organization	authority	violence	Jerusalem	bombing	Islamic	terrorists	Israel	Palestinians
terror (43)	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
attack(s) (29)		1					2		2	1					2	2	1	1			2					1		1		2	2
organizations (8)			1						2																			1			
infrastructure (4)	2			1																											
dismantle (7)	2		1	1	1																										
activity (4)						1			1																						
groups (12)		2	1				1		1	1						1												1		1	
claimed (11)	2	1						1	2	1																					
Palestinian (36)	2	2	2		1		1	1	2					2	2	2		2	2	2	2	1	1	2	2		2	1			
Hamas (22)	2		1	1				2	1	2					1				2				2				2				
responsibility (12)	2	1							1	2	1					1															
planning (4)	2	1										1																			
war (5)	2												1			1														1	1
stop (15)	2	1			1			2						1		1	2								1			1	2		
carry(-ied) (11)	2	2						1							1		1		1											2	
Israeli (29)		2						2	1							2	2			2	2			2	2	2	2		2	2	2
targets (9)								1							2	2					2									1	
Israelis (13)					1			2	1					2			1														2
numerous (7)	2	1														1	1			1											
group (16)		1					1	2	2	1				1	1	1				1							2		2	1	
civilians (13)		2						2								2	2	1			1									1	
fighting (5)	2															1	1					1									1
organization (8)								1		2	1					1							1				1				
authority (7)	2	1		1										1									1							1	
violence (10)								2								2	1								1					1	2
Jerusalem (11)								2								2											1			2	2
bombing (6)		1						1								1										1				1	
Islamic (15)			1			1	1	2	2	1									2										1		
terrorists (9)		1														1													1	1	
Israel (27)		2		1				1	1		1			2	2	2				2						2				2	2
Palestinians (18)		2														2	2				1				1	1				2	