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Framing the Palestinian-Israeli Representations in Western Media Discourse in the Aftermath of Trump's Declaration of Jerusalem as the Capital of Israel

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ABSTRACT

This study aims at identifying the discursive practices in depicting the representations of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict within a 'specialized corpus', about seventy thousand words, from the *Independent*, a leading representative newspaper in the West, by adopting Critical Discourse Analysis, CDA, covering the period between December 2017 and January 2018. The texts of this corpus comprise a sample of articles that discursively handles Donald Trump's declaration of Jerusalem to be the official capital of Israel. The study has fundamentally relied on various theoretical backgrounds related to CDA mainly stated by Fowler (1991), Fairclough (1995b), and Leeuwen (2008). The study showed that the *Independent* has used various discursive practices; calling the unmarked, belligerent rhetoric, down-grading techniques, euphemism, assimilation and stable mechanisms, to draw structural power relations between in-group American voice parallelized with Israeli voice and out-group Palestinian voice to delegitimize the Palestinians' sense of sovereignty of Jerusalem. The study concluded that the *Independent* is a conservative newspaper by virtue of the evident discursive strategies used by the newspaper.

Keywords: Palestinians, discursive strategies, de-legitimization, power, critical discourse analysis, the *Independent*, pragmatics.

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1. Introduction

Jerusalem has played various roles throughout the history as a result of the multi-culturalism it has been exposed to which was caused by its geographic location and its religious state. Being a capital, Jerusalem has played one of the most significant roles. The word capital has a number of connotative associations as suggested by Rapoport (1993: 32); it is the place where the country serves the centrality; gains wide interests and images that symbolize power; and exercises control, wealth and decision making.

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One of the challengeable collocations attached to Jerusalem, as a capital, is being a dispute capital by reason of being conquered by diverse tribal, cultural, and religious backgrounds (Kollek, 1977). Religiously speaking, Muslims, for example, postulated that Jerusalem is the site of the holiest places grounded in the way they have first turned it in prayer before they have turned to Mecca. Furthermore, the Prophet Mohammad, peace be upon him, has journeyed on his mystical nocturnal flight (Khalidi, 1978). Jewish not only harbored the historical importance of the city to the heart and the soul of Jewish people, but also they believed the idea calling on the Christians bringing God's chosen people, Jews, back from the distractions of diaspora to rebuild the kingdom of Israel within the borders of Jerusalem in order to re-establish the *Solomonic Temple* on the current site of *al-Aqsa mosque* and the *Dome of the Rock*, located in the old city of Jerusalem (Bowman, 2013). These views with religious-based codifications bring these voices into conflict since then. Consequently, and by the West Jerusalem and East Jerusalem unification in 1967, the city, Jerusalem, turned into an unrecognized capital; seeking out no voice to hold the authority of its position (Bovis, 1971).

As dramatically escalated and for the first time in the history of the United States' foreign policy, the president of the United States, Donald Trump, officially recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel on December, 6th 2017, and moved the USA embassy from Tel Aviv into it on May, 14th 2018. Against the *Palestinians'* will and by the significance of Jerusalem, multi-crewed newspapers have widely reacted to it differently. The *Independent* has published more than a hundred articles covering the period between December 2017 and January 2018.

Several identities and relationships are centered and positioned in the Westerner's media, it has been improved (Dijk, 1988). For sure, the Palestinian-Israeli interrelated representations in the media of others have had a focal orchestrated position in the scholars' mind for two reasons. Firstly, the constituted relations were orbited around the pivot of ideological orientations and power relations. Secondly, these relations were reinforced by the hegemonic discourse of Americans' policies. As a result, the main theme of the data collected from the newspaper is believed to de-legitimize the *Palestinians'* sovereignty of Jerusalem as a capital, which was assigned to the Israelis in light of the USA intervention of the declaration.

It is assumed that the process of assigning and distributing power relations is discursively introduced as the newspaper could not assign the privilege of power to the voices explicitly. One objective of the study is to de-structuralize the discursive strategies followed by the *Independent* in order to de-legitimize the *Palestinians'* sovereignty towards the city.

1.1. Significance of the study

The pragmatism of de-legitimization does play an important role throughout the study. It is indicative to outline the significance of the study which lies in the interrelatedness of two subsumed disciplinarians; mainly Critical Discourse Analysis; henceforth CDA, and Pragmatics in order to set up the results instituted properly by means of factorizing the pragmatic goal and the communicative function, i.e. de-legitimization, and the power relation with its ideological orientation throughout the framework of CDA. Such assimilating factorization paves the way to the researchers to point out the discursive strategies followed by the newspaper to regulate relations of power.

2. Research methodology and data analysis

On account of the researchers objective of identifying the de-legitimate discursive strategies included within the articles to conjure up its ideological orientations and power significations of the newspaper, the data were compiled from the electronic archive on-line website of the *Independent*, www.independent.co.uk. The website involves an accessible archive which contains up-to-date published articles. The data were collected and distributed into chronically event-related actions temporally covering the period between December, 4th 2017 and January, 31st 2018. After that, the corpus which was used in the analysis of this study contained about 70.000 words transformed into *Rich Text Format*, rtf which enabled the researchers to read the 'specialized corpus' by *WordSmith* correctly. The data collected quantitatively have been scrutinized qualitatively by the researchers following CDA.

The data collected by the researchers from the Independent's Archive reached into one hundred and three (103) articles. These articles were conveniently chosen to conduct CDA environment into the previous stage. The following table shows a sample of the corpus collected:

Table 1.

A sample of the corpus used from the independent.

N. Article	Name of the article	Date of publication	Number of words
1	'Donald Trump recognizing Jerusalem as Israel's capital will cause 'major catastrophe', Middle East leaders warn'.	4 th , December 2017	1193
2	'Jerusalem explained: The city where three religions, and violence is never far away'.	5 th , December 2017	607
3	'Donald Trump warned recognizing Jerusalem as capital of Israel could spark violent demonstrations'.	5 th , December 1 2017	821

Grounded on *WordSmith 5.0* tool, the keywords, frequencies and collocations of the initial analysis were intrinsically identified in order to reassure the contextual parameters, included by knowledge, backgrounds, and beliefs, in the data collected. The software interface of *WordSmith 5.0* tool contains three icons by which the researchers relied on: *concordance*, *wordlist* and *keywords*. To look up into the exact context of the corpus collected, the researchers highlighted not only the way in which the extracted *keywords* were distributed, but also the way they were frequently arranged.

This secondary quantitative analysis aimed at specifying Leeuwen's (2008) social actors and actions framework, featured agent-patient relations, spatialized, religious, classified and other involved relations. The purpose of this analysis is to shed light on *foregrounding*, *backgrounding* voices attached in the body of discourse, processes of the actions, metaphoric expressions related to the discourse, collocations, and euphemistic cognitive processes of the 'specialized corpus'. In addition to that it is used to specify the connotatively semiotic significations and the *pragmatic implicatures* of the excluded and included processes and actors.

3. Theoretical Background

Foucault (1981: 52) believed that discourse is at once controlled, and selected by a certain number of procedures whose role is to reproduce its power. The way which Foucault radiates discourse and its relation to the processes of control and selection, by which the possibilities of having different choices, involved subjects, and hierarchies are at issue, has had referential effects on the way discourse has been theorized since then. The language which is conducted by specific groups of a society, at specific circumstances and settings, by specific communicative means and for specific purposes is differently structured and constructed in a given social practice (Fairclough 1992 & 1995b).

Mass media, as has been claimed, has a major role in shaping the public opinion, in transforming the suffering of socially constructed-base of relations, and in influencing knowledge and beliefs as a result of the institutional role enacted by the media (Fairclough, 1992 & 1995b). More adequately, in the last century, pioneers, who conductively interact with different contextual and demographical parameters have shown that mass media is seen as operating within a social system. It has been signaled that mass media concern with power; it has conjured up question of power: how participant, as a part of the context, affects and are affected by power relations within the social system: relations of class, gender, ethnicity, culture, and religion. The question of how media language functions ideologically has been severely foregrounded (Fairclough 1992 & 1995b). It is demonstrated that "CDA takes a particular interest in the relationship between language and power" (Weiss & Wodak 2003). CDA refers to the way language is connected with the discursive units of text as the basic unit of communication. It is the best tool which is used to figure out the way relations constructed by means of power relations in a specific communicative event shows up through the media.

According to Fairclough (1995b), Critical discourse analysis of a communicative event is the analysis of relationships between three dimensions of that event: *text*, *discourse practice*, and *sociocultural practices*. The analysis of text covers a form of linguistic analysis: the analysis of vocabulary

and semantics, the grammar of sentences, and the textual organization above the sentence. *Discourse practice* dimension of the communicative event involves various aspects of the processes of text production and text consumption deducted from the public domain and the private domain. Some of these have a more institutional character. *Sociocultural practice* involves more immediate situational context, many aspects of sociocultural practice may enter into CDA; concerned with issues of power and ideology (*Ibid.*).

It is important to write down the tools which were followed by the researchers in order to look up how relations discursively represented in the text. According to Lakoff (1987) & Fowler (1991), transitivity is a clue of analyzing the discursive strategies to reveal the de-legitimate techniques used in the discourse of the newspaper as a result of making its choice, made by the discourse, intrinsically related to ideologically significant relations. Detailed analysis of various kinds of *predicates, participants and circumstances* is involved. There are also verbs and adjectives which imply no change or development; states. Actions and processes may be material: external, physical, and perceptible; mental actions or verbal (*Ibid.*). Furthermore, he grounded on *nominalization*, as a way to the ideological discursive strategy used by the newspaper, which is “a radical syntactic transformation of a clause” (*Ibid.*); has extensive structural consequences, and offers substantial ideological opportunities in the areas of power-relations and writers' attitudes by strategies of concealment of who does what to whom by deleting the references of persons who are responsible to and affected by the processes described by the verb; it depersonalizes and/or depopulates the relations *agentively or patiently* attached to the verb, (Kress, Hodge & Jones 1979, Fowler 1991, and Leeuwen 2008).

Trew (1979) used other specific techniques, as well, as he regards media as representing information about what is happening to the need for reinterpreting and re-establishing the discursive characterizations of the victimized-victimizer relations at issue: *agent-patient* relations in the *active-passive* structure which have to do with the ideas of *backgrounding* and *suppression*, in the case of suppression, as claimed by Leeuwen (2008), “there is no reference to the social actor(s) in question anywhere in the text”; in the case of *backgrounding*, “the excluded social actors may not be mentioned in relation to a given action” (*Ibid.*).

Van Leeuwen (2008) conducted his own practicing discourse of the social actors in terms of their recontextualization on the bases of genericization, by the plural without the article; by the singular with definite article, or indefinite article. It is assumed that social actors can be referred to as individuals, individualization, or as groups, assimilation. Nomination is typically realized by proper nouns, which can be formal, semiformal, or informal. Nomination may be titulized, either in the form of honorification, the addition of standard titles, or in the form of affiliation. Impersonalization is another way to represent social actors in term of abstraction and objectivation. Abstraction occurs when social actors are represented by means of a quality assigned to them; objectivation occurs when social actors are represented by means of reference to a place or thing closely associated either with their person or with the action involved. Spatialization and instrumentalization are different kinds of objectivation to be as metonymical reference. Overdetermination, for example, which has legitimizing functions, as claimed by Leeuwen (2008), occurs when social actors are represented as participating, in more than one social practice. Distillation is a kind of overdetermination: distillation is a “combination of abstraction and generalization” (*Ibid.*).

Amer (2017) studied the representations of political social actors in media coverage of the Gaza war of 2008-2009 by relying on CDA of the systematic study from four international newspapers: *The Guardian*, *The Time London*, *The New York Time*, and *The Washington Post*. By reporting wars in the newspapers, Amer assumed that media is an argumentative genre by which different relations are represented throughout it. Furthermore, he followed Leeuwen's (1996) framework of socio-semantic inventory to analyze the body text of the collected sample. The framework included different discursive tools mainly used like: relations of exclusion and inclusion, allocation, genericization and specification, assimilation and individualization. The study concluded that all the US and UK newspapers foreground the *Israeli* efforts to achieve a ceasefire with the *Palestinians* to end the war; the British media understood event with conservative orientation to advocate the Israeli interests; *Palestinian* danger and threat to the *Israelis* was prevalent across the four selected newspapers.

Amer (2009) examined the de-legitimation of the second Palestinian IntifaDa in Friedman's discourse in a contribution of Freidman's column in New York Times. Amer adopted the argumentative

structure of Freidman's article which functionalized as to be discursive by contrasting, polarized representation, presupposing Israel's generous offer, reasoning and rationalizing, blaming the victim by attacking the rationality of out-group's members, ridiculing and evoking fear and alarm. The study concluded that Freidman has contributed to overall discourse strategy of positive in-group presentation and negative out-group presentation within an argumentative structure which de-legitimizes the *Palestinians* as violent and legitimizes *Israelis* as peaceful and rational.

Wenden (2005) focused on the language of discourses of twelve articles posted on Aljazeera's English website to mark the third anniversary of the al-Aqsa IntifaDa. The study aimed at determining Aljazeera's perspective of the second ItifaDa in order to underlie its ideologies. The results showed that Aljazeera's report represents the IntifaDa as caused by the ongoing oppression of Palestinians by Israelis. The relationship between the *Israelis* and the *Palestinians* in the study was depicted, by analyzing the verbs, the metaphors and nominalizing the actions critically, as a relation of oppressed and oppressor- the former are repressive and brutal, while the later are resistant but blameless. Militarism is the ideology that underlies the themes and shapes the responses.

4. Findings, analysis and discussion

The Independent has directed different strategic orientations structured specifically to expose an enclosure converged to draw significations of un-directness and trajectory. To uncover these significations, this part deals with the technicality used by the Independent to transport the event of Trump's declaration of Jerusalem to be the official capital of Israel. The discussion is proceeded by shedding light on the communicative event analysis: text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practices of the 'specialized corpus'.

4.1. Introduction: The independent's stylistics of the event

The word tabloid refers to the "type of popular newspaper with small pages which has many pictures and short simple reports" (Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary). One of the most important things presupposed by the definition is the formalistic appearance of the *Independent*. The newspaper's common way of narrating the events has to do with having the body of the event, firstly, intermediated by photos and images related to the event itself. The newspaper uses a title which shows the most significant and steadfast pieces of news relatively coincided with specific reactive, evaluative, reflective, or informative involved relations of the declaration. Progressively, the body of the tabloid narrates what is mentioned in the title by being contingent on quoting, directly or indirectly, different ethnic voices, Palestinian or Israeli voices, involved in the process of the declaration. Representing oppositional and negotiated voices is one of the important techniques used by the newspaper. Every article, to a great extent, has no absence in the classified voices, which differently reacted Trump's decision. The presence of the voices was featured to the reader's consciousness by having counter regional and universal voices. Using *direct discourse*, DD, or *indirect discourse*, ID, from the source narrator, is another way used within the tabloids to mirror the event itself (Fairclough 1995a). Repetition is another important cohesive device used by the *Independent* for the sake of covering the event. Eventually, the penultimate lines of every article summarize the actions that have been narrated previously in the articles. The following table shows some of the repeated phrases used by the newspaper to cover the event:

Table 2.

A sample of the repeated phrases used.

Phrase No.	Phrase	Date of the Article
1	"day of rage" (the <i>Independent</i>)	8 th Dec 2, 8 th Dec 3, 9 th Dec
2	"unjustified and irresponsible" (the <i>Independent</i>)	7 th Dec 5, 7 th Dec 9

4.2 Description of the findings

This part was divided into two phases; the first step proceeded by finding the *keywords* which have substantial implications of the representations. The second step has been developed by inducting the collocations of these main words. This table illustrates a sample of the keywords which are used through the discussion.

Table 3.

A sample of the keywords in the corpus.

Number	Keywords and their lemmas	December	January	Total
1	Jerusalem	679	133	812
2	US	532	153	685
3	Trump	476	132	608

The previous table has been divided into two months; December and January. The sample of the 'specialized corpus' has been related to a hundred and three articles; seventy seven articles connected with December, 2017 and twenty six articles of January, 2018. The researchers relied on sixty three keywords to critically analyze the discursive de-legitimate strategies followed by the *Independent*. *Jerusalem*, *Trump*, *US*, *Israel*, *Israeli(s)*, and *Palestinian(s)* showed a high frequency in the 'specialized corpus' as they totally rated 812, 685, 608, 605, 437, and 732 consecutively. These *keywords* have been classified by the researchers to benefit from them by being connected with the *discourse practices* by collecting specific analogies shared by a group walled together to frame the discursive strategies.

Table 4.

A sample of the collocations and their frequencies of the keywords.

Number	Keywords and their lemmas	Collocations and Frequencies
1	Jerusalem	Israel (311), capital(289), Trump(117), decision(112)
2	US	President(90), Jerusalem(82), embassy(74), decision(68)

Matching the keywords with the collocations is of significant extensions to determine the signified actions and actors. *Jerusalem*, for example, has been highly collocated with *Israel*(311), *capital*(289) and *Trump*(117). These collocations and frequencies could help in forming a systematic pattern. The number of the words, for example, collocated with *Jerusalem*, *US*, *Trump*, *Israel*, *Israeli(s)*, *Palestinian(s)*, *capital*, *peace*, *protests*, and *Muslims*, outnumbered other *keywords* throughout the sample which is a significant pattern. These collocations are significantly connotative as they have used to enhance the *communicative event of the text*, *discourse practices*, and *sociocultural practices* to conjure up, discursively, the de-legitimate practices of the *Independent*.

As the secondary quantitative analysis aimed at specifying Leeuwen's (2008) social actors and actions framework, this table shows a sample of the tools' percentages deducted from the secondary quantitative analysis.

Table 5.

A sample of the percentage of the secondary quantitative analysis.

Keyword	Total no. of Words	Percentage of Foregrounding Inclusion	Percentage of Backgrounding Exclusion	Percentage of Formal Nomination	Percentage of Semi-formal Nomination	Percentage of Informal Nomination
Jerusalem	812	16.3%	83.7%	-	-	-
Trump	608	67.30%	32.70%	63.4%	26.6%	10%

4.3 Discussion

The researchers tried to analyze the text by the aids of both the initial and the secondary quantitative analyses, then they attempted to set the *discourse practices* to indispensably questioned the *sociocultural practices* of the newspaper.

4.3.1 Political unconscious: Calling the unmarked

Presumably, the newspaper has hit the *mental model* of the readers by calling into their consciousness the unmarked. *Jerusalem* has been repeated 812 times throughout the corpus. *Jerusalem* is a *geographical knowledge* by which the readers of the newspaper presuppose that it is the capital city, as it collocated with *capital* 289 times, where the Palestinians and/or the Israelis are located in the land. The Independent has distinct the unmarked. One of the most relevant associations attached to the *unmarked*, as has been stated by Jakobson (1971c), is that it is the dominant; the unmarked is the dominant by the seizure of money, culture and militancy. As the *Independent* called for the unmarked, which is a *political unconscious* technique used in the textual sample of the newspaper, and by taking the contextual parameters of the communicative event, the call of the unmarked mirrors a discursive strategy to signify specific power relations and asymmetrical connotations by relying on both the use of the hegemonic discourse.

Hegemonic discourse is represented by virtue of power relations called to in the articles. The connection of power with the hegemonic discourse needs to be established by figuring out the denotative and the connotative contents of the word hegemony. In other words, hegemony is defined as a “leadership [of] domination across the.. political, cultural and ideological domains of a society”; a “constant struggle around points...to construct... alliances and relations of domination/subordination” (Fairclough 1992). Power, dominance and alliance are mainly connotative associations of asymmetric relationships connected with and directed for the unmarked. Foucault (1982: 785) assumed that “power is something which exists with three distinct qualities: its origin, its basic nature, and its manifestations”; the unmarked, distinct by its power relations, has been manifested by its nature through the way in which *Jerusalem*, the *geographical knowledge* hits the consciousness of the readers, has been highly collocated with Trump. Trump is metonymically objectivated, part of a whole relation, by specific impersonalized instrumentalizations represented by US, United States, America and a classification; American(s).

Table 6.

The frequencies of us, United States, american(s) and trump collocation with Jerusalem.

Number	Keywords and their lemmas	Frequencies of Collocations with Jerusalem
1	Trump	117
2	US	82
3	United States	12
4	American(s)	5
Total		216

As table no 6 clarified, the results showed that US, United States America, and American(s) together with the proper noun, Trump, collocated with Jerusalem 216 times; an apparent appealing to the original dominance of the relations by virtue of the country's political, cultural and militant status.

Table 7.

A sample of leeuwen's tools connected with us and trump.

Num.	Word	Foregrounding Inclusion	Backgrounding exclusion	Formal nomination	Semi formal	Informal nomination
1	Trump	67.3%	32.70%	63.4%	26.6%	10%
2	US	34.43%	65.5%	-	-	-

Another important indication of clearing out the way that the Independent appealed to acknowledge the hegemonic discourse and its relation with the declaration appears in the previous table. The table shows how Trump has been foregrounded, as a direct way to hit the consciousness of the readers, and by their predetermined *socio-cultural knowledge* of the *mental model* of them, he is the president of the United States; such a regulation has been officially declared by virtue of the asymmetrical relations of the US over the whole world; one of the knowledge stored in the minds' of the readers as a part of their beliefs. Even the formality of addressing the president reached up to 63.4%; as an acknowledgment of the position he has located which means that the Independent is totally conscious of the position placed by Trump; addressed by his honorification and by his titulation; the president of the US.

1. Mr Trump *said the recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital was "nothing more, or less, than a recognition of reality* (N. article 13, Wilts)
2. Mr Trump *clarified today in his announcement that the move should not be seen as a "not intended in any way to reflect a departure from" peace* (N. article, 12, Sampathkumar).

The *Independent's* acknowledgement of the role of the hegemonic discourse in the declaration was expressed by adopting specific linguistic identifications in the discourse of hegemony which indicates the country's asymmetry and supremacy. *Trump, US, United States and America* collocated with the verb declare and its hyponym, recognize; as officialdom, a general state, is a common used signification of the two verbs; declare and recognize and its lemmas: recognition, recognize and recognizing; relational identifications connected with the US president; his decision, Trump's decision, his announcement, as an indication of the way in which the declaration has been alleged with the hegemonic discourse; using verbal and material actions; *said, called, upends, do, double down, resurrect and seeking* which indicate both verbal and performative enactments of the actions; an emphasis of the supreme position of the United States verbally and performatively; using direct speech acts; *instructed, ordered, and directed* which direct other relations involved in the decision to do something, *promised, warning, warned* which commit themselves to a future temporal line and refused or acknowledged which position the US into the ladder of giving an agreement regarding what to be happened or disagreement regarding what to likely be happened; and, finally, using future tense; is going to and will, which commit him/them to do something in the future by semiotically being confident to do so and contain themselves within the circle of the dominant relations the country enacts locally and universally as being do-future actor(s).

4.3.2 Belligerent Rhetoric

Belligerent rhetoric was used by Van Dijk (2008) to clarify different distinct discursive strategies used to reflect and construe specific semiotic significations or pragmatic implicatures. This part of the discussion shows up both the semiotic and pragmatic indications of using the belligerent rhetoric by the *Independent*. These indications are highlighted throughout using both call to arms discourse to semiotically be impressionistic over the readers' mentality and tub-thumping to pragmatically downgrade the responsibility which has been enacted materially or physically by a specific voice.

Table 8.

A sample of the frequencies and collocations of the belligerent Rhetoric.

Number	Keyword	Frequency	Collocation
1	Soldier	23	Israeli(10)
2	Military	48	Israel(18)
		Total	
		71	

The *Independent* used the technique of the DD. The DD used by the newspaper made a specific pattern related with specific ethnic classified voice, pre-considerably though. *Soldier, security, police and military* have been collocated with Israeli only. Forces highly collocated with Israeli, clashes highly collocated with Israeli and Palestinian, protests highly collocated with *Palestinians, killed*, as well, highly collocated with *Palestinians*. This pattern is so important by which the next analysis is relied on.

Call to arms discourse is one of the discursive techniques adopted by the *Independent* to pragmatically add an orientation into the consciousness of the readers to reflect their mental model.

1. *Palestinian factions have called for protests* (N. article 15, Mindock)
2. *Who called for a new uprising in response to Mr Trump's Jerusalem declaration/ Hamas* (N. article 90, Osborne)

To figure out how the newspaper imprinted specific beliefs and stored them into the mentality of its reader, it is significant to apprehend what was included and what was excluded through the discourse. There was a specific voice foregrounded, actively, by underlying its *socio-cultural knowledge*, namely the Palestinians. Moreover, focusing on specific *socio-political knowledge*; Hamas, which is known as an Islamist militant movement, is an appeal to intervene the religious discourse through the process of labeling and stereotyping. Neither other socio-cultural voices nor other socio-political voices; Israel and Israeli, were visualized to reflect the second part of the dichotomy which is included within

the declaration. What features this *socio-cultural* voice; Palestinians, is that they are actively connected with a call into material processes highlighted by protests, new or third Intifada, and uprising. Using the adjectives new and third, as well, motivates the readers to presuppose that there was an old, first and second event which semiotically signifies instability and disorder led by the Palestinians. The presence of these specific *socio-cultural* and *socio-political* voices, the Palestinians, together with the absence of their counterpart on the same scale; the Israelis, is semiotically indicative. In other words, senses of instability, disorder and violence are the criteria attached to the Palestinians, within call to arms discourse. The newspaper tends to be impressionistic over the readers' minds as a trace left from reading the tabloids when it comes to the Palestinians and the Islamists. An impression of the enactments directly hits to influence what the reader knows about Muslims, Arabs and the Palestinians. This discourse highly evokes the way Muslims enact chaos and terrorism.

Tub-thumping Discourse is another sub-category of the belligerent rhetoric used by the *Independent* discursively. The followings are examples used to illustrate tub-thumping discourse.

1. The region and the world would be “*plunged into a fire with no end in sight*” (N. article 14, Indy).
2. But that did not stop protests beginning in Palestinian refugee (N. article 13, Wilts)

Tub-thumping discourse, as it was proposed by Van Dijk (2008), concentrates on the violent rhetoric stylistically adopted by the newspaper as a projection of the events which are taken place in the region after the declaration. Consciously adopted labels attached to specific socio-cultural knowledge of voice, the situation has been representative by the verbosity of battle. The words used to express what happened after the declaration has been announced are protests, clashes, demonstrations, and violence. Metaphorically speaking, the situation is a battle where the signs of instability and disorder control the situation instrumentalized by the means of rockets, stones, air strikes, jets and rocks. Since the situation is a battle, there should be actors acting the situation as the verbosity presupposes; the Palestinians and the Israelis or Israel. The data presuppose a socio-cultural knowledge shared by the Palestinians and the Israelis. Israel as a geographic knowledge was connected with the Israelis not with the Palestinians; delegitimizing the right of possessing. The Palestinians have been collocated with territories; they are (inter)-acting, socializing, and communicating in a territory, not in a state, which presupposes that there are people who carry specific ethnic classification of a socio cultural knowledge, the Palestinians, battle against other socio-cultural voice; the Israelis, to enlarge their inclusiveness within the borders of the land. Accordingly, the newspaper de-legitimizes the sense of possessing a state to a specific socio-cultural group; the Palestinians, as they fragmentarily battle against the wholeness of the Israelis.

4.3.3 Hawkish discourse

This kind of discourse is so common in politics and in the agenda setting process which is characterized with the directness, sharpness and upgradeness of specific groups by avoiding the positive face needs and being bald on record (Brown and Levinson 1987).

1. It would be folly to assume repeating the exact same formula (N. article 12, Sampathkumar)
2. 'Damn your money!' (N. article 101, Mindock)

The speakers of the DD were direct for the sake of being commissive to a future action; a threat, will pay the price. They de-emphasized the face needs of the addressees by the use of specific lexical intensifiers; swear words; damn and shame. They, as well, were bald on record by upgrading the actors into a state of dehumanization by a rhetorical appeal; foolish, folly, coward, and madness (House and Kasper 1981). This discourse has been connected with the Palestinians to be impressionistic as a trace left over the consciousness of the readers. This discourse evokes negative associations with ethnically-othering out-groups; the Palestinians and Arabs.

4.3.4 Positive and negative assimilation

Table 9.

Frequencies and collocations of positive and negative assimilation.

Number	Keyword	Frequency	Collocation
1	Trump	608	Israel(49),Israeli(9), Palestinians(39)
2	America	74	Israel(5)

3	American(s)	82	Israel(8)
4	US	685	Israel(59), Palestinians(34)
		Total	
		1449	

1. Mr Trump is endorsing Israeli settlement policy in East Jerusalem (N. article 10, Cockburn).
2. The US President recognised Jerusalem as the capital of Israel (N. article, 12, Sampathkumar).

According to Caldas-Coulthard & Coulthard (1996: 48), assimilation specifies social actors as groups or participants. As previously shown, the voices which were coincided within the announcement have been assimilated positively or negatively with specific groups classified ethnically. Throughout the tabloids, three voices with different ethnic, religious and political backgrounds, highly involved in the process of the declaration. The one that declares the announcement; representative by its hegemonic nature, America, US, or Trump, has been assimilated differently with a specific socio-cultural group; Palestinians, and other classified ethnic voice; Israeli. Israel has been positively assimilated with the hegemonic power by virtue of being collocated with the Israeli voice 130 times and using the following rhetoric; being expressive; Israel has been attitudinal by openly expressing its feelings from the decision; (hero) welcome, thank, happy; by using a performative direct speech act; praise, by having a parallelism; expressed by using the coordinator and between US and Israel which signifies pluralized relations of alliance combine these in-groups dominantly expressed, acquired by the supremacy of the hegemonic discourse parallelized with the Israelis, against the Palestinians. Unlike the Israelis, the Palestinians seemed to have negative assimilation conjuncts with the US; the Palestinians collocated with the hegemonic discourse 73 times. The negative assimilation of the two parts, as well, has been determined by using direct speech act; reject and insult, negation; no and not, or by using negative connotative words; denounce and destroy, which signify a sense of a rupturing of non-unification and bifurcation, as the singularized form mingles to.

4.3.5 Downgrading and euphemizing techniques

Table 10.

Frequency and collocations for downgrading and euphemizing techniques.

Number	Keyword	Frequency	Collocation
1	Region	94	peace(19), violence(16), protests(6), Muslim(8)
2	Violence	63	Region(16), move(11)
		Total	
		157	

1. Violence isn't out of the question (N. article 15, Mindock).
2. The region saw violence more recently as well (N. article 15, Mindock).

Situation is battle, a common ground socio-political technique followed by the Independent to express the status quo of the region. Who does what to whom is a general regulation to establish the voices narrated. A specific socio-cultural voice, the Palestinians, was mostly existed in the category of killing; the verb kill requires agent-patient relations; a transitive verb, but the doer of the action has been suppressed and another constituent has replaced the agentive position to pragmatically downgrade the responsibility of the enactment done by the Israelis. The newspaper has followed the technique of suppression exclusion to downgrade the Israelis' labelization as a killer. Another category has been distinguished by the newspaper is using the verb die; this verb is an intransitive verb; it only involves the agent and no other voices; Palestinians die; from whom and by what are out of the context as consciously adopting the intransitive category; the newspaper followed the technique of distillation; general and abstract category, to pragmatically downgrade the Israeli's responsibility of the event. In addition to that, although the newspaper used the noun violence in a way that excluded the voices involved in the battle situation expressed previously, distillation governs the event by being generalized and abstracted; the reader will be questioning who does what to whom; the category of killing and shooting was excluded to downgrade the enactments of the Israelis.

4.3.6 Common grounded discursive strategies

One of the strategies traced by the Independent to up-grade the truthfulness of the declaration for the *Israelis* is common-ground strategies. Stable Mechanisms are the common grounded strategies used in the body of the corpus.

Following the criteria of having stable mechanisms is the best way to understand how an action upon an action arises in the present or in the future to de-legitimize one's voice by up-grading others' power. The Independent has relied on the mechanisms of *peace* and *globalization* as actions foreshadowed the action of declaring *Jerusalem* as the capital of Israel. These mechanisms, share the connotations of stability; not into a material action, and presuppose a consensus represented by the parts involved in the declaration of regarding Jerusalem as Israel's capital.

Table 11.

A sample of the frequencies and the collocations in stable mechanisms.

Number	Keyword	Frequency	Collocations
1	Resolution(s)	78	security(14), council(17), international(5), UN(9), nations(8)
2	International	88	violation(6), consensus(5)
3	Peace	332	process(89), Israel(45), talks(39), deal(33), United States(5), America(6), US(12)
		Total 498	

1. Palestinians are genuinely committed to a peace (N. article 20, Levick)
2. "US remains deeply committed to helping facilitate a peace agreement," (N. article 12, Sampathkumar).

Peace Process is one of the common-grounded techniques indicatively expresses a stable mechanism to state relations of power and asymmetry. For Wenden (2005: 95), "implicit characterizations of the peace talks are a rejection of nonviolence and by implication a legitimization of the belief that violence is the means of the Palestinians to achieve their cause".

Table 13 shows that peace has, almost, collocated with the main voices which were involved within the declaration; US, United States, Trump, Palestinians, Israelis, Israel, the UN and the EU, which emphasizes the extent to which these voices appeal to such a considerable *socio-political knowledge* historically has its results over any two parts regulated within a conflict. Process has been attached to peace 89 times which is significant in the sense that peace is the common value circulated mutually and continuously in the present, every now and then, by the parts involved within a conflict. The previous voices, as it was distinguished, show a future commitment to this value in order to go ahead with the decision by the attachment of *peace* with *committed* and *pushed forward*; even forward, as an indexical sign, signifies a destination into future by virtue of the forward indexicality expressed by pushing something over something else by the directionality of being progressing. Peace is the value by which it will not be culminated as a result of being restarted again and revitalized by the voices involved; these actions cognitively show that peace is vitality like chemical substances interact continually and persistently. The role of the Palestinians in Jerusalem has been de-legitimized by moral evaluation; a value system of peace (Leeuwen 2008). This mechanism is indicative in terms of being unconsciously politicized by the voices involved in the declaration; a value, peace, mainly addresses the humanitarian institutions, which their policy stands for the two-state solution and the settlement between the Palestinians and the Israelis like UN; calling for peace by specific power relations, USA, substantially, is a circumvent strategy imprinted by party-oriented policies to wind down the other parties calling for settlement between the Palestinians and the Israelis to not be exposing into the associations connected with having power relations in the paradigmatic relations. Relations of resistance systemized and coherently organized against the situation and the relation of oppositions. By doing so, these voices aim at boosting the fragile consciousness of the Palestinians, unconsciously politicized, and cutting the sources of any insurrectionary militancy reacted, as a part of the resistant enactments of the power relations, to de-structuralize dominant relations aligned to what has been declared (Said 1993).

Generalization and Globalization are one of the common-grounded techniques discursively state power relations expressed as parts of stable mechanisms to pragmatically politicized unconscious of down-grading the enactments of out-grouped people strategically. The followings examples were taken from the 'specialized corpus' regard generalization and globalization.

1. That Jerusalem's status has been enshrined in a number of international *declarations* (N. article 1, Wilts).
2. UN Security Council deems Israeli settlements "a flagrant violation under international law" (N. article 81, Khan).

The *condemnation* and the violation in the previous sample have been highly collocated with *international community, law and consensus*. Processes of globalization and suppression exclusion have governed the discourse to de-legitimize the Palestinians' right of Jerusalem. The agent and patient actors have been absent for the sake of using nominalization; condemnation; who condemns what to whom; violation; who violates what to whom; agreements and declarations, as well; the absence of agent and patient actors by using nomination is called suppression exclusion (see Leeuwen 2008). Suppression exclusion presupposes a process of generalization as a result of de-legitimizing the Palestinian voice of the city. The decision, as well, has been internationalized by the process of globalization. The move has been faced by international community, and law. Even the process of globalization is governed by generalization; the identities of the international law or community are vague and are not configured easily. Processes of globalization and generalization are other tactics systemized by the newspaper in order to de-legitimize the Palestinians' (Wodak & Weiss 2005).

5. Conclusion and recommendation

As CDA has been followed to frame the representations of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in the aftermath of Trump's declaration of Jerusalem to be the capital of Israel on the data collected from the Independent, about 70,000 words, by its corpus analysis bases, the study has followed different theoretical backgrounds enriched the results (Fowler 1991, Fairclough 1995b, and Leeuwen 2008). By the study ending, it was showed that the Independent relied on specific discursive strategies evoked to represent polarized politics of the newspaper, in general, and the Israelis, in particular, as they were paralleled with the hegemonic power's interests against the Palestinians. The study cleared up the discourse types accentuated by the newspaper like featuring the hegemonic discourse in harness with representing hawkish discourse, call to arms discourse and tub-thumping discourse. The study, as well, concluded that the Independent has pertained the following discursive techniques to de-legitimize the Palestinians' sense of sovereignty of Jerusalem: calling the unmarked premiered by the hegemonic discourse, using belligerent rhetoric represented by call to arms discourse and tub-thumping discourse, relying on hawkish discourse, demarcating voices by the religious discourse, proposing for down-grading techniques, stating euphemism and labelization, fueling the ethnic relations by a dichotomy-calling borders between positive assimilation and negative assimilation, and using stable mechanisms. Ideologically speaking, it was stated that the Independent is a conservative newspaper by the virtue of de-legitimizing the Palestinians' sovereignty of Jerusalem by adopting the previous discursive techniques. The study showed an alignment with Amer (2017), Wenden (2005) and Amer (2009) in the results concluded. As a result, it is highly recommended to conduct another study over the previous tritarian stages, covering December-January, February-April and May, to figure out the ways in which the Independent followed in order to be circumventing to not crystallizing its ideological bases. It is also recommended to conduct the study on other cultural, translational and political fields of studies.

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