

# **Truth: missing in action?**

An Appraisal Theory approach to two newspapers' portrayal of the  
Israel-Palestine conflict.

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A Thesis Presented to the Department of Literature, Area Studies and  
European Languages

University of Oslo

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# Abstract

The Israel-Palestine conflict is considered one of the most serious conflicts of our century, not only because of the difficulty in finding a satisfactory solution, but also due to its international outreach. The escalation of fighting in the summer of 2014, followed by intervals of information stifling in media, raised questions of potential political influence, and thus media bias. If information can be stifled, then surely it can also be regulated, altered and modified, resulting in a general distrust of objective reporting on international events. In accordance with the Appraisal framework, drawing on Critical Discourse Analysis and selected concepts from media research, the aim of this thesis is to investigate the use of explicit and implicit evaluations revealed through linguistic features in the reporting of the Israel-Palestine conflict in *The Times* and *The New York Times*. Furthermore, the thesis considers whether the conflict portrayal aligns with the policies of the respective countries in which these newspapers are distributed, namely the UK and the US. The investigation is based on hard news, from the time around the Six-Day War in 1967, and the recent escalation in 2014. A comparison of the findings from the two newspapers reveals both explicit and implicit attitudes, echoing the respective governments' policies and interests. Changes were also noted between the portrayals in 1967 and 2014, suggesting a more negative portrayal of Israel in 2014, compared to the material from 1967.



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# 1 Introduction

Power and the media are not just about cosy relationships between journalists and political leaders, between editors and presidents. They are not just about the parasitic-osmotic relationship between supposedly honourable reporters and the nexus of power that runs between White House and state department and Pentagon, between Downing Street and the foreign office and the ministry of defence. In the western context, power and the media is about words – and the use of words [...] More and more today, we journalists have become prisoners of the language of power [...]. And when we use these words, we become one with the power and the elites which rule our world without fear of challenge from the media (Fisk 2010).

Robert Fisk, *The Independent's* Middle East correspondent, neatly sums up the topic and focus of this thesis, as well as the important, yet, intricate relationship between the various parties contributing to the production of news articles. Apart from foregrounding the importance of language, especially “language of power”, Fisk (2010) alludes to media’s position in society as being the dominating presenter of language and ideology. It is few talking to the many, generating, influencing and constructing an amplitude of language and ideas heard in society (Bell 1996). Newspaper language is seen as an important research area, since it is the medium through which attitudes are conveyed and transmitted to the public and the readers.

July 7, 2014 saw an escalation of the Israel-Palestine conflict, with the Israeli army launching a large military operation in the Gaza Strip, with the objective of stopping Palestinian rocket firing, and destroying Hamas’ military infrastructure. In the pre-events of the escalation, there was a further increase of tensions when three Israeli youths were reported abducted and killed in the southern West Bank, an action the Israeli government attributed to Hamas, the governing party in the Gaza Strip. *The New York Times* reported that the Israeli intelligence officials used gag orders to stifle reporting on the initial investigations of the teenagers, and what was later confirmed as a revenge killing of a Palestinian teenager (Mackey 2014). This raised questions among other journalists such as Raviv Drucker, who in a blog post translated by Goldman (2014), suggested that the concealment of facts concerning the abduction and killings may have built support for the military operation against Hamas in the West Bank, and increased public pressure for a heavy-handed response, contributing to an atmosphere of “blood lust” and “open calls for violent revenge.” Amira Hass (2014), a correspondent for *Haaretz* noted that the absence of verified information also led to

speculations among Palestinians about whether the abduction had even occurred.<sup>1</sup> Restrictions on media coverage have been used before when Israel blocked journalists from reporting on “Operation Cast Lead” back in 2009 (Bronner 2009). According to *The New York Times*’ journalist Robert Mackey (2014), the restrictions have in the past decades given “security officials in Israel a free hand to pursue their objectives under the cover of an information blackout”. The last years’ development and access to social media and activist blogging seems to have changed some of these notions, and thus prompted more journalists to question the stifling of information.

If information can be stifled, then surely it can also be regulated, altered and modified, resulting in a distrust of the objective reporting on international events, and suggesting that political processes are likely to influence the news media (Wolfsfeld 1997). Teun A. van Dijk (2008: 32-33) refers to this as journalists and writers echoing the voice of “the corporate or institutional master”, i.e. those who pay and support them. Similarly, Knightley (2002) surveys how information is managed and controlled in times of war, and the role various political, military and media institutions play in these processes. Similar notions have been detected in linguistic research by, for instance, Butt et al. (2004), Lukin et al. (2004), Lukin (2013), and van Dijk (1989). In fact, Lukin et al. (2004: 72) note that “there is no doubt, in times of war, truth is often ‘missing in action’ “, arguing that ‘facts’ never speak for themselves: “they have to be brought into existence through choices of grammar and words” (ibid: 73). Thus whenever journalists choose to portray certain events, they necessarily have to favor one kind of view over another. This is of course true for all linguistic activities, but in the reporting of war it is particularly urgent to understand the role of the language utilized, and the consequences of the linguistic choices.

In light of the recent events, this begs the question: how is the Israel-Palestine conflict portrayed in international media? And can some of the aforementioned notions be detected in my own investigation of British and American newspapers? This study attempts to answer some of these questions. It will employ the framework of Appraisal Theory, which concerns itself with issues of explicit and implicit attitude, and which sources the attitudes are coming from.

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<sup>1</sup> *Haaretz* is an Israeli newspaper: <http://www.haaretz.com/>



## 1.1 Aim and scope of the thesis

This thesis is concerned with the interpersonal in language, with the subjective presence of journalists (writers) in texts as they adopt stances towards the material they present, as well as with the readers with whom they communicate. One of the main concerns is how journalists approve and disapprove, applaud and criticize matters at hand, and how they may position the reader to do the same.

The purpose of the thesis is to give an account of the interpersonal mode or metafunction, i.e. one of the general functions of language in social contexts, enacting relationships and negotiating attitudes (Martin and Rose 2007: 7-8). More specifically, the aim is to study the various evaluations and the attitudes conveyed through the reporting of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, as seen in newspaper articles from one English (*The Times*), and one American (*The New York Times*) newspaper, as they were portrayed during the Six-Day war in 1967, and recently in July-August 2014. This is done by applying the Appraisal framework (outlined in chapter 2), and its three axes (**attitude**, **engagement**, and **graduation**), along which the journalist's intersubjective stance may vary. Moreover, the thesis attempts to uncover the means by which journalists positively or negatively evaluate happenings, state-of-affair and people of the conflict, in what is usually considered as objective writing. I have chosen to consider evaluations in news articles of the format that Bell (1996: 14) refers to as **hard news** (further explained in chapter 3), in order to see whether attitudes and evaluations are transmitted explicitly and/or implicitly through a seemingly factual/neutral medium, and the possible implications of that.

Due to several researches (among them Wolfsfeld 1997) pointing out that news reporting varies according to the events and politics at the time, I chose to investigate whether the media coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has changed from 1967 to 2014, and whether any of the changes can be found in the linguistic features of the news articles.

The research questions this study wishes to provide answers to are:

1. Do the news articles about the Israel-Palestine conflict contain linguistic features that reveal attitudes/evaluations of the conflict? And if so, what attitudes are conveyed according to the Appraisal Framework?
2. Are there any changes in the attitudes or in the conflict portrayal from 1967 to 2014?

3. Are the attitudes in accordance with official sources/politicians, or do they act as political challengers?
4. Do the findings in the newspapers suggest any political leanings?

Finally, it is important to note that the present study does not presume to give a complete revelation of the two newspapers' political leanings and views, and seeing that the basis for the theory and framework utilized is one concerning power and ideology, my own perspective on the issue at hand have to be taken into account. For instance, I have myself been a victim of war and atrocities, similar to the ones that the people in the region are experiencing, and may thus be influenced by these experiences when working with the subject. It is therefore necessary to emphasize that the purpose of the thesis is not finding or sentencing a guilty party, but rather address the way in which the respective newspapers portray the conflict, and ultimately what they may or may not perceive as the 'guilty party'.

## 1.2 Some preliminaries

Iedema et al. (1994: 3) note that news reporting is a 'social construct', as our observations are "constrained or determined by cultural preconceptions and traditions". News reported will always be conditioned by "the social background and ideological perspective of journalists, editors and management". Following Bednarek and Caple (2012: 37), context shapes the news discourse, and news discourse itself shapes and sometimes even establishes context. Similarly, Lukin et al. (2004: 60) assert the difficulty of so-called "objective" news reporting, explaining that even when the material facts of a wartime situation are not contested, there are many different ways in which news can be presented. It is thus necessary, at least briefly, to consider the context in which the news articles occur. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 30-36), the context of situation can be understood in terms of three different concepts: **field**, being what is talked about and the nature of the social activity; **tenor**, concerning itself with the people involved in the communication and the relationship and status between them; and **mode**, the channel of communication, meaning, for example, whether the language is spoken or written. These three parts are realized in the ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunction respectively (Thompson 2004: 40), and although the main focus of this thesis will be on the interpersonal metafunction (tenor), it is necessary to say a few words about the field and mode too, which in this case is the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (field), portrayed in written form in the news (mode), for a particular audience.

By looking at how and why we make grammatical/linguistic choices, we simultaneously witness ideology at work. Hasan (1996b in Butt et al. 2004: 288) notes:

Ideology is a function of the fact that we can construct multiple versions of the 'same' physical, biological, social and semiotic events. It is not that language can be used ideologically, it is that the very use of language is ideological. This is because the use of language necessitates choices between different modes of meaning.

Accordingly, the choices journalists make when presenting war and conflicts can be considered ideological, and all text and discourse can be seen as more or less biased. In order to reveal some of these biases and reasons behind language choices, we need to consider a number of factors: the socio-historic background, as well as possible political leanings of the respective newspapers. The following sections will attend to this.

The issue at hand is a complex one, and thus almost an impossible task to outline in detail, but I will attempt to give some key points as to the political and social background of the conflict.<sup>2</sup> The outline here is only a summary of the conflict at hand, and there are individual differences among the Israelis and Palestinians with regard to the content and beliefs of the conflict. Notably, this section and thesis in general does not intend to take sides, but rather suggest how the political and social situation is connected to the news reporting.

### **1.2.1 Political and social situation: Palestine, Israel and the Arab-Israeli Conflict**

The conflict between Palestinian Arabs and Zionist (now Israeli) Jews dates all the way back to the end of the nineteenth century, and although the two groups have different religions (Palestinians include Muslims, Christians and Druze), religious differences are not the cause of the conflict. The conflict began as a territorial dispute over an area that was until 1948 known as Palestine (and up until the UN partition a British mandate). After the war of 1948-1949, it was divided into three parts: the State of Israel, the West Bank (of the Jordan River) and the Gaza Strip. Jewish claims to the land are based on a biblical promise to Abraham and his descendants, on the area being the site of the ancient Jewish kingdoms of Israel and Judea, and on need for Jews to have a haven from anti-Semitism. Palestinian Arab claims are grounded on their continuous residence in the area for hundreds of years, and the fact that they represented the majority in the country until 1948 (Beinin and Hajjar 2014: 1).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> A more in depth reading can, for instance, be found in Beinin and Hajjar (2014) and Zreik (2003).

<sup>3</sup> Globalis: <http://globalis.no/Konflikter/Palestina>.

The years of British mandate had produced many promises to each side, both for the establishment of an independent Arab state, and for "a Jewish national home in Palestine" (Beinin and Hajjar 2014: 2). However, the promise of an independent Arab state was never fulfilled, and the British control over the area was seen as a violation of Arabs' right to self-determination, along with the threat of a growing Jewish influx (ibid: 2).

One of the main issues in this conflict is the Israeli forces' offensive and their continued strategy of conquering territory beyond the borders of the UN partition plan (Beinin and Hajjar 2014: 5-16). A consequence of the fighting has been millions of Palestinian refugees, lives taken, and homes, hospitals and schools destroyed (ibid: 5).<sup>4</sup>

The separation between the two groups was further intensified with the construction of a barrier between Israel and the West Bank. It blocks routes of travel within towns and villages, and regulates everything coming in and out of the area (Beinin and Hajjar 2014: 13). In 2004, the case of the separation barrier was brought to the International Court of Justice. The wall was ruled as "disproportionate", and constituting a violation of international law (ibid: 13). However, no legal action has been taken to remove the wall. UN resolutions have been adopted (ibid: 6), negotiations have been conducted, and peace plans have been both attempted and brokered (ibid: 13; Bar-Tal 1990), but no resolution has been achieved. It has been argued that this is most likely due to the attempts lacking a standard grounding in international law, as well as having a tendency of setting aside issues of historical justice, leaving each side to interpret them as they see fit (Zreik 2003; Beinin and Hajjar 2014). Others have also noted incompatible beliefs between the two parties, and thus giving bleak prospects for a possible peaceful solution (Bar-Tal 1990).

In addition to recent events, the Six-Day War is central to my thesis. Bar-Tal (1990: 9-11) notes that although both sides describe the same events during the war, there are still differences in their accounts of the happenings, as well as differences of emphasis and interpretation. Where the Palestinian version seems to focus more on the Israelis taking advantage of a disrupted Arab unity and the Israelis' ability to keep the area in a state of tension, the Israelis focus on what they consider a growing Arab troop movement, and increasing Israeli resistance. The Israeli Jews were (and some would argue still are) motivated by the threat of anti-Semitism and the Arab resistance towards an Israeli State (ibid: 14-17), whereas the Palestinians were motivated by the growing Jewish population, believing that the Jews' main motif is to occupy as much of the area as possible, leaving no

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<sup>4</sup> Flyktninghjelpen (Norwegian Refugee Council): <http://www.flyktninghjelpen.no/?aid=9095089>.

room for Palestinians. Additional motivational factors come from the hostile and prejudiced attitudes by Israeli Jews towards Palestinians, and the continuing controversy among Jews about the question of statehood of Palestine (ibid: 17-20).

In the spring of 1967, the Soviet Union misinformed the Syrian government that Israeli forces were gathering, ready to attack Syria. The truth was that clashes between Israel and Syria were escalating, due to Palestinian guerrilla attacks from Syrian territory. However, responding to Syrian request for assistance, believing that Israel was ready to attack, Egyptian troops entered the Sinai Peninsula bordering Israel, in May 1967. After asking the UN observer forces stationed between Israel and Egypt to redeploy from their positions, Egypt occupied Sharm al-Sheikh and proclaimed a blockade of the Israeli port of Eilat. This shocked and frightened the Israeli public, and Israel preemptively attacked Egypt and Syria, destroying their air forces on the ground. The war of 1967 lasted only six days, but established Israel as the dominant regional military power. After the war, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 242, to ensure the right of all states in the area to peaceful existence, and an Israeli withdrawal from lands seized during the war (Beinin and Hajjar 2014: 6-7). However, this never happened, and the resolution itself is disputed, with the various parties having their own understanding of it (Zreik 2003: 40).

Some forty years later, on July 7, 2014, the Israeli army launched a large military operation in the Gaza Strip. The stated objective was to stop Palestinian rocket firing and destroy Hamas' military infrastructure, and marked the end of the Egyptian-brokered ceasefire understanding from 2012. Last year's escalations started in June with an intensification of Israeli airstrikes and rockets launched from Gaza. Tensions further increased when three Israeli youths were reported abducted and killed in the southern West Bank, an action the Israeli government attributed to Hamas. The war lasted fifty days, with an open-ended cease-fire entering into force on August 26. The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) reported the scale of damage as being unprecedented since the beginning of the Israeli occupation in 1967, leaving hundreds of thousands of people without homes, electricity, clean water and quality healthcare.<sup>5</sup>

### **1.2.2 The UK political positioning**

The question of whom the British have supported in the conflicts is obviously a difficult one to answer. However, certain significant policies and happenings seem to have influenced the

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<sup>5</sup> OCHA: [www.ochaopt.org](http://www.ochaopt.org).

relationship between the British and the two groups. Up until 1939, the British had on several occasions collaborated with the Zionist movement and militia in order to suppress Arab revolt, which made the Palestinians politically disorganized. Things changed in 1939 after the issuing of the “White Paper”, marking the end of British-Zionist alliance (Beinin and Hajjar 2014: 3-4).<sup>6</sup> However, the damage was already done, leaving many Palestinians in opposition to the British.

In 1967, the British government was led by the Labour Party politician Harold Wilson, known for his strong pro-Israel views, who enjoyed good personal relations with Israeli leaders (Greene 2013).<sup>7</sup> Although the outcome of the war changed the way Britain viewed Israel, they wanted to maintain good relations with the Arab countries. They remained, however, committed to Israel’s independence and security (Greene 2013).

In March 2014, the Conservative prime minister David Cameron held a speech to the Knesset in Israel, supporting its right to defend itself, while at the same time acknowledging the positive outcomes of a two-state solution.<sup>8</sup> In August 2014, he warned Israel about targeting civilians, after pressure from then Labour leader Ed Miliband (Mason 2014). Later that month, the Foreign Office minister Baroness Warsi resigned, due to what she refers to as “the government’s ‘morally indefensible’ approach to the conflict in Gaza” (*The Times* August 5, 2014).

### 1.2.3 The Times

*The Times* (henceforth *TT*) is a British daily newspaper, first published in London in 1785. Nevins (1959) wrote that it had been an important and integral part of the political structures of Great Britain for more than a century, thus it was considered an important contributor to information on political policies. It supported the Conservatives during the elections pre- and post the Six-Day War, and continued doing so until 1997, when they declined to make any party endorsements (Butler and Kavanagh 1997: 156). According to a 2010 poll by MORI,<sup>9</sup> voting intentions of *TT* readership were in 2010 49% Conservative, 24% Liberal Democrats, and 22% Labour. This tendency has later been supported by a study by Nessheim (2012: 48).

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<sup>6</sup> The “White Paper” is a policy statement issued by the British government which limited future Jewish immigration and marked the end of the British Zionist alliance.

<sup>7</sup> Stoneashdown:

[http://web.archive.org/web/20091109063437/http://www.stoneashdown.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=29&Itemid=46](http://web.archive.org/web/20091109063437/http://www.stoneashdown.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=29&Itemid=46).

<sup>8</sup> UK Government, David Cameron’s speech: <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/david-camersons-speech-to-the-knesset-in-israel>.

<sup>9</sup> IPSOS-MORI: <https://www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/researcharchive/2476/Voting-by-Newspaper-Readership-19922010.aspx?view=wide>.

In addition, the newspaper has columnists such as Daniel Finkelstein (Conservative)<sup>10</sup> and Oliver Kamm (Left-wing) connected to both the conservative and left/liberal political sides, which makes it possibly the most varied newspaper in terms of political support in British history (Stoddard 2010). However, given the nature of my study, and the continuing criticism of media biases in various newspapers across the UK, the motivation for the investigation stands valid to this point. For instance, an article on UK press biases published on the website, *If Americans knew* refers to the independent non-profit press “watchdog”, *Arab Media Watch*, and their research on biases in the British press.<sup>11</sup> Their study from 2009 reveals a significant favoring of using an Israeli ambassador as source, over the Palestinian counterparts.

#### **1.2.4 The US political positioning**

The US has long been considered a close ally to Israel, both economically and politically, as well as being one of the key “peace mediators” in the Israel-Palestine conflict. However, their formal policies are perhaps as complex as the situation itself. In the following paragraphs, I will attempt to give a brief outline of the US Middle East policy.

Although the alliance between the two countries has long been taken for granted, researchers such as Hadawi (1968 in Bar-Tal 1990: 9) note that it was not as straightforward as it may seem, referring to President Eisenhower’s dislodging of Israeli influence in 1956, and the uncertainty that the Israelis had started feeling about their standing with the US. However, in the years to follow, the two countries saw several agreements in terms of issues of peace, prompting American political intervention, and increasing their military aid to Israel (Beinin and Hajjar 2014: 8). On the other hand, the US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger pursued a more diplomatic strategy, by, for instance, trying to secure partial Israeli withdrawals (ibid: 8). It was only after the first Intifada that the US acknowledged a Palestinian organization, one which Israel continued to regard a “terrorist organization” (Beinin and Hajjar 2014: 7-9).<sup>12</sup> The American-Israeli co-operation strengthened after the Second (al-Aqsa) Intifada, when Israel intensified its offensive, justifying it as a pursuit of terrorist suspects, with the full backing of George W. Bush and his administration (ibid: 11).

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<sup>10</sup> UK Government: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/working-peerages-announced>.

<sup>11</sup> A non-profit organization focusing on the Middle East conflict, and US foreign policy.

<sup>12</sup> The first Intifada was the Palestinian uprising against the Israeli occupation at the end of 1980s. The organization acknowledged by the US was the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

In January 2006, in the elections for the Palestinian Legislative Council, Hamas, an Islamist group, won a majority of the votes. A senior Hamas figure said at the time that they were willing to extend a ceasefire with Israel, but only when Israel recognized “the rights of the Palestinian people”, a notion that the US, UK, Russia and the UN (Beinin and Hajjar 2014: 14) considered as belligerent, rather than a step toward Palestinian “moderation”. The Quartet’s response to the Hamas victory was to cut off its financial support to the Palestinian Authority. The US instead provided financial support to the Presidential Guard loyal to Mahmoud Abbas, hoping to carry out a coup to oust Hamas from the Gaza Strip.<sup>13</sup> Hamas preempted the move and took sole control over the territory (ibid: 15-16).

According to Beinin and Hajjar (2014: 16), a lack of political will has been noted in Washington, where president Obama (at present) “retains stewardship of the ‘peace process’” (ibid: 16). Although Kerry, the US Secretary of State, made efforts to restart the negotiations, there does not seem to be a peace agreement on the horizon. In fact, Obama estimated the possibility for an agreement to be “less than 50-50” (ibid: 16). There have been reports that the US supplied Israel with weapons in the war of 2014, which would indicate that the US had chosen sides.<sup>14</sup> However, Obama has on several occasions addressed the Palestinian peoples’ suffering, and their aspirations for a state of their own.<sup>15</sup>

### **1.2.5 The New York Times**

*The New York Times* (henceforth *NYT*) is an American daily newspaper, published in New York City since September 18, 1851 (Chabon 2001). Its print version remains the largest metropolitan newspaper in the US, and the third-largest newspaper overall in the country (Perez-Peña 2009). It has also had a strong online presence since 1996, and is one of the most influential newspapers in the US. Founded by the journalist and Republican politician Henry Jarvis Raymond and former banker George Jones, the newspaper began with a conservative outlook on the news.<sup>16</sup> More recently, in a media bias study, Groseclose (2004) gave it a score of 63.5 on a 100-point scale, with 0 being most conservative and 100 being most liberal. Brennan (2012) notes that the newspaper has not endorsed a Republican president since Eisenhower in 1956, and that it endorsed Obama both times in his presidential campaigns.

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<sup>13</sup> Mahmoud Abbas is the Palestinian President since 2005, and the leader of PLO.

<sup>14</sup> Al Jazeera: <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/07/us-supplies-israel-with-bombs-amid-gaza-bltz-2014730233016747143.html>.

<sup>15</sup> Miller center: <http://millercenter.org/president/obama/speeches/speech-5502>.

<sup>16</sup> NYT: <http://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1851/09/18/109920974.html?pageNumber=2>.



The newspaper has received complaints from both sides of the conflict about being biased with regards to the issue at hand (Sullivan 2014).<sup>17</sup> Researchers working for *The Council for the National Interest* argue that a lot of the US media coverage of the Israel-Palestine conflict is Israel-centric,<sup>18</sup> pointing to their statistical examination of the *NYT* coverage of the Palestinian uprisings in 2000/2001 and 2004 that proved that death ratios of Israeli and Palestinian children killed were reported to be almost identical, despite the fact that almost five times more Palestinian children died.<sup>19</sup> Although the organization has received some criticism for being too anti-Israel, other researchers, such as Viser (2003), have noted similar disproportionate or Israel-centric trends in the reporting of the conflict.

### 1.3 Thesis outline

Following this introductory chapter, chapter 2 gives an account of the theoretical background and the main fields related to the analyses in this study, before outlining the framework of analysis utilized in this thesis. Chapter 3 presents the material used for the analysis, the methods for retrieval and structuring of the data, and briefly explains the methodology. Chapter 4 gives a presentation of the findings in the material from *TT* from 1967 and 2014, and some implications of the various portrayals. Chapter 5 does the same for the findings in the material from *NYT* from 1967 and 2014. Chapter 6 gives an account of the differences and similarities between the two newspapers, and discusses some particular tendencies in the conflict portrayal. The final chapter offers concluding remarks on the research, sums up the answers to the research questions, and gives suggestions for further study.

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<sup>17</sup> *Haaretz*: <http://www.haaretz.com/jewish-world/2.209/jewish-groups-slam-hideously-anti-semitic-cartoon-on-gaza-1.272931>.

<sup>18</sup> <http://www.councilforthenationalinterest.org/new/media/> *The Council for the National Interest* is a non-profit, non-partisan organization, with a desire to contribute to a just solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict. Their founders and members are former politicians, CIA's specialists, professors and journalists, and may be by some considered as biased in their respect. However, given the fact that these are and have been significant figures in the world of media, research and politics, I have chosen to include their point of view in my own thesis.

<sup>19</sup> *If Americans knew*: <http://ifamericansknew.org/media/nyt-report.html>.

## 2 Theoretical background

The aim of this chapter is to place the thesis within wider approaches to news discourse. The chapter will first discuss the linguistic approaches to news, and show examples of previous studies (section 2.1). Secondly, it will discuss various media approaches to news discourse, and how they may relate and support the current study (section 2.2). Thirdly, it will place the research within a wider perspective of ideology (section 2.3) (also briefly mentioned in chapter 1). And finally, the chapter will outline the appraisal framework, this main framework employed for the analyses of this thesis (section 2.4).

### 2.1 Linguistic approaches to news discourse

A great diversity of research has been devoted to describing media. Bednarek (2006: 11-13) outlines some of the most influential approaches, of which *the critical approach* and *the diachronic approach* are the ones most relevant for this thesis. The former concerns itself with power relations and ideology, and can be found in the works of Fairclough (2011), Fowler (1991), Van Dijk (1984; 1988; 2005), and White (2006; 2012). More recently, the works of Martin and White (2005) and Martin and Rose (2007) can also be considered along these lines. The diachronic approach focuses on the history of newspaper discourse, addressed by researchers such as Stensaas (1986).

Even though news and media in general are heavily researched areas, there still seems to be a need for the investigation of media discourse as carrier of external power relations, and how this affects the society and the society members' understanding of the world. For instance, a reoccurring trait of international news is that it is largely produced for, because, and during major events, but usually, very little hits the news, once the conflicts have calmed down, or the horrific situation is over. According to Manoff and Schudson (1986), although news reporters attempt to mirror the real world through objectivity, they are not necessarily always successful at it. They state that "journalism, like any other storytelling activity, is a form of fiction operating out of its own conventions and understandings and within its own set of sociological, ideological, and literary constraints" (ibid: 6), meaning that once the journalists start reporting on an event, it stops being 'just' an event, and starts being a story, i.e. not necessarily fully objective.

### 2.1.1 Appraisal and evaluation in news discourse

One of the issues addressed in this thesis is media bias, more specifically whether the two chosen newspapers report on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in accordance with the respective countries' political interest. I do not propose that this is an easy task, nor that it is merely about comparing the findings in the newspapers with the countries' politics. It is important to note that the issue of bias is significantly more complicated than it may seem. Despite the fact that some have argued that there is room for criticism and dissent regarding politics and business in media discourse (see Altheide 1985; Manoff and Schudson 1986), it is assumed that these media practices still remain within the boundaries of a dominant consensus. As van Dijk (2008: 56) states, fundamental norms, values and power arrangements are seldom explicitly challenged in media, thus we cannot oppose the notion of some kind of relationship between politics and media discourse. Others again have questioned the term *bias*, seeing that it assumes the possibility of genuine neutrality (Fowler 1991: 12). According to Fowler (*ibid*: 25), genuine neutrality is impossible to achieve, due to news media outlets being transmitted through a medium with its own structural features, one that is already impregnated with social values, and make up potential perspective on events.

The main inspiration for this thesis comes from the work of Martin and White (2005) (whose framework is outlined in section 2.3). White (1998: ii), having been a journalist himself, notes: "The modern mass-media news item is arguably one of the most influential written text types in contemporary society, influencing, as it does, the terms of many political, economic and cultural debates" (*ibid*: 1), and thus sets the scene and background for the research of the current thesis. According to White (2006: 1), the value laden and ideologically determined discourse of news reporting has now been so widely demonstrated in the literature that it hardly needs to be argued for (see, for example, Iedema et al. 1994; Fairclough 1994; and Fowler 1991). However, close observation of individual news items reveals substantial variation in rhetorical functionality, and is a good reason for further investigation within the language of news reporting.

According to White (2006), one of the key aspects of rhetorical functionality is **evaluation** – "the text's positioning of its audience to take either negative or positive views of the participants, actions, happenings and state-of-affairs therein depicted" (*ibid*: 1). He argues that these evaluative positionings can be used to construct particular models of social and moral order that pinpoint what is to be considered normal and aberrant, beneficial and harmful, praiseworthy and blameworthy and so forth (*ibid*: 1). According to his study (*ibid*:

3-4), overt ‘inscribing’ of authorial attitudinal viewpoints are rarely found in hard news, however, instances of implicit attitudes can be found. Moreover, the very act of selecting sources carries evaluation and ultimately ideological consequences (ibid: 17-19). For further examples and details on this issue see Gruber (1993) and White (2006).

Bell (1996: 2) examines the characteristics of news language, noting that news is determined by values, and that the language deployed reflects those values. His research on media language shows that although there should be a distinction between hard news and soft news, of which the latter may carry more of the writer’s opinions and feelings, these two are not so easily separated, but are nevertheless presented as two different categories (ibid: 12-15). A news story is thus not a neutral vehicle, nor is the production of it a neutral process, despite the century-old creed of objectivity (ibid: 212). Similarly, Mugumya (2013: 26-40) explains that although genres may have specific communicative purposes and goals, these purposes and goals may also at times be ambiguous, and for what some of the other studies presented here propose, they can also be misused. For instance, in their examination of the reporting of the Iraq war, Lukin et al. (2004) illustrate the various grammatical systems underlying the choices journalists have to make when reporting ‘high impact’ events of war. They argue that ‘facts’ never speak for themselves, but rather “have to be brought into existence through choices of grammar and words” (ibid: 73). This basically entails that as writers journalists constantly have to choose, which in turn involves favoring one kind of view over another. Lukin (2004: 143) further highlights that all news articles “privilege a particular point of view on the events of war”, thus emphasizing the importance of research on texts that do not immediately attract a charge of bias, i.e. news stories, that are known to carry no apparent explicit encoding of evaluation. This is particularly important, seeing as these may contribute to the conditions which support or go against waging war (ibid: 151), and stands as one of the core motivations for research within the field, and also one of the main motivations behind the analysis conducted for this thesis.

Furthermore, positive and negative evaluations can come across through the use of emotions and feelings in text. Although studies into this have been widespread since the 1970s, they have seemed to lack a common ground (Stenvall 2008: 1570). Stenvall’s research (2008) tries to rectify that, by focusing on how reporting on emotions inherently challenges the journalistic ideals of objectivity and factuality, and argues that the use of emotions in language may make it both vague and obscure. The data from the study show that although news agencies may strive for objectivity, their language still lacks the factuality it is claimed to have. When this is combined with vague language, and the responsibility of news actors is

blurred, what is considered facts must surely be distorted (Jullian 2011; White 1998, 2012). Yell (2012) also addresses emotions when analyzing how news coverage of natural disasters positions audiences affectively. She focuses on Australian print media coverage of the 2009 Australian bushfires and the 2010 Haiti earthquake, in order to show the differences in the reporting of local and international events. The paper is highly relevant to this thesis, due to its demonstration of how local and international news stories are gathered, and the impact this has on the news articles, as well as its focus on the use of emotional discourse in the public sphere. Yell argues (ibid: 414-415) that emotional news stories have the ability to provoke real emotional effects in the readers. Her understanding of emotions allows the connection between the discursive articulation of emotions in the media and potential audience responses. Additionally, her research shows how personal narratives, offering individual perspectives, “soften” and personalize hard news. In contrast, Martin’s study (2004) of what may be referred to as ‘soft news’, an editorial from a Hong Kong lifestyle magazine, published a few days after September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001, emphasized the importance of sharing feelings in order to belong. By utilizing the Appraisal framework Martin (2004) conveys how editors negotiate solidarity, and position themselves according to the expected reader group. His study adds an interesting perspective to the hard news items.

Various types of explicit and implicit attitude is also revealed through particular **attributions** to external sources, more specifically through the journalists’ choice of news sources. White (2012) notes that attribution is a common feature of journalistic discourse, used by journalists to disassociate themselves from (especially) explicit evaluative meanings, by attributing them to external sources. He elaborates on this being a much-discussed feature of Western, English-language news journalism, which plays a vital role in “reporter voice” texts, as it is a communicative mechanism by which news stories often advance or favor certain value positions, while, at the same time, employing a relatively impersonal style (ibid: 57-58). Similarly, Jullian (2011) looks at how external voices in news reports can be exploited for appraising purposes, and thus be an indirect means of appraisal. She refers to the view of journalistic objectivity as a long-standing myth, and points out that the greatest amount of appraisal is actually found in the formulations of external voices (ibid: 777).

External voices ‘are allowed’ to speak their minds much more loudly than journalists, so a way in which authors may convey their views is through the choice of the informants they bring into the text and the information they choose to include or exclude [...] Such choices carry strong ideological implications, since the mere inclusion of a particular source is the first signal

of subjectivity; it reflects who the reporter finds worth interviewing, and what s/he finds relevant and reportable in the communicative event (Jullian 2011: 767).

Her study aligns with Bell (1991: 52), who assigns a central role to quotations, since most of the information used by journalists is second-hand. Bell (ibid: 52) explains how this second-hand information merges with the author's discourse, sometimes to such a degree that it becomes difficult to distinguish between the content of the source and the content of the journalist. Similarly, Gruber's study (1993) of newspaper reports on the 1986 presidential campaign in Austria supports the idea of the impossibility of the objectivity claim, and points to the journalist as the overall responsible party for the possible effects of his/her work.

As mentioned in chapter 1, the social and political background may be of great importance when analyzing news reports. For instance, Seo's study (2013) addresses the war in 2011 in Libya, as portrayed in Great Britain and China. The study conveys how the socio-political background impacts the depiction of the same events in news articles, according to what is more suitable to the political interests of the respective countries. Thus, newspaper reports tend to reflect the national interests of a country (ibid: 776). In contrast, Birot's master's thesis (2008) suggests an incoherence between governments' policies and the news reporting concerning the same issue. Birot looks at evaluation in various media reports concerning the war in Iraq, more specifically evaluations of 'for' and 'against' the war, and although the American government's policies were positive towards the war, the reporters' evaluations were rather negative. However, as Birot (ibid: 59) points out, this may be due to the subject being generally a negative one, and not necessarily a firm indication of the reporters' opposition to government policies.

### **Discourse of terrorism**

In addition to the research addressing evaluation, I came across quite a few studies of rhetorical features regarding terrorism. Considering that some of my own findings address this concept, and that it can be closely linked to ideology, I found it important to include a few works on the subject.

Terrorism discourse was part of a general context involving the discourse of fear, which was mainly associated with crime, as well as nearly three decades of negative reporting and imagery about the Middle East (Altheide 2007: 303).

Altheide (2007) addresses the discourse of terrorism in his qualitative media analysis noting that accounts about the “war on terror” were grounded in the discourse of fear, through selectively framing discourse “to proclaim the moral and social superiority of the United States” (ibid: 288). For instance, in the first four years of the Iraq war, major news themes were molded in a moral framework that permitted “dehumanization of the enemy” (ibid: 288). He further argues that there are indications of governments’ involvement in media coverage of certain issues, through the sources’ access to news media, as well as newspapers’ assurance that there would be no systematic and widely publicized opposing points of view (ibid: 295).

Bhatia (2008) looks at the rhetoric of the Bush administration on the war on terrorism and Iraq, based on corpora of official governmental documents, political speeches and statements made to the press. The combination of analysis models she deployed, including Critical Discourse Analysis (addressed in the following section) revealed a preference for dichotomizing opposites, “created as per ideological conceptualizations of reality” (ibid: 287). In other words, there is a clear “us” versus “them” portrayal that makes obvious the power struggle between right and wrong.

### **IDEOLOGY: Critical Discourse Analysis**

The Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) linguist van Dijk states that in the news media, the strategic control of knowledge is exercised through restricted topic selection, and more generally by specific reconstructions of social and political realities (Van Dijk 1989: 26). The production is controlled by what he refers to as the ‘symbolic elites’, such as journalists, writers, artists, directors, academics and other groups that exercise power on the basis of ‘symbolic capital’ (Van Dijk 2008: 32). These groups set the agenda of public discussion and influence the amount of information publicly portrayed, and at the same time, they are the manufacturers of public knowledge, beliefs, values and norms. Therefore their symbolic power is also an ideological one. Similarly, Fowler (1991) notes that newspapers, through their use of sources, most frequently from powerful institutions, provide modes of discourse, which already encode attitudes of a powerful elite. Newspapers tend to adopt this language as their own, and thereby reproduce the attitudes of the powerful. A reproduction that is in the favor of the newspaper industry, and thus also a part of the interests of an industrial-capitalist society.

Considering that the Appraisal theory is concerned with the linguistic resources that writers and speakers use to express, negotiate and naturalize intersubjective and ideological

positions, it is closely linked to CDA (Martin and White 2005: 210-211). Fairclough (2001: 71) states that ideologies are brought to text as background assumptions that may lead the reader to interpret a text in a particular way, or position him/her through the cues given in the discourse. What this means is that the less obvious these ideologies are, the easier it is for us to accept them and eventually participate in the reproduction of them. Accordingly, research on hard news is imperative, because it is a genre that most people associate with objectivity/factuality.

More recent work on CDA and news reporting can be found in Richardson (2007), who argues that journalism shapes public discourse, and has more power to influence our understanding of events, ideas and people, than many other forms of communication (ibid: 13, 220). Moreover, the recent corpus based CDA study by Kim (2014) reveals that the three US media outlets, *CNN*, *Newsweek* and *NYT*, divide the world into specific sets of countries, according to the countries' political positions towards the US. Her findings are compatible with some of the previously mentioned studies that reveal the prevalence of polarization in news discourse, i.e. the categorization of in-groups (us) and out-groups (them).

## **2.2 Media and political approaches to news discourse**

Media content is heard and read by mass audiences. It is the few talking to the many. Because of the wide-ranging influence of news, Bell (1996) considers news to be the primary genre of media, and thus a vastly important part of it. News is also considered to be one of the key determiners of social values and norms (ibid: 1-8). However, as many researchers point out (e.g. Fairclough 1995; Bednarek and Caple 2012; and Fowler 1991), investigating international news requires more than mere language analysis. As previously mentioned, the immediate social context is as important for the understanding of value portrayal. Moreover, Bell (1996: 16-17) points out that even if it is not explicitly mentioned, any international news is unlikely to have been produced solely by a newspaper's own staff. This notion is supported by Fowler (1991: 13), who notes that news media select events for reporting according to an intricate set of criteria of newsworthiness. The world of the press is thus not the real world, but rather "a world skewed and judged" (ibid: 11), i.e. the events we are presented with are interpretations rather than mere accounts of happenings. Galtung and Ruge (1965) explain the factors of 'newsworthiness', noting that *negativity*, being one of the central factors, occurs more frequently and can be considered more powerful than for instance positive aspects of the news. This has been revisited and supported by several news



researchers, as well as linguists, and plays a major role in the selection of news items.<sup>20</sup> We are thus dealing with a rather complex production of media outlet, with several intricate factors that need to be addressed in order to fully understand the medium we are dealing with. This section cannot possibly address all the aspects of news making, but considering that the thesis highlights the importance of combining linguistic research with other approaches, it is desirable to include some of the other perspectives on the issue at hand.

Feintuck and Varney (2006: 101) agree with Bell (1996) and Fowler (1991) about the importance of not underestimating the role of the media. Given the power that media have in providing the building blocks for the structuring of our views of the world, it is only reasonable to expect that their activities are somehow regulated (Feintuck and Varney 2006: 4-5). Boykoff and Boykoff (2007: 1201) demonstrate that the explicit norms of journalism, such as objectivity, have proven to be more of a lofty ideal than a consistent, quotidian practice, and that newspapers tend to report differently in both content and presentation. In contrast, Manoff and Schudson (1986: 15, 27-37) argue that readers can choose for themselves not to believe the information provided in news articles, and that objective reporting does not necessarily assure validity or avoidance of bias. According to them, it rather means that journalists attempt to avoid as much as possible the overt intrusion of personal values, thus minimizing explicit interpretation. However, as mentioned in section 2.1.1, even external attributions are problematic, since these sources are in fact chosen by journalists/newspapers, and may thus still reflect their perspectives.

*Frames* or *framing* is a rhetorical device that can be deployed when regulating information output. Frames shape individual understanding and opinion, by stressing or focusing on specific elements of a broader issue, and consequently then by excluding others. The concept is a fundamental part of political communication and news reporting (Aarøe 2011: 207-208). For instance, Aarøe's study (2011), investigating thematic and episodic frames,<sup>21</sup> showed that episodic frames are more likely to influence opinions, and more effective in directing "the effect of emotional reactions into support for the policy evaluation argued by the frame" (ibid: 210, 216). Her findings proved interesting in relation my material from 2014. Similarly, Hamdy and Gomaa (2012) look at framing and how it influenced the news coverage of the Egyptian uprising in January 2011. Not surprisingly, their study revealed that the protests were framed differently according to the media they were displayed

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<sup>20</sup> The issue is further discussed in chapter 6.

<sup>21</sup> Thematic frames focus on the broader political issues and events, by presenting collective, abstract and general evidence, and the episodic frames concentrate on concrete events and cases that illuminate the issue, carry human details (Aarøe 2011: 208-209).

in (ibid: 208). They note that news framing is important, as audiences and readers may not have direct experience with the particular event, and thus rely on media accounts for information. This also resonates with my own material, since the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is located far away from the countries where *TT* and *NYT* are published.

Moreover, various political science and communication research has revealed that political processes are likely to have influence on the news media. For instance, Wolfsfeld's study (1997) of three different news mediated conflicts in the Middle East shows that the authorities' level of control over the political environment is a key variable in the determination of the news media role. Additionally, he notes that the media coverage of various conflicts may vary over time, and although news media provides a "multi-purpose arena", it often operates in favor of official sources rather than political challengers.

Similarly, Knightley's study (2002) of the war correspondent as a hero and a myth-maker accounts for the various ways in which information is managed and controlled in times of war. More specifically, Knightley addresses the role played by political, military and media institutions in this managing and controlling of information. He highlights, for instance, how military authorities, such as The British Ministry of Defense and Pentagon, keep manuals on how to manage the relationship with media during wartime, and notes:

All the military manuals follow basic principles – appear open, transparent and eager to help; never go in for summary repression or direct control; nullify rather than conceal undesirable news; control emphasis rather than facts; balance bad news with good; and lie directly only when certain that the lie will not be found out during the course of the war (Knightley 2002: 484).

Naturally, these findings are crucial to the overall understanding of media's role in conflict and politics, and are seen as essential to my own study, as they highlight aspects of how news come to life.

When looking at some of the diachronic approaches to media and news discourse, we must remember that not only have the norms and practices of media production changed, but perhaps also the way in which we view the news and media in general. Stensaas (1986), looking at the development of the objectivity ethics in U.S. daily newspapers, notes that the legitimacy of objectivity as news ethics came under increased attack in the 1970s and 1980s, and although it is a primary ideal of news reporting, the origins of objectivity are hazy at best (ibid: 52). Journalists may operate with a set of ethics, but in the sense that they are supposed to reconcile social responsibility with interpretative reporting, they are no longer mere

conduits for facts but actually involved at least to the extent of indicating what readers may do with these facts (ibid: 52).

In light of all this, media can be considered to be one of the main factors shaping and influencing received opinion, and is, naturally, used by governments and politicians alike to communicate with the public. General media research dealing with war news, politics and the relationship news has with power, can be found, among many others, in Broadbent et al. (1985) and Tiffen (1989).

## 2.3 Appraisal Theory

Systemic Functional Linguistics (henceforth SFL) deals with the construal of human experience: the idea that to use language is to put a construction on experience. Hence, language does not just reflect or describe the experience; rather it interprets it or construes it (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014). The founder of SFL, Michael Halliday, had an aim of bringing language and society together, a way of maintaining both the social and semiotic perspectives simultaneously, i.e. investigate grammar while at the same time keeping the social context in view. Kilpelt (2003: 189-190) explains that this was done by conceptualizing the duality of system through the use of metafunctions (the theoretical representation of the idea that language and society “meet in the grammar”). Martin and White (2005: 7-8) refer to this as a multi-perspectival model, designed to provide researchers with “complementary lenses for interpreting language in use”. The most basic of these complementarities is the idea that language is a resource for mapping *ideational* (construal of experience), *interpersonal* (negotiating social relations), and *textual meaning* (information flow). The metafunctions correspond to the more abstract level of analysis, *register*, consisting of field, tenor, and mode.<sup>22</sup> As mentioned in chapter 1, this thesis focuses on interpersonal meaning, and thus tenor is the register variable most relevant for our discussion, i.e. the ones taking part in the discussion, their statuses and roles, and the way in which they negotiate attitudes and social relations, and how they interact and share feelings (ibid: 27-29).

The theory and framework applied in this thesis, Appraisal Theory, draws on the work of SFL, and can be located within the interpersonal metafunction (Martin and Rose 2007: 25-71; Martin and White 2005: 33): It is concerned with the linguistic resources by which various texts express, negotiate and naturalize particular inter-subjective and ultimately ideological positions (Martin and White 2005). It is particularly concerned with the language

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<sup>22</sup> The three metafunctions have previously also been explained in chapter 1, section 1.2.

of evaluation, attitude and emotion, “and with a set of resources which explicitly position a text’s proposals and propositions interpersonally” (White and Don 2012). Technically speaking, appraisal operates as one of the realizations of tenor.

The current work on the theory and framework is led by Professor James Martin, at the University of Sydney. The framework of analysis is still under construction (White and Don 2012). Although the theory is at times problematized due to it dealing with subjective and ambiguous aspects of discourse (Biro 2008), the current thesis attempts to illustrate that even though different people can view things in different ways, the social background and context, factors that SFL, Appraisal Theory and CDA most definitely take into account, can be considered legitimate grounds on which to determine views and interpretations. Moreover, this gives us the opportunity to explore the framework and instances that are often ignored, due to the difficulty of defining and pinning them down to one system.

The theory is regionalized as three interacting systems or domains: **Attitude**, concerned with evaluation of things, people’s character and feelings, **Engagement**, concerned with sourcing of the attitudes and the play of voices around opinions, and **Graduation**, concerned with grading of the phenomena “whereby feelings are amplified and categories blurred” (Martin and White 2005: 35). In addition, all three domains consist of several sub-systems and sub-categories, as outlined in figure 2.1, and in the following sections.

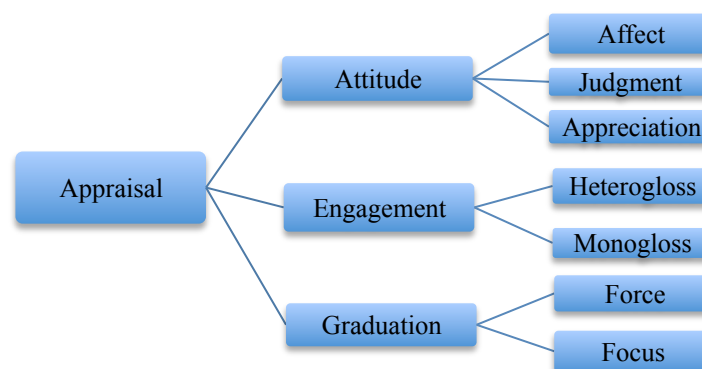


Figure 2.1: An overview of the appraisal domains, and some of their sub-categories.

### 2.3.1 Attitude

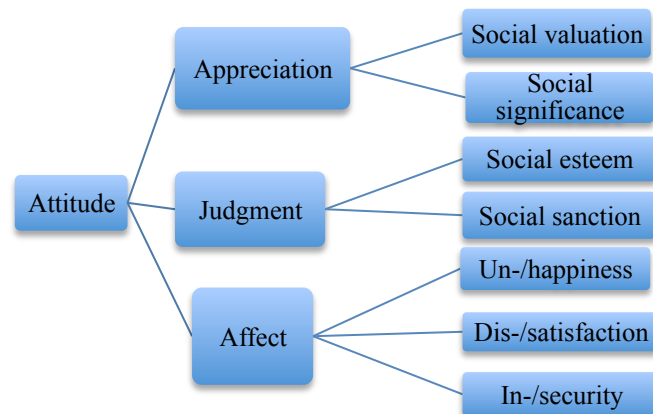
Attitude is a framework for mapping feelings, and includes meanings by which we attach an intersubjective value or assessment to participants and processes. It consists of what is traditionally referred to as **emotion**, **ethics** and **aesthetics**, with emotion probably being the most central one, since it is the expressive resource human beings are born with and develop physiologically throughout life (Painter 2003 in Martin and White 2005: 42). Following the Appraisal framework, the categories within the domain of attitude are **Affect**, **Judgment** and **Appreciation**. Affect is about expressing positive and negative feelings, judgment concerns itself with attitudes towards admirable and critical behavior, i.e. moral judgments of people and human beings, and appreciation considers evaluations of semiotic and natural phenomena (things) (Martin and White 2005: 42-43; Martin and Rose 2007: 25-71).

Judgment and appreciation are often looked at as institutionalized feelings of shared community values. Judgment, then, accounts for proposals and norms regarding behavior - what we should and should not do, how we should and should not behave and so forth. Some of these notions are formalized as rules and regulations administrated by church and state. Appreciation, on the other hand, concerns itself more with the value of things, and is formalized in systems of awards, such as prizes, grades, prices and so forth. The important thing to note is that these concepts and notions tend to be learned at home (first) and in society (later), and are thus matters we understand from interacting with our surroundings (Martin and White 2005: 45).

Figure 2.2, at the end of this section, displays an overview of the category of attitude, along with its main sub-categories. As the figure shows, affect consists of three categories based on the various types of feelings that are portrayed. Judgment consists of two categories, where **social esteem** concerns itself with admiration or criticism of behavior (venial), and **social sanction** with praise or condemnation. Appreciation consists of two categories, where **social valuation** involves evaluations of the qualities of abstract or concrete things, and **social significance** refers to titles and status, such as “president”, “prime minister” and so forth. Due to the space and time restrictions of this thesis, and to better illustrate the topic, the latter category is somewhat simplified as compared to Martin and White (2005: 56) and Martin and Rose (2007: 69). Moreover, the two types of judgment consist of several sub-categories, displayed separately in figure 2.3.

The interpretations of these attitudinal meanings may be influenced by the context, reflecting a ‘prosodic’ nature of attitude, here understood as the ‘rhythm’/phases (instances of

attitude expression) through which attitudes are conveyed. It is for this reason important to look at the phases of attitude, as a particular text unfolds, and not just the immediate surroundings (Martin and Rose 2007: 31, 25-71). An example of this predilection for prosodic realization can be seen in (4.5). Alongside prosodic disposition, attitude also involves gradable meanings, i.e. the volume of the attitude can be turned up and down according to how intensely we feel something (ibid: 27), a notion that will be dealt with in section 2.3.3 about graduation. In sum, attitudes can be either positive or negative, and expressed explicitly (inscribed) or implicitly (invoked). The following sections will give an outline of each of the three categories of attitude as utilized for the current thesis and analysis. For a more general and comprehensive outline of the Appraisal framework see Martin and White (2005) and Martin and Rose (2007).



**Figure 2.2: An overview of the main categories of attitude.**

### **Affect**

Affect is realized through a range of grammatical structures, starting from modification of participants (see (2.1)), modification of processes (see (2.2)), affective mental processes (see (2.3)), affective behavioral processes (see (2.4)), and modal Adjuncts (see (2.5)):

- 2.1 "A sad captain" (Martin and White 2005: 46).
- 2.2 "The captain left sadly" (ibid: 46).
- 2.3 "His departure upset him" (ibid: 46).
- 2.4 "The captain wept" (ibid: 46).
- 2.5 "Sadly, he had to go" (ibid: 46).

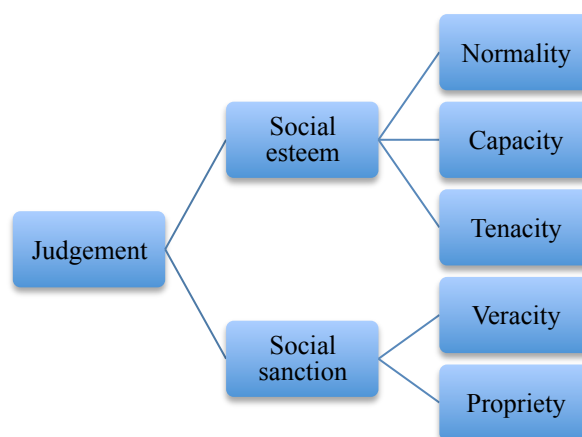
Additionally, we find grammatical metaphors, including nominalized realizations of quality, such as *joy* and *sadness*, and processes, such as *grief* (ibid: 46). When classifying affect we need to consider, for instance, whether the feelings are positive or negative, whether they are realized as a surge of emotion, or more internally experienced as a kind of ongoing mental process.

As displayed in figure 2.2, the framework classifies feelings into three sub-categories of affect. The un/happiness group involves the moods of feeling happy or sad (“affairs of the heart”, such as sadness, love, hate etc.). In/security refers to all those feelings concerned with social well being, such as peace, fear, anxiety and so forth. These are connected to both the environment and people around us. Dis/satisfaction are emotions concerned with the pursuit of goals, such as feelings of achievement and frustration towards “the activities in which we are engaged” (Martin and White 2005: 50), as well as our roles as participants and spectators (ibid: 46-50).

### **Judgment**

This category involves attitudes toward, and evaluations of, people and the way they behave (their character), by reference to a set of institutional norms. As mentioned in section 2.3.1, the domain consists of the category of social esteem, oriented around issues of admiration (positive) and critique (negative), and the category of social sanction, oriented around issues of praise (positive) and condemnation (negative) (Martin and White 2005: 52-53). Martin and Rose (2007: 32) refer to social esteem as **personal judgment**, and to social sanction as **moral judgment**, notions that proved helpful in the analysis of the material at hand.

Both of the categories can be divided further into sub-categories. This is displayed in figure 2.3. Social esteem consists of the sub-categories: **normality** (how usual/unusual something is), **capacity** (how capable someone is) and **tenacity** (how resolute they are). Social sanction is further divided into **veracity** (truthfulness) and **propriety** (how ethical someone is) (Martin and White 2005: 52-53).



**Figure 2.3: An overview of judgment and its sub-categories.**

As previously noted, all attitudes can be also be explicit or implicit, i.e. direct or indirect. Explicit judgment tells us how to judge certain people or affairs that are linked to people as agents:

2.6 The occupation of the territory of Arab states by Israel troops would be used for the restoration of a foreign colonial regime (*TT* June 10, 1967).

In (2.6), “Israeli troops” are identified as the Appraised of **judgement: social sanction: propriety**, with the key word/s “occupation” and “foreign colonial regime” identifying the evaluation. These key words or items have negative connotations, even isolated, and when taken out of context, and are also here supposed to be interpreted in that manner. Thus the attitudinal meaning expressed is labeled as inscribed. Additionally, a “troop” can be seen as an abstract thing, just as in example (2.6). However, since it refers to soldiers and Israeli people that are a part of that group, and the ones doing the actions (agents of the process) associated with “the occupation”, the evaluation is considered as a judgment, an evaluation of people, rather than an appreciation, an evaluation of a thing.

Implicit judgment, on the other hand, is revealed through seemingly neutral linguistic items that are influenced by the surrounding text and topic. (2.7) may first appear to be a typical account of a happening, but seen in relation to the rest of the topic, in addition to the mentioning of the death of “noncombatants”, it becomes clear that the sentence is in fact an invoked negative appraisal of the people responsible for the deaths.

2.7 The death toll in Gaza had risen to at least 78 by Thursday, the majority of them noncombatants, according to Health Ministry officials in the Palestinian coastal enclave (*NYT* July 10, 2014).



## Appreciation

Appreciation is the system by which evaluations are made of things and processes (performances we give), but can also include natural phenomena. While judgment evaluates human behavior, appreciation typically evaluates objects, both natural and manufactured, as well as more abstract things, such as plans and policies (Martin and White 2005: 56; White and Don 2012).

The category can be divided into three (sometimes more) sub-categories: **reaction**, related to affection, and how things affect us, grab us, and whether we like them or not; **composition**, related to perceptions of proportionality (balance) and detail (complexity); and finally **valuation**, related to cognition, our considered opinions about the particular thing, and the assessment of the social significance of it (Martin and White 2005: 56-58, Martin and Rose 2007: 69-70). As mentioned in section 2.3.1, this thesis deals for the most part only with the latter type, since it is the most prevalent category found in the material. Thus the category of valuation is emphasized. It is further divided into two types: social valuation (evaluations of abstract and concrete things) (example (2.8)), and social significance (titles marking status and power) (example (2.9)).

2.8 The territory that Israel has captured is among the least desirable on earth (*NYT* June 8, 1967\_2).

2.9 Foreign Office minister Baroness Warsi resigns over Gaza policy (*TT* August 5, 2014).

Like affect and judgment, appreciative evaluations can also be both positive and negative, and inscribed or invoked.

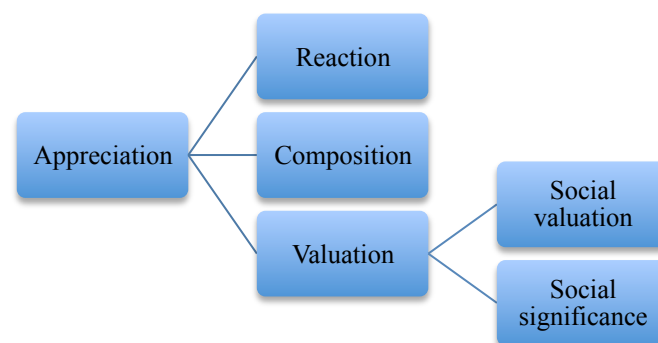


Figure 2.4: An overview of the sub-categories of appreciation.

### **Borderline cases**

The grammatical realization of attitude is adjectival, thus its various realizations have inherently gradable meanings (Martin and White 2005: 58-60). The following paragraphs attempt to distinguish between them.

Affect is associated with the relational attributive process type, involving a conscious participant, and about how he/she feels about something (Martin and White 2005: 58), as in example (2.10) and (2.11):

- 2.10 I feel happy (about something).
- 2.11 It makes me feel happy that...

Judgment is also a relational attributive process, but unlike affect, where feelings of a conscious participant are involved, it ascribes an attitude towards someone's (a human being) behavior.

- 2.12 It was (judgment) for person/of person to do that.
- 2.13 (for person) to do that was (judgment).

Appreciation involves a mental process ascribing an attitude to a thing, whether concrete or abstract, material or semiotic (note the difference between judgment and appreciation).

- 2.14 Person considers something (appreciation).
- 2.15 Person sees something as (appreciation).

Although these frames indicate how to distinguish between the categories, a problem, nevertheless, occurs when nominal groups construe participants in an institutional role or name a complex process as a thing. Compare by way of example (2.16) and (2.17):

- 2.16 She is a fascinating person. (judgment)
- 2.17 It was a fascinating innings. (appreciation)

Consider also the following example:

- 2.18 Dr. Nikolai Fedorenko, the Soviet representative, told me this was a “minimum first move” and “the first step on the long road towards restoring peace and normal conditions” in the region (*TT* June 7, 1967).

This example may construe both appreciation, since we are dealing with a decision or action (an abstract thing), and judgment, considering that the decision/action is done by people and can be a reflection of them and their morals. Martin and White (2005: 60) also mention attitudinal lexis that arguably can be considered both affect and judgment:

- 2.19 I felt disgusted with them for provoking him. (affect/judgment)

This suggests that sometimes we need to allow for double coding of borderline categories (Martin and Rose 2007: 39-40).

### **Inscribed versus invoked attitude**

When we are dealing with inscribed and invoked attitudes, the word inscribed stands for all attitudinal meaning that is explicitly written, whereas invoked refers to attitudes that are implicit, but still understood from reading the text as a whole (Martin and White 2005; Martin and Rose 2007). Consider the following two examples:

- 2.20 She is an excellent swimmer.

- 2.21 She has won many medals in swimming.

(2.20) is then an inscribed way of judging “she”, whereas (2.21) is an invoked way of judging her abilities as a swimmer.

Inscribed attitude is considered to direct the readers in their evaluation of the text’s attitudes, and can also launch and reinforce a prosody that directs the readers’ evaluation of seemingly non-attitudinal meanings. Something that on one level may be understood as inscribed attitude, and/or seemingly neutral, may on another level be perceived as invoked and biased attitudinal meaning. This reinforces the proposition of double coding, suggesting a ‘bottom-up’ perspective on the work with appraisal analysis. Taking this perspective, means starting with the realizations of attitude, and working back to the ‘mood’ of the texts, by looking at the prosody (Martin and White 2005: 70).

Notably, with this type of analysis, we have to keep in mind the socio-historic background, as well as various forms of ideology and power that may come into play (a

notion valid for all parts of the attitude and graduation category). Items that I consider as explicit evaluations may not necessarily be understood likewise by other readers. Furthermore, when reading texts from another time and country (material from 1967), we can never be certain enough that we have managed to capture all the background knowledge that readers had when reading the news at that time. Thus it is very difficult (at best) to know for sure whether they would have perceived it in the way I have analyzed the material today.

### **Source of attitude**

The source of attitude refers to "who is judging or appreciating" (**appraiser**), and what is being appraised, "who is being judged and what is being appreciated" (**appraised**) (Martin and White 2005: 71). Normally, writers are identified as the source of evaluations, unless we are dealing with projections, such as speech or thoughts of an additional appraiser. It is important to note that the author's voice may align with that of the other appraiser, and that this too should be accounted for in the analyses. However, it may sometimes be difficult to tell these two apart, as the journalist's voice may merge in with that of the external voice. This can be seen in example (2.22):

2.22 Weeping, she recalled their assuring her that Fun Time Beach "was a safe place" (*NYT*, July 10, 2014).

Here, we see that an external voice of a woman is signaled by the verb "recall" and the quotation marks at the end of the example. However, part of what makes this a negative portrayal of the woman's experience is precisely the Adjunct "weeping", one that is put in there by the journalist himself. Thus, although the woman agrees with the journalist's depiction, the negative attitude is intensified and made more clear through the insertion of the Adjunct by the journalist.

### **2.3.2 Engagement**

**Engagement** can be seen as the resources for intersubjective positioning or stance, used to negotiate positions and 'enter into dialogue' with readers/listeners. The important question to ask is: who are the evaluations coming from? The selection of resources includes what is traditionally known as modality, polarity, evidentiality, consequentiality, concession, hedging, and attribution. However, the resources included under engagement are more extensive, and include negation, as well as intensifiers. Hence the category consists of all those meanings that construe for the text "a heteroglossic backdrop of prior utterances,

alternative viewpoints, and anticipated responses” (Martin and White 2005: 94-97). It has a taxonomy that identifies particular dialogistic positionings associated with given meanings, and the stakes at hand by choosing one meaning over another.

Stubbs (1996: 197) states that “whenever speakers (or writers) say anything, they encode their point of view towards it”, a view shared by the current study. This way of approaching a text is influenced by Bakhtin’s notions of dialogism and heteroglossia, meaning that all verbal communication (whether written or spoken) always reveals or refers to earlier texts, whilst simultaneously anticipating responses from actual, imagined or potential readers (White and Don 2012). The Appraisal Theory framework gives priority to the positioning of the authorial voice, rather than just looking at who/what the primary source is. The nature of the relationship between the speaker/writer and those who have previously taken a stand with respect to the issue at hand is still attended to, but through the way and degree of acknowledgment of a particular primary source. Additionally, it involves coming to terms with the anticipatory aspect of the text, i.e. the signals speakers/writers provide as to how they expect their audience to respond to the propositions and value positions a particular text advances (Martin and White 2005: 92-93).<sup>23</sup> This framework is oriented towards meanings in context and rhetorical effects, bringing together lexical and grammatical locutions, with the presumption that they all operate with the intention of locating the writer in regards to the value positions presented in the text, as well as with respect to the various alternative voices.

Engagement can be divided into two sub-categories: **monogloss** and **heterogloss**. Monogloss, also referred to as ‘bare assertion’, involves only one voice, and is considered to be intersubjectively neutral, objective and factual. It makes no reference to other voices, nor to alternative positions, meaning it has no recognition of dialogistic alternatives. Heterogloss, on the other hand, offers these alternative positions, by having a presence of more than one voice, regardless of it being dialogically contracting or expanding (Martin and White 2005: 102-104, Martin and Rose 2007: 48-49). A full overview of the sub-categories of engagement can be seen at the end of this section.

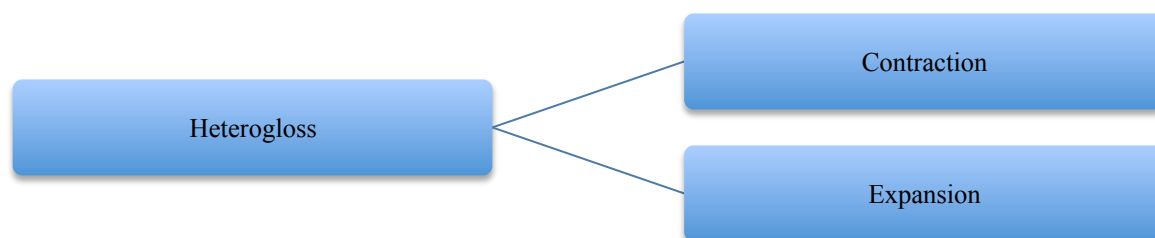
### **Heterogloss**

Heterogloss deals with a matter of what to do with the voices once you have let them in. It consists of two broad categories called **contraction**, where alternative voices are challenged,

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<sup>23</sup> See section about alignment/disalignment and solidarity.

fended off, or restricted (Martin and White 2005: 102, 117), and **expansion**, where alternative voices and positions are allowed (ibid: 102). The two categories in turn consist of yet other sub-groups, outlined in the following paragraphs.

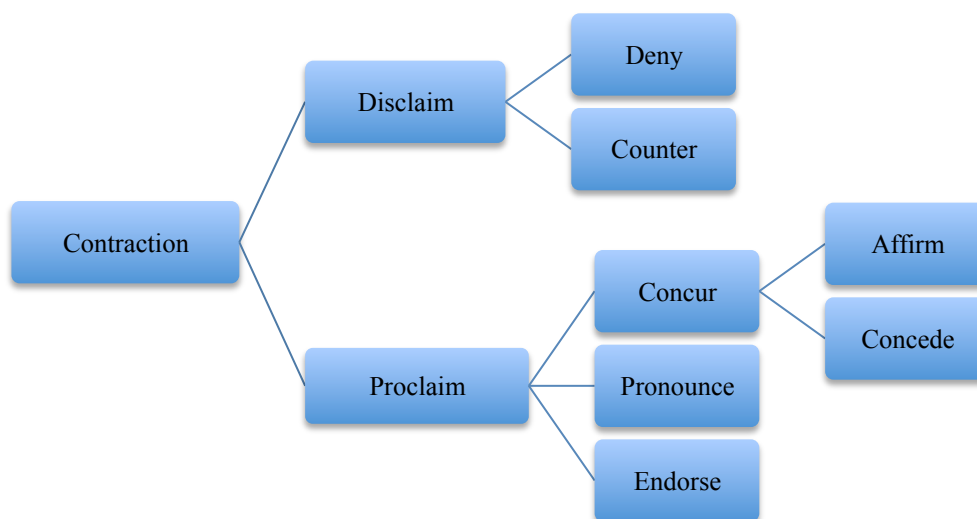


**Figure 2.5: An overview of the main categories of heterogloss.**

### **Contraction**

Contraction is comprised of **disclaim**, where the textual voice is positioned as such as to reject or replace the alternative position, and **proclaim**, which presents the alternative position as highly warrantable. The former again comprises **deny**, involving negation (*There's nothing wrong with liking the opera*), and **counter**, involving concession/counter expectations (Martin and White 2005: 97, 118-119, 127-129). The countering is typically conveyed through conjunctions and connectives, such as *however, even though, yet* and *but*, and comment adjuncts/adverbials, such as *surprisingly, even, only, and just* (ibid: 120-121).

The latter sub-type of contraction, proclaim, comprises **concur, pronounce** and **endorse**. Concur overtly addresses agreement with the projected dialogic partner, as in *of course, naturally, and not surprisingly* (referred to as **affirm**), and *admittedly, and certainly* (referred to as **concede**). Pronounce involves formulations that explicitly intervene or emphasize something in the text, thus making its subjective role salient: "The authorial interventions are directed towards confronting and defeating contrary positions" (Martin and White 2005: 129). Examples of these are *I contend..., naturally, not surprisingly, the facts of the matter are that..., etc.* (ibid: 127-128). Finally, endorse consists of propositions sourced to external voices and construed as valid, undeniable, and/or correct, using verbal phrases such as *demonstrates, shows, and proves* (ibid: 97-98, 121-129). Although all these meanings construe a dialogistic backdrop for the text of other voices and value positions, they are still directed towards excluding certain alternatives, and/or constraining the scope of them (ibid: 117).



**Figure 2.6: An outline of the sub-categories of contraction.**

### **Expansion**

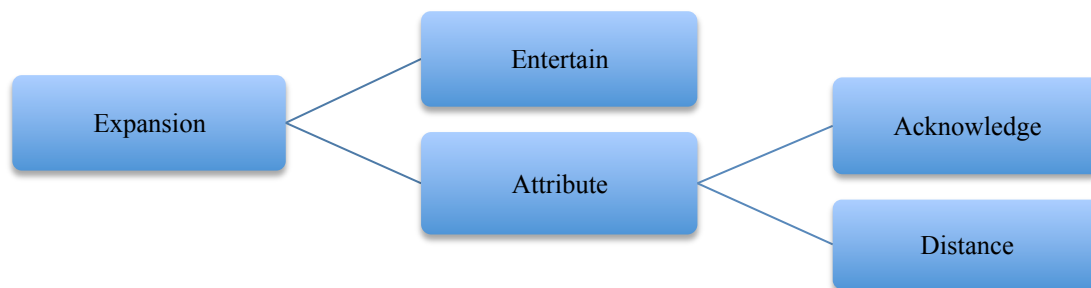
The second big category, **expansion**, consists of **entertain** and **attribute**. Entertain explicitly presents alternatives through assessments of likelihood, and represents the proposition as one of a range of possible positions. It can be realized through modals of probability, including projections, such as *may*, *perhaps*, *it's possible*, *I suspect that* etc.; evidentials or evidence/appearance-based postulations, such as *it seems*, *it appears*, *apparently* etc.; rhetorical and expository questions, such as *does a global language mean the death of other languages?*; and directives and modals of permission/obligations, such as *we have a responsibility to...*, etc. (Martin and White 2005: 104-111). Attribute involves attribution to an external voice, by disassociating the proposition from the text's internal authorial voice, and attributing it to some external voice. This is typically achieved by using direct and indirect reported speech and thought, usually with the framing by means of communicative process verbs, and/or verbs referencing to mental processes, such as *say*, *think*, *believe*. The category also includes instances where no source is specified, such as:

2.23 The Gaza town of Rafah was reported captured as well as the junction of Khan Yunis in the disputed Gaza Strip (*NYT* June 6, 1967).

Here, the information is given in a passive construction that enables the source to be left out. This particular example has to be seen in the textual context, which may suggest where the reports came from. However, attribution may also be used as a way of giving validity to some

sort of information by presenting it together with already explicit attributive phrases, and thus making it seem a part of this, although it may not be the case.

Attribute consists of the sub-categories **acknowledge** and **distance**, where the former involves no overt indication of the positioning of the authorial voice (*X said...*, *X believes...*, *according to X...* etc.), and the latter distances itself from the attributed material (*X claims that...*, *assumes, it's rumored that...*, etc.), by means of reporting verbs, such as *to claim*, and by certain uses of 'scare' quotes. Martin and White (2005: 113-114) note that distancing formulations explicitly ground a particular proposition in an individualized, contingent subjectivity, of some external voice. However, unlike attribute, involving an external voice, entertain is still considered as having the writer's internal voice as source (ibid: 97-98, 111-117).



**Figure 2.7: An outline of the sub-categories of expansion.**

### **Monogloss**

Monogloss contrasts with heterogloss in that it does not overtly refer to other voices, or acknowledge alternative positions. The writer presents a proposition as having no dialogistic alternatives which need to be recognized or engaged with (Martin and White 2005: 99-100). Such a monoglossic style is demonstrated in example (2.24):

2.24 They are a very small country surrounded by a coalition of proud but backward and hostile Arab states (*NYT* June 7, 1967\_1).

Consider the following alternatives:

2.25 *According to X*, they are a very small country surrounded by a coalition of proud but backward and hostile Arab states.



- 2.26 *In my view*, they are a very small country surrounded by a coalition of proud but backward and hostile Arab states.
- 2.27 *There can be no denying* that they are a very small country surrounded by a coalition of proud but backward and hostile Arab states.
- 2.28 They are *not* a very small country surrounded by a coalition of proud but backward and hostile Arab states.

These alternative examples recognize the existence of dialogistic alternatives, as illustrated by the phrases in italics, whether the authorial voice is distancing him-/herself from the proposition, enhancing it, or simply denying it. Additionally, they give the reader a variety of other possible readings, agreeing/disagreeing with the propositions to various degrees.

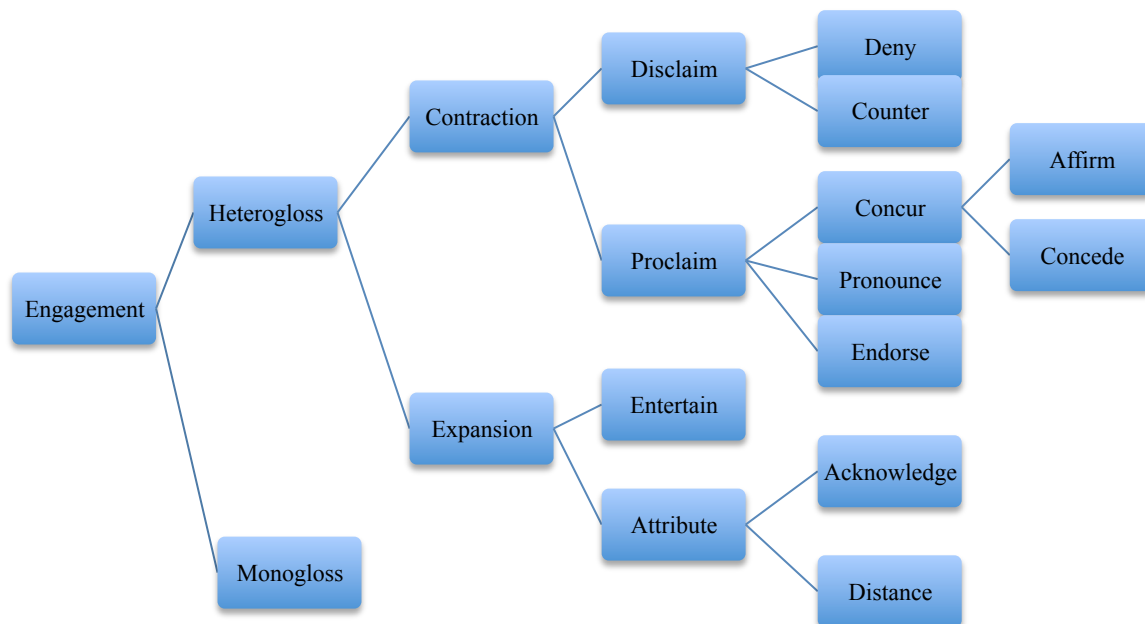


Figure 2.8: A full outline of the engagement domain.

### Alignment/disalignment and solidarity

Apart from sourcing of voice, engagement is also concerned with the agreement/disagreement with respect to the various attitudes, beliefs and values presented, noting that whenever a writer announces his/her attitudinal position, they simultaneously invite others to share these feelings; “thus declarations of attitude are dialogically directed towards aligning the addressee into a community of shared value and belief” (Martin and White 2005: 95). Naturally, the relationship between the writer and the reader is of great importance, emphasizing another concern which deals with how the linguistic resources are used to

illustrate this relationship. For instance, does the writer take it for granted that the reader shares his/her particular viewpoint? Or does he/she seem to assume that persuasiveness is needed, in order to win the reader over? (ibid: 95). White and Don (2012) note that the modeling of engagement was shaped by projects that shared a concern for the rhetorical potential of texts, exploring how texts both explicitly persuade, as well as implicitly/indirectly influence, the naturalization of attitudes, beliefs and assumptions, a notion that is still of importance in the framework.

The relationship termed ‘solidarity’ is not simply a matter of ideational degree and/or attitudinal agreement, but involves tolerance or lack thereof for alternative viewpoints. Martin and White (ibid: 96) stress that a writer always has the option of maintaining solidarity with those with whom he/she disagrees, by recognizing their viewpoints as valid. For instance in example (2.29), we see that the resources of entertain are used to make allowance for an alternative voice:

2.29 *The possibility that the reconciliation of Nasser and Husain might make Cairo's policy less radical is as worrying for Moscow as for Damascus (TT June 6, 1967).*

By stating that there is a possibility for something, you are implicitly also opening up for the possibility of the opposite, and thus to some degree validating the alternative viewpoint, and providing solidarity with those who hold this position (ibid: 108-109). However, Martin and White (ibid: 109) note that this functionality is most likely in operation where a value position relates to “some ideologically-significant, established axiological formation”. In other words, it is less likely to be found in contexts where the value position is more a ‘private’ one, rather than a ‘public’ one. News articles exist in the so-called public sphere, thus this functionality can be found in the current material.

When it comes to attribution and the writer/reader relationship, some texts are ‘allowed’ to remain more unimplicated in attributed material.<sup>24</sup> These are, for instance, ‘hard news’, presenting a more ‘impersonalised’ façade to the reader, to the degree that the reader may interpret it as there being no connection between the position advanced and the writer him-/herself (Martin and White 2005: 115). Martin and White (2005: 115) state that this may give the impression of the writer being some sort of ‘informational fair trader’ who is simply conveying the views of others, and therefore unimplicated in any relationship of solidarity,

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<sup>24</sup> What is meant with ‘allowed’ is that readers of these texts do not expect the writers to necessarily share the opinions and feelings of the attributed sources, thus they allow for the writers to share these, without having them answer/take responsibility for the shared material.

which the reader may enter into with the quoted source whose viewpoint is being reported. Of course, there are other ways to indicate writer support/opposition for the attributed value positions, such as overtly expressing their stand, or by the use of mechanisms where the reader is covertly positioned to regard the material as either valid or not.<sup>25</sup> Unlike these, with endorsements, the authorial internal voice takes responsibility for the propositions at hand, or at least shares it with the external voices presented (ibid: 127).

Denials, on the other hand, can be considered as being corrective rather than confrontational, by presenting the addresser as having greater expertise than the addressee. They will thus enhance solidarity as long as the reader is not resistant to the particular way the addresser is presenting him-/herself. Counters are similar to denials in that they project on to the addressee certain beliefs or expectations, but are frequently used to align, rather than disalign, “in that they construe the writer as sharing this axiological paradigm with the reader” (Martin and White 2005: 120-121).

An interesting rhetorical device for alignment/disalignment in texts is the use of concur and counter, where the authorial voice may first be presented as agreeing with the construed reader, in regards to a particular proposition, only to step back and reject the assumptions arising from the initial proposition (Martin and White 2005: 124). Consider example (2.30):

2.30 Certainly, he has been a good friend to you, but that does not mean he was a good friend to Tom.<sup>26</sup>

Such concede + counter pairings construe a putative reader who is presumed to be somewhat resistant to the writer’s primary argumentative position, thus the use of the pairing may be considered a gesture towards solidarity in contexts where the addresser anticipates disagreement on the part of the addressee (ibid: 125-126).

Something similar can be seen in the usage of acknowledge + counter (example (2.31)) and pronounce + counter (example (2.32)):

2.31 Colonel Lerner said the missile had been meant to be a “precision strike,” adding, “We were targeting a terrorist.” But he had no immediate information on the identity of the person in Israel’s sights or why the military struck when the cafe was abuzz with more than a dozen people (*NYT* July 10, 2014).

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<sup>25</sup> Examples of this will be discussed in chapter 4 and 5.

<sup>26</sup> Made up example.

2.32 This is clear on any objective analysis of Nasser's political and military moves over the last few months. But fighting and winning is only one more chapter in a long and tragic story (*NYT* June 6, 1967).

In (2.31), we see that the journalist invites an external source, in this case Colonel Lerner, to explain the intentions of the strike. The attribution is analyzed as acknowledge, signaled by the verb "said" and "adding". However, in the following sentence the journalist counters the validity of the strike, signaled by the conjunction "but", by saying that the Israeli military could not account for the identity of the targeted person, in addition to emphasizing that the military struck at the busiest hour. This type of rhetoric can be used to diminish the validity of the source, or at least question the attributed statement. (2.32) presents a journalist's take on why Israel had to defend itself from the surrounding countries. Pronouncement is signaled by "this is clear", and emphasized by "objective analysis", a clear indication of obscured subjectivity. However, it is later countered, signaled by "but", in a different way than in (2.31). In (2.32), although countering, the journalist does not completely dismiss the previous statement, but rather implies that there is more to the story.

As has been illustrated in this section, the category of engagement gives great insight into the way writers may use grammar in order to position themselves, as well as the readers, in relation to various views and perspectives advanced.

### 2.3.3 Graduation

Martin and Rose (2007: 42-43), as well as Martin and White (2005: 135), state that one distinctive feature about attitudes is that they are gradable, and construe greater (high degree) or lesser degrees (low degree) of positivity and negativity. Gradability is also a feature of engagement, and stands for the degree of speaker/writer intensity, and/or their investment in the utterances (ibid: 152-159). In this thesis, this is for the most part discussed in sections concerning the engagement category. Gradability in terms of *degrees* of scaling is not addressed as such, rather, words and items that intensify and amplify attitudes are identified and discussed.

Graduation is thus a form of semantic scaling, concerned with values that provide grading or scaling, either as interpersonal force attached to an utterance, or as preciseness or sharpness of focus. There are two kinds of resources for amplifying, the first one used for 'turning the volume up or down', for instance by the use of words such as *very*, *extremely*, etc., and the second for 'sharpening' and/or 'softening' categories of people and things, such as *exactly*, *sort of*, *kind of* etc. The former is referred to as **force** and the latter as **focus**

(White and Don 2012; Martin and Rose 2007: 42). The following two sections will outline these terms.

## **Force**

Force involves two types: **intensification** and **quantification**. The category's most obvious mode of expression is probably adverbs of intensification, modes that have elsewhere been labeled as intensifiers, down-tones and boosters, and emphasizees. (A preliminary network of force is provided in figure 2.9.)

### **Force: Intensification**

Adverbs of intensification (grammatical items), also known as **intensifiers**, depend on 'content words' (lexical items), in order for their meanings to be realized. In combination, they make it possible for us to compare things – to say how strongly we feel about something as opposed to something else. We can make assessments of degree of intensity over qualities (e.g. *slightly foolish*, *extremely foolish*), over processes (e.g. *This slightly hindered us*), and over verbal modalities of likelihood, usuality, inclination and obligation (e.g. *it's very possible that*) (Martin and White 2005: 140). These intensifiers operate along a scale of low and high intensity, so that for instance *to like somebody* is considered as a lower scaling of force, than *to love someone*, which is found on a higher scaling (White and Don 2012; Martin and Rose 2007: 43-45).

Intensification divides into two broad lexico-grammatical classes – **isolating** and **infusing**, where a distinction is made with regards to whether the up- or down-scaling is realized by an isolated item, as illustrated in (2.33), or as infused items such as (2.34):

2.33 Three hours later Israeli reports said that Israeli troops and tanks had ousted the Arab force in **fierce** and **costly** fighting (*NYT* June 6, 1967).

2.34 Shells **crashed** into many areas of the Israeli section of the city (*NYT* June 6, 1967).

In (2.33), “fierce” and “costly” function as isolated intensifiers, up-scaling the notion of fighting, whereas in (2.34) the up-scaling is infused in the word/verb itself. Infused intensification thus has no separate lexical form conveying the amplification, rather the scaling is conveyed as an aspect of the meaning of a particular item (Martin and White 2005: 143).

### **Force: Quantification**

Quantification is the principle of scaling for values that measure quantity, extent and proximity in time and space (*small, large, few, many, near* etc.) (White and Don 2012). These provide imprecise measuring of number, and presence or mass of entities, according to size, weight, distribution and proximity (Martin and White 2005: 141). The semantics of quantification is complicated by the fact that the quantified entity can be either concrete, as in *many cats*, or abstract as in *many problems*. Abstract entities often convey attitudinal meanings. Consider the examples:

- 2.35 I have **many** doubts about the future. (affect)
- 2.36 He's got a **great** talent for swimming. (judgment)
- 2.37 There is a **slight** problem with your work. (appreciation)

The abstractions may be construed as either qualities or processes, so that *many doubts* (quantified entity) can also be expressed as *very doubtful* (intensified quality/process), *a great talent* (quantified entity) can also be expressed as *very talented* (intensified quality), and *a slight problem* (quantified entity) can also be expressed as *slightly problematic* (process). Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 730) call this **grammatical metaphor**, and note that this concept enables us to combine a number of features of discourse that do not seem alike, but in reality are instances of the same phenomenon in two different contexts.

Force includes both grammatical and lexical items. With attitudinal lexis, amplification is fused into the words themselves, so that, for instance, “ablaze” in (2.38) is a way of intensifying something being (very) on fire.

- 2.38 US embassy in Cairo **ablaze** (*TT* June 7, 1967).

With lexical resources, it may be hard to draw a line between the categories, and to decide what to include; thus a rule of thumb might be that these words can be identified as ‘non-core vocabulary’, meaning items that are not commonly used in English and that tend to be defined with the intensifier *very*, in dictionaries (Martin and Rose 2007: 45). White and Don (2012) also note that these lexical items involve some sort of scaling value (“typically a high value of intensity”) fused with ideational meaning, and that this mode of force is widely found in media texts, a notion highly relevant for this thesis.

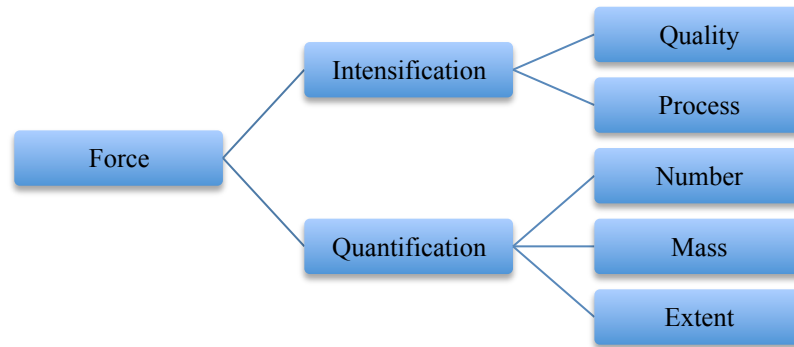


Figure 2.9: An outline of the sub-categories of force.

### Focus

The second dimension of graduation, focus, is about sharpening and softening experiential categories. Viewed from an experiential perspective, these categories are not scalable. Martin and Rose (2007: 46) explain focus as "resources for making something that is inherently non-gradable gradable", covering meanings such as 'hedging' and 'vague language' (White and Don 2012). The graduation resources make these participate in scalable clines of prototypicality (Martin and White 2005: 137). Consider by way of example:

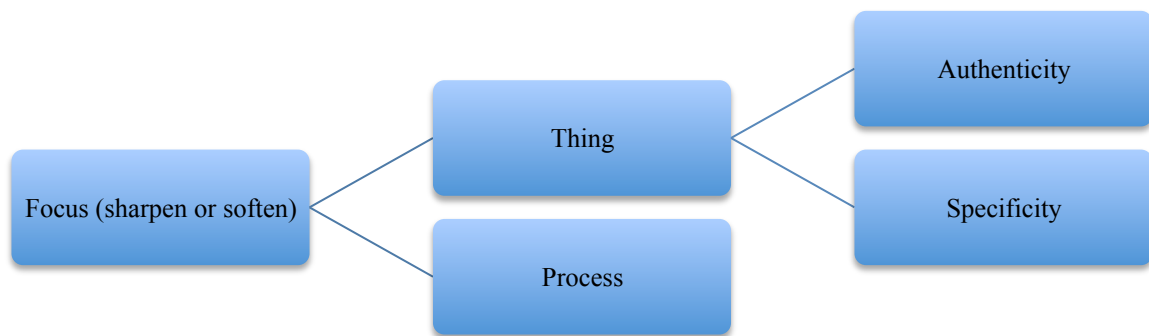
2.39 They don't play **real** football.

2.40 They play football, **sort of**.

From the experiential perspective, football is a distinct category within the taxonomy of sports. However, in the above examples, "football" is reconstructed according to an interpersonal semantic, by which a certain type of football is considered as prototypical, and other types as only marginal. Therefore a question of membership in this 'football category' is not one of either-or, but rather a matter of degree, or the sharpening and/or blurring of apparent categorical distinctions. However, graduation is not confined to only 'experiential' categories, it is also possible to graduate attitudes, not only by reference to intensity (*slightly hungry, very hungry*) but also prototypicality (*kind of hungry, sort of hungry* etc.) (Martin and White 2005: 138-139). When the term being amplified under focus is non-attitudinal, such as *football*, there is a tendency for the prototypicality to be invested with attitude (ibid: 139).

There are two sub-categories of focus, one amplifying **thing**, through notions of **authenticity** (e.g. *true, real*), and **specificity** (e.g. *kind of, exactly, nearly*), and the other amplifying **process** (e.g. *try to find, fail to achieve*) (see figure 2.10). These can be used to either **sharpen** or **soften** the focus. According to Martin and White (2005: 139), sharpening

is often associated with positive attitudinal assessment, while softening often flags negative assessment. It is, however, important to note that the nature of the attitude evoked is subject to influence from the co-text, such as attitudinal prosody. Graduation also plays a part in the establishment of writer/reader relationships, and can indicate a maximalization and/or lessening of alignment, and is thus also connected to the category of engagement.



**Figure 2.10: An outline of the sub-categories of focus.**



## 3 Material and methodology

This chapter gives an overview of the empirical data used in the investigation, discusses the sources from which it was collected, and gives an account of how the data was retrieved. The section also outlines the methodology employed in the analysis of the material, in addition to a general overview of the extracted material in terms of quantity and word count.

### 3.1 Material

News articles were chosen as the material for investigation, due to news being considered a “fundamental social context through which cultural reproduction-production takes place” (Bernstein 1996: 17). News and media provide a platform where most people exchange information, and through which they learn and adopt value position.

The data retrieved for this investigation was collected from the online archives of two newspapers: *TT* (<http://www.thetimes.co.uk>) and *NYT* (<http://www.nytimes.com>). The choice of the two countries where the newspapers are published was based on the differences and similarities in politics and interests the two seem to have with regards to the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. The choice of newspapers was based on the high readership and circulation numbers in their respective countries, as well as their renown. The access to newspaper archives at the University Library of Oslo also played a role in the choice of the newspapers. The initial material retrieval was done through the University Library access online, however, this proved sometimes too difficult (restricted access to whole news texts) and time consuming, thus I was compelled to register online for personal access to both newspapers. This made access to the 1967 archives significantly easier.

The type of news articles was narrowed down to hard news, a term explained by Bell (1996: 14-15, 147-149) as being reports of accidents, conflicts and crimes, thus recognized as the core news product. In order to compare the reporting of the war at two different points in time, the Six-Day War (as it was called in 1967) and the fifty-one day war in 2014 were chosen as reference points. This was done due to the political situations being significantly different in 1967 as opposed to 2014 (see chapter 1).

The dates of the conflicts of each year were used as reference points, so that from the 1967-archives, news articles about the conflict were chosen from June 5<sup>th</sup> to June 14<sup>th</sup>, and

the ones from 2014 from the dates July 7<sup>th</sup> to August 26<sup>th</sup> (when the present Peace Treaty was signed).<sup>27 28</sup>

For the 1967 material, I began by using search words such as ‘Israel Palestine’ and ‘Israel Palestine Conflict’. In the British newspaper, ‘Israel Palestine’ produced zero results, whereas the US one returned quite a lot. This led to a general history search online, trying to establish whether the conflict may have been referred to differently in the British media. Words and phrases such as ‘Arab Israel’ and ‘Arab Israel conflict’ were encountered, and thus a new search was made in both archives with these phrases. Again, the combination ‘Arab Israel conflict’ generated few results (only one hit), whereas ‘Arab Israel’ generated many results in both *TT* and *NYT*, and is thus the key phrase used in search for news articles about the conflict in both newspapers’ 1967-archives.<sup>29</sup> The search was narrowed down to “news”, by clicking the “news” button, and having them appear in chronological order. Thereafter, I was had to make a selection, in order to achieve a variety of articles according to the dates they were published (the dates were spread within the time frame of the war).

In the online search for news articles from 2014, search words such as ‘Israel Palestine’ and ‘Israel Palestine conflict’ generated many hits, whereas the word phrase ‘Arab Israel’ did not generate any. Of the two former ‘Israel Palestine conflict’ generated more hits, thus it was used as key search phrase for the 2014 material in both newspapers. Thereafter, the procedure of listing the articles according to dates, and selecting manually was repeated. By doing this, a certain amount of subjectivity is introduced in the selection of the material, but it also seemed to be the only way of including as varied a selection as possible within the time frame.

It has been an aim to base the selection on what Hillier (2004: 2-4) refers to as the *comparative principle*. This principle requires that the material chosen be matched in as many respects and variables as possible. Accordingly, the text format is obviously the same for both newspapers; newspaper articles (hard news), and the size of the material is adjusted as much as possible, so that word count is approximately the same for both years, as well as for each newspaper. News articles and word length for the two newspapers are displayed in

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<sup>27</sup> NRK: <http://www.nrk.no/nyheter/1.11060771>

<sup>28</sup> The collection of newspaper articles for the Six-Day War was somewhat extended, due the production of newspapers and the handing-out of information was not as quick in 1967, compared to today.

<sup>29</sup> An interesting find is that the term “Arab lands” is frequently used in the newspapers. The focus seems not to have been on Palestine and its part in the conflict, but rather on several surrounding countries, which were referred to as “Arab lands”. The conflict’s specifics and events support this notion of the parties being Israel on one side, and Arab lands on the other, and also the fact that Palestine had no official country status, at this point.

tables 1.1 (*TT*) and 1.2 (*NYT*). Note that due to the inevitable variation in length of news articles, the focus has been primarily on suitable topics referred to in the articles, rather than a strict line of word count.

It is important to note that some of the news articles retrieved from the 1967 archives actually consisted of one ‘longer’ article, as well as one or two smaller ones that had no identified author. These have the same topic as the main article, and since they appeared like this in the search for the articles, they were kept as part of the material analyzed. Images/pictures, along with their captions, were disregarded, due to the space and time restrictions of this thesis. A more elaborate analysis approach to this particular aspect can be found in Bednarek and Caple (2012).

**Table 3.1: Word count for *TT* material from the year 1967 and 2014.**

<i>TT</i> 1967		<i>TT</i> 2014	
News articles	Word count	News articles	Word count
June 5	741	-	-
June 6_1	1132	July 9	1302
June 6_2	855	July 11	776
June 7	648	July 23	1034
June 10_1	247	Aug 1	867
June 10_2	698	Aug 5	923
June 12	565	Aug 28	461
<b>Total:</b>	4886	<b>Total:</b>	5363

**Table 3.2: Word count for the *NYT* material from the year 1967 and 2014.**

<i>NYT</i> 1967		<i>NYT</i> 2014	
News articles	Word count	News articles	Word count
June 6	910	-	-
June 7_1	733	-	-
June 7_2	787	-	-
June 8_1	406	July 7	1017
June 8_2	633	July 10	967
June 10	547	July 20	990
June 13	394	Aug 8	1182
June 14	743	Aug 26	1474
<b>Total:</b>	5153	<b>Total:</b>	5630

## 3.2 Methodology

What almost all of the aforementioned studies in chapter 2 have in common (except the ones deploying corpus analysis) is that they are all more or less qualitative analyses of news discourse. Obviously, the benefit of using quantitative analysis is a capturing of “patterns or frequencies of meaning across a large sample of texts” (Richardson 2007: 21). However, a problem with such analysis is that it often assumes that when various people read the same text, they understand it in the same way, which also corresponds to the intention of the producer of the text (Berelson 1952 in Richardson 2007: 17). Quantitative methods have thus

been found insufficient in exploring and valuing studies of “situated, emergent and reflexive human phenomena” (Lindlof 1995: 22).

My analyses are for the most part qualitative, in that they concern themselves with complete and detailed texts, rather than with the frequencies of linguistic features. Here, rare phenomena are considered just as interesting as common ones. As Stensaas (1986: 54) notes, the concepts being studied are best understood in contexts of the whole story, and not by resorting to strict measurements. Going against the common understanding of qualitative analyses, the thesis does categorize and count results within the Appraisal framework, but it also acknowledges ambiguity. The main disadvantage of qualitative analysis is that the findings may have limited significance beyond the actual study, due to its lack of interest in patterns. In order to deal with this, a relatively large amount of text was retrieved for each newspaper (see tables 1.1 and 1.2), thus enhancing the validity of the measurements done (i.e. quantitative analysis). Notably, the measurements do not give an accurate account of linguistic features, rather an overview of tendencies detected on the basis of the framework. Thus, groupings of sources and changes in use are quantified and displayed in, for instance, figures 4.1 and 4.2. The number of these figures is based on the number of analyzed clauses in the respective newspapers. The numbers of the various attitudes (see tables 4.1 and 5.1) are based on an overall count of attitudes revealed, meaning that if one clause revealed several types of attitudes, then all of them were accounted for. Consider by way of example:

3.1 “The defenceless women and children of Gaza are in desperate need of our support”  
(*TT* August 5, 2014).<sup>30</sup>

In example (3.1), we see that the words “defenceless” and “desperate need” trigger the attitudes of affect: insecurity. However, when the sentence is understood on the basis of the surrounding textual influence, we may also analyze it as a moral judgment, thus this example reveals two types of attitude. Note that the figures concerning attitudes can only be seen as tentative, showing tendencies, rather than definite frequencies, because many of them are interpretations of the material, i.e. we cannot be absolutely certain that everyone would analyze them in the same manner.

In addition to the Appraisal framework, which comprises the foundation for and the presentation of the analyses of attitudes in the chosen newspaper articles (e.g. Martin and

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<sup>30</sup> All examples are reproduced the way they appear in the news articles. This includes grammatical errors.

White (2005)), works by Fairclough (1995; 2001), Bell (1996), Fowler (1991), van Dijk (1988) and Bednarek and Caple (2012) have broadened the perspective of the investigation. The news articles were read closely, divided into paragraphs and clauses, and placed in an EXCEL-form (see appendix 1), consisting of the three major categories of appraisal: attitude, engagement and graduation, one form for each news article.<sup>31</sup> The categories are distributed in such a way that the text for analysis is placed to the left, followed by slots for **appraiser** and **appraised**, attitude, engagement, and graduation, as well as their most significant sub-categories. Accordingly, spots are left open for the indication of positive and negative attitude, inscribed and invoked, as well as isolated and infused evaluations. This way of demonstrating the categories and findings, as well as the material itself, was found useful, due to the possibility of evaluating all three categories of the appraisal system simultaneously, as well as enabling a closer look at the prosodic appraisal features of the various texts. Martin and White (2005) display the various analyses by marking the items directly in the running text, which makes sense since the items influence one another, and may have several different attitudes operating at the same time. However, for the purpose of this thesis, and due to the relatively high amount of words, I found it easier to grasp, as well as present my results, by using the Excel-form.

The findings were divided into clauses or sentences revealing different types of attitudes, meaning that if a sentence consists of two clauses revealing two different attitudes, then these are separated and counted as instances of two attitudes. If a sentence consists of two or more clauses, revealing one type of attitude with regards to the same issue, then it was kept as one instance in the analysis. I realize the dilemma that may occur when employing this kind of procedure, but I chose it, nevertheless, due to the large amount of data retrieved. I would like again to stress that although figures and overviews appear in some sections of the thesis, the emphasis and focus is not on quantitative analysis and absolute numbers, but rather on the appraisals revealed throughout the texts.<sup>32</sup>

Attributions are problematic, because any evaluation that they might be carrying is sourced to an external party, and not the journalist or newspaper. However, even though they do not stem directly from the various journalists, and can thus not necessarily be considered as the newspapers' political leanings, the choice of sources is still within the power of the journalists and newspapers, and therefore important markers of potential attitudes. As White

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<sup>31</sup> The inspiration for the use of Excel-forms comes from Shoshana Dreyfus, a professor of linguistics at the University of Sydney.

<sup>32</sup> Due to space restrictions, only four analyses are included in the appendix. The rest can be accessed through the links provided in the appendix.

(2012: 57) states: “attitudinal evaluations and other potentially contentious meanings are largely confined to material attributed to quoted sources”, hence they are crucial to our overall understanding of the portrayal of the conflict.

Some of the examples included in the thesis include full sentences, as well as longer stretches of text, even though they may have been analyzed separately in the analysis (see for instance example (4.5)). This is done to make it easier for the reader to understand the immediate context of where the various clauses/sentences appear in. Apart from the already identified weaknesses of material, such as the subjective selection of parts of the retrieved data, it is important to note that the conclusions drawn on the basis of the analysis can only be considered tentative, seeing that the implicit evaluations revealed through the framework may be viewed differently by other researchers. This is true however much we try to be objective. Additionally, although an attempt was made to get a full grasp of the political and social situation in 1967, it is close to impossible to know for sure whether my analysis would have been perceived in the same way in 1967, as they are understood today. Having mentioned some of the weaknesses associated with the use of the appraisal framework, I would like to add that parts of what may be perceived a weakness is also what constitutes the strength of the framework, because it is precisely these ‘difficult’ areas of subjectivity and implicitness that may reveal some of the attitudes and power relations behind the news articles and stories portrayed.

## 4 *The Times* 1967 and 2014: results and discussion

As previously mentioned, appraisal tools illustrate the attitudes conveyed by the various authors (in our case journalists) of the texts. What type of attitude is deployed, as well as how it is done, will be addressed in the following sections. Chapter 4 concerns itself with *TT*, and how the journalists were portraying the Israeli-Arab/Palestinian conflict in 1967 (section 4.1) and 2014 (section 4.2), ending with a comparison between the two years, and drawing in the political context as a possible explanation (section 4.3). The diagrams and figures that occur are used to illustrate tendencies, rather than absolute frequencies. Instances of attitude are underlined in the examples (example (4.1)), instances of engagement are put in italics (example (4.36)), and instances of graduation are put in bold (example (4.44)).

### 4.1 Results of the analysis of the material from *TT* 1967

The findings in all news articles from 1967 depict negative attitude. This is perhaps unsurprising, due to the issue at hand, “war”, carrying an inherent (implied) connotation of something negative. Although people may take different stands as to how they generally perceive the various news articles, there is little doubt that words such as “killed”, “destroyed”, “aggression”, and “terrorists” suggest negative attitudes (along with what will be further explained in the following sections).

#### 4.1.1 Attitude

As table 4.1 illustrates, a great number of the attitudes (both positive and negative) conveyed in *TT* are either judgment as in (4.1), or appreciation, as in (4.2), and only a few of affect as in (4.3):

- 4.1 The occupation of the territory of Arab states by Israel troops would be used for the restoration of a foreign colonial regime (*TT* Jun 10, 1967\_1).
- 4.2 The Jordan Egyptian rapprochement was a useful development from the point of view of encircling Israel (*TT* June 6, 1967\_1).
- 4.3 [...] I lay on the floor of my room wondering whether the windows were going to blow in and whether the curtains would help stop glass fragments (*TT* June 6, 1967\_2).

Of the latter type, all of the instances were found in an article written by Nicholas Herbert, on June 6, 1967, except one, written by an unspecified UN correspondent on June 7, 1967. The ones found in Herbert's article are all invoked, whereas the other instance is inscribed:

4.4 Angry mob scenes were also reported in the port city of Alexandria (*TT* June 7, 1967).

(4.4) also demonstrates an example of borderline between the attitudes, where the word “angry” suggests affect, and the word “mob” insinuates a negative ethical judgment. The latter view would then have been understood as invoked.

Herbert's article (June 6, 1967\_2) exemplifies another interesting point regarding attitude portrayal in news. The article begins with negative depictions of the situation in Jerusalem right before Israel takes over, and then goes over to a somewhat more positive perspective, almost “a sigh of relief”, when explaining how the Israeli troops were identified by language, their American style helmets etc., thereby implying that things went back to more of a “normal” state after Israelis took over this part of the town:

4.5 Our doubts were soon removed. A patrol of Israel soldiers in camouflaged battle-dress came into sight below us as we crouched behind a parapet of the hotel, 600 yards from the Mandelbaum Gate. They wore American style helmets and were identified by the language in which their leader shouted his orders. Soon afterwards a jeep with Hebrew markings passed the same way, and thereafter half-tracks and lorries passed regularly. One patrol inquired at the hotel whether any English-speaking people were there. They asked me whether any soldiers had been in the building, and which way they had fled. I replied that there had never been any soldiers there, and after warning us to stay indoors on pain of being shot, the patrol moved on. (*TT* June 6, 1967\_2).

The fact that the journalist explains how the leader “shouted his orders” does not necessarily indicate a positive attitude; rather, the situation may be regarded as unsafe. However, a feeling of “relief” becomes apparent when looking at the entire paragraph as a whole, seeing that after these particular soldiers came “half-tracks and lorries passed regularly”, indicating a shift to normalcy. The notion of “familiarity” is invoked through phrases such as “American style helmets” and “English-speaking people”, implying similarity in clothing and language between the Israeli and western forces. The Israeli soldiers were also kind enough to give the journalists a warning about staying inside. No such encounters with the Arab forces were depicted in the news article, or anywhere else in my material, which may suggest that they



either did not happen, or were not reported. Either way, this will have given the reader a feeling of Israelis being more approachable than the Arabs.

These attitudes are analyzed as invoked, and can only be seen as implicit indications of the affect: security. However, the fact that the journalist explains how they were crouching behind a parapet of the hotel when the Israeli forces came, and were able to go inside the hotel only after they arrived, still suggests a sense of more security than what is depicted during the time the Arab forces had control over that part of town.

**Table 4.1: An overview of the various attitudes revealed in the material from *TT* from 1967.**

	Attitude						
	Appreciation		Judgment		Affect		
	Valuation (social)	Social significance	Social sanction	Social esteem	Un-/happiness	In-/security	Dis-/satisfaction
No. of instances	87	47	59	56	1	8	1
Percentage of instances	33.6%	18.15%	22.78%	21.6%	0.38%	3.09%	0.38%
Total	259 (100%)						

### Judgment

Most of the instances of judgment were either social sanction: propriety (4.6), or social esteem: capacity (4.7):

4.6 Only a few hours earlier the radio had stepped up attacks on western leaders and called up Syrians to march on the enemy and crush the imperialists (*TT* June 10, 1967\_2).

4.7 Israel claimed early today that in a day of battling with the combined forces of the Arab nations, its troops had captured the key town of El Arish in north Sinai and were advancing towards Abu Gela (*TT* June 5, 1967).

The former is a negative appraisal of Damascus radio, and the way they apparently were spreading propaganda, and the latter is a positive evaluation of the capacity of the Israeli forces.

Most of these judgments were also invoked, meaning that the evaluations were more or less implicitly stated. Consider by way of example (4.8) and (4.9):

- 4.8 Moreover, on the political plane it is still hard to see what Israel's objectives are (*TT* June 5, 1967).
- 4.9 It is a remarkable reversal in the formerly obdurate attitude of the Soviet Union which had been espousing the Arab cause to the extent of refusing to accept anything less than a cease-fire coupled with a call on all the parties concerned to withdraw to the positions held by them on June 4, when the present hostilities broke out [...] During the past two days there have been protracted and patient talks in private between the 15 members of the council with Lord Caradon (Britain) and Mr. Arthur Goldberg (United States) doing their outmost to persuade Dr. Federenko to see the need for stopping the fighting unconditionally (*TT* June 7, 1967).

In (4.8), the entire phrase “hard to see what Israel’s objectives are” suggests a questioning of the country’s motives. Most of the article (June 5, 1967) concerns itself with Israel’s capacity as a military force, but the journalist evaluates implicitly what the country’s real intentions are, thus suggesting an evaluation of negative judgment: propriety/ veracity. (4.9) is in my analysis labeled as an invoked instance of judgment: propriety. It is, however, difficult to ascertain whether it is meant in a negative or positive way. The fighting between the two parties is generally depicted as negative, thus the Soviet Union now wanting a cease-fire could be regarded as a move in the positive direction. However, the word “remarkable” (which can be understood as positive) still seems to be intended ironically, especially when seen together with the last part of the example that advances a need for persuasion with regards to the Soviet representative, and a possible cease-fire, implying a negative judgment of him and Soviet’s intentions. At the same time, the journalist manages to implicitly evaluate British and US efforts in a positive light.

When the journalists portray somebody else’s views, for instance through direct or indirect speech, the inscribed attitude is more common, such as in examples (4.10) and (4.11):

- 4.10 The Arab countries were upholding a ‘just cause’ and the socialist countries were fully on their side, it said (*TT* June 10, 1967\_1).
- 4.11 Far from being an attempt to normalize the situation, the Washington talks were aimed at aggravating it (*TT* June 6, 1967\_1).

Furthermore, when they present something more generally, the source of attitude is not directly specified:

- 4.12 Although it is recognized that his soldiers put up a fierce fight, nevertheless he is associated with defeat (*TT* June 10, 1967\_2).
- 4.13 Of the five motions still before the council, the only forward-looking one is that tabled by the United States last Thursday (*TT* June 12, 1967).

Neither of the examples have a specified source, although it is implied by the rest of the news article that the appraisal in (4.12) comes from an external source, whereas (4.13)'s appraisal seems to originate from the journalist himself. Authorially sourced explicit judgment occurs less frequently in political coverage, and supports Martin and White's findings (2005: 167) that inscribed judgments are often externally sourced. However, unlike Martin and White's (2005: 169-170) notion of the journalistic author only deploying judgment values of social sanction in attributed contexts, my findings from the 1967 articles suggest that the journalists are using this judgment type as well, only it is expressed implicitly.

### **Appreciation**

The instances of appreciation in the text are in accordance with Martin and White's study (2005: 174), indicating that authorially sourced appreciation is not subject to the same degree of curtailment as applied to inscribed judgment. These types of instances in my material are more or less all social valuations such as example (4.14) and (4.15):

- 4.14 An Arab oil boycott would hit Britain more than the United States (*TT* June 7, 1967).
- 4.15 Doomed to failure (*TT* June 12, 1967).

(4.14) is an invoked negative appreciation of the oil boycott, signaled by the verb "hit", implying that the oil boycott would have negative consequences for the UK. (4.15) is a negative inscribed appreciation: social valuation, referring to the cease-fire, because of the negative connotations of the items "doomed" and "failure". As can be seen from both of these examples, the appraised items are "things" rather than humans or countries, thus they are classified under the category appreciation. However, as mentioned with regards to borderline cases of judgment and appreciation, in section 2.3.1, sometimes even countries (although led by people) can be categorized under the category of appreciation:

- 4.16 A Tass report from Cairo tonight said Israel's aim was to provoke a "third state" to support her aggression (*TT* June 6, 1967\_1).

In this case Israel can be seen as an abstract thing, thus negative appreciation, or as a country, consisting of people doing the actions of provoking, thus a negative judgment: social sanction: propriety. Both of these analyses can be viewed as correct, however, the reasoning behind journalists using a country's name as the appraised items, instead of the group of people residing in a particular country, in this case Israelis, is of importance, and will be further discussed in chapter 6.

#### **4.1.2 Positive versus negative attitudes**

As previously mentioned, the topic of war is inherently a negative one, thus it comes as no surprise that most of the attitudes conveyed in the 1967 material are of the negative type. However, looking at the appraised items, we encounter some interesting things. Most of the negatively appraised items were either Arabs (both political leaders as individuals, as well as the various countries) or their forces (example (4.17) and (4.18)).

- 4.17 There is clearly disappointment among Arabs that the battle has ended so quickly, and a number of political leaders came under scrutiny as a result (*TT* June 10, 1967\_2).

- 4.18 Without air cover Egypt's armour would be seriously weakened (*TT* June 5, 1967).

(4.17) not only exemplifies the negative attitudes towards Arabs in general in my material, but also how the journalist speaks on behalf of Arabs, and appraises the Arab leaders negatively. This is further emphasized by the adjective "clearly", which pronounces this particular view, and thus contracts all of the others that may point to otherwise. This may lead a reader to interpret the rest of the negative appraisal as correct, since even the Arabs are evaluating their leaders negatively. (4.18) demonstrates another topic that seems to be very much so at play throughout most of the newspaper material: the various forces' capacity to fight/advance in a battle (further discussed in chapter 6). For the most part, Arab armies are depicted negatively, through descriptions of aircraft losses and destruction of machines, whereas the Israeli army mostly receives positive evaluations, through depictions of its military capacity, see for instance (4.19):

- 4.19 After one day's fighting the Israel armed forces appear to be jubilant tonight (*TT* June 5, 1967).

Most of the journalist's positive appraisal towards the Israeli army is also inscribed, enhancing the positive attitude even further. The negative attitude towards the Arab armies is invoked.

### **Arab and Soviet portrayal**

The Arab media received some blows as illustrated in (4.20):

- 4.20 The attempt will not become any easier by the latest anti-British-mood here, encouraged by Egyptian radio propaganda that British and American forces are helping the Israelis (*TT* June 6, 1967\_2).

This indicates a general negative attitude towards Arab and Soviet media, suggesting that most of it is pure propaganda, constructed to keep their morale up and support the current fighting. The rest of the negative appraisal is turned towards the Soviet Union, and its policies, media and communism in general:

- 4.21 There is no indication of any slackening of the communist campaign, the object of which is apparently to counter the erosion of Russian credit in the Arab world (*TT* June 12, 1967).
- 4.22 It may be that the Russians – who will not want to lose influence here – may recoup with a diplomatic display around the negotiation table (*TT* June 10, 1967\_2).
- 4.23 Many of the photographs from the Middle East and headlines about the crisis which filled the outside world newspapers last week were absent from the Soviet press (*TT* June 6, 1967\_1),
- 4.24 During the last decade many governments of the emerging nations have turned their anti-colonialist efforts towards nationalism, rather than communist policy (*TT* June 6, 1967\_1).

Examples (4.23) and (4.24) are from the same news article, in which most of the other negative appraisals of the Soviet press and communism appear. Although one article is unlikely to be representative of the entire stack of news articles from *TT*, it is still noteworthy since the Soviet is considered as an Arab ally (and can thus be seen together with the rest of

the negative appraisals of Arabs). The ongoing Cold War between the Western super powers (the US and the UK) and the Eastern super power (the Soviet Union) seems to also play a part in all this (see further chapter 6).

### **US and UK portrayal**

Since the thesis concerns itself with British and American media, it is interesting to look at how the US and UK are portrayed in the material. Not surprisingly, both of the countries receive a share of positive attitude, mostly sourcing from the various journalists, but also a few with external sources:

- 4.25 Of the five motions still before the council, the only forward-looking one is that tabled by the United States last Thursday (*TT* June 12, 1967).
- 4.26 During the past two days there have been protracted and patient talks in private between the 15 members of the council with Lord Caradon (Britain) and Mr. Arthur Goldberg (United States) doing their utmost to persuade Dr. Fedorenko to see the need for stopping the fighting unconditionally (*TT* June 7, 1967).
- 4.27 Mr. George Brown, the Foreign Secretary, told the Commons that Britain's concern was not to take sides in the conflict, but to work for an early cease-fire (*TT* June 5, 1967).

(4.25), although explicitly evaluating the American proposal for a peace agreement, can also be said to implicitly positively evaluate the US. This is especially evident when seen in connection with the rest of the article, and the way other countries are portrayed. Consider by way of example (4.28):

- 4.28 Unless the communist countries, headed by Russia, abate their vendetta against Israel, there seems small chance that the American resolution will succeed (*TT* June 12, 1967).

The negative appraisal of Russia (the Soviet Union) and their allies is put up against a positive appraisal of the US and its motions, thus encouraging a polarity of “good” (the US) versus “bad/evil” (the Soviet Union). (4.26) can be seen as a negative appraisal of the Soviet representative, Dr. Fedorenko, and Soviet in general. However, another reading of the example is an implicit positive appraisal of the US and UK. The journalist emphasizes the fact that the meetings were “protracted” and “patient”, and that the persuasion for a cease-fire was coming from the two countries (the US and the UK).

In general, the fact that a party encourages an “end to fighting” is naturally regarded as positive. Additionally, in this example, the US and UK representatives are seen as “patient” and preserving, further enhancing the positive attitude towards the UK and the US. Example (4.27) is also invoked, and Mr. George Brown is identified as the source of the voice. Britain is portrayed as a neutral party, encouraging an immediate cease-fire. In contrast to the portrayal of the Soviet Union and the Arabs, the readers of *TT* get a feeling of Britain as a wise and sensible party, a needed presence in what was perceived as a chaotic geographical area in distress. This is especially evident when seen in relation to the news article’s headline (4.29):

4.29 Israel claims Sinai gains, Egypt’s allies send in their planes, British call for cease-fire (*TT* June 5, 1967).

Israel is here depicted as the claiming party, the Arabs as “warlusting” people, and Britain as the sensible country, encouraging a peaceful solution. The Arabs’ “warlust” is further emphasized in (4.30), by using the expression of “throwing their forces into battle”, indicating the action as being hasty and careless:

4.30 Four nations allied with Egypt-Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Iraq – threw their forces into the struggle (*TT* June 5, 1967).

The negative appraisal of Britain and the US usually comes from external sources, such as the Arab countries and/or their representatives, as well as the Soviet Union:

4.31 Moscow blames Britain and US (*TT* June 6, 1967\_1).

4.32 Arab states launched an oil war against Britain and the United States today after accusing them of intervening in the military conflict with Israel (*TT* June 7, 1967).

Example (4.32) demonstrates the complexity of newspaper language, where the sentence alone can be understood as the Arabs negatively evaluating Britain and the US, by using negative items such as “oil war”, “accusing” and “intervening”, however, the item “accusing” is especially significant. By using this particular verb the journalist distances himself from the statement, and thus devalues the validity of it, which may leave the reader in a state of suspicion as to why the Arab countries are doing what they are doing. This becomes particularly apparent when seen in relation to the article’s main topic, which is British

economical suffering due to a possible oil boycott:

- 4.33 Britain most to lose from boycott (*TT* June 7, 1967).
- 4.34 Britain's reputation may not be very high at the moment, but the United States is seen as the real villain of this particular plot (*TT* June 10, 1967\_2).

Another instance exemplifying negative appraisal of the US and the UK can be seen in (4.34): Here, the journalist is “entertaining” the reader with the notion of Britain having a bad reputation in the Arab states. Although the statement is heteroglossic, due to the modal verb “may” and negation “not”, the source of the attitude is not known. It is nevertheless understood to stem from the Arabs. However tentative the journalist is in the first part of the sentence, he ends it by contracting the statement (signaled by “but”), and carries on in a monoglossic voice, while explaining how the US is the real problem, not the UK. This is of great interest, since the author seems more cautious to criticize the UK, and more straight forward when it comes to criticism of the US. The validity of the Arabs’ notion of British and American intervention is further diminished through examples such as (4.35), where the journalist minimizes the notion of British and American intervention (in the last clause):

- 4.35 Alternatively there is little doubt that the politicians will make much of “British and American intervention”, although not accepted universally as many believe (*TT* June 10, 1967\_2).

### 4.1.3 Engagement

When it comes to engagement and sources from the 1967 material, there is a slight preference for the monoglossic voice overall in the material, with examples such as:

- 4.36 *Israel ground forces began moving* through the streets of the Jordan sector of Jerusalem early today after a night of heavy artillery bombardment (*TT* June 6, 1967\_2).
- 4.37 *The council met* for seven hours on Saturday morning, starting at 4.30 a.m., at the request of Syria and the Soviet Union, and again for five hours on a Soviet initiative the same night, ending at 2.39 a.m. on Sunday morning (*TT* June 12, 1967).

In both of these examples it is quite clear that the journalist is the source of the voice.

However, even a large number of the heteroglossic instances have the journalist as source of



voice. Consider by way of example (4.38) and (4.39):

- 4.38 *Business-men may hope* for a stable period, but they must maintain a balance between business interest and the Arab cause (*TT* June 10, 1967\_2).
- 4.39 *There can be no* finality until it becomes clear whether the Egyptians repair their airfields, or accept the fact that their Air Force is, to all intents out of action (*TT* June 5, 1967).

(4.38) consists of two clauses, both of which are categorized as heteroglossic. The first clause is labeled heterogloss: expand: entertain, due to the modal verb “may”, whereas the second one is labeled heterogloss: contract: disclaim: counter, due to the countering conjunction “but”. The contraction of “hope” indicates uncertainty about the future prospects for the area, and the journalist himself is ascribing to the Arabs the need to maintain this balance in order to achieve peace. In (4.39), we have another example of a journalist giving his own assessment on the situation, by denying the possibility of another voice – a voice that may suggest a finality even without Egypt having taken a stand on its Air Force’s capacity. This suggests that most of the acknowledgement of alternative viewpoints is narrowed down to the journalist himself, which further leads us to question the validity of the propositions made, and the objectivity of the news articles.

As mentioned in section 4.1.2, most of the negative attitude towards the US and the UK is sourced externally to either the Arabs or the Russians (seen in examples (4.31) and (4.32)). Further example of a journalist’s external sourcing of attitude can be seen in (4.40):

- 4.40 *Dr. Fedorenko said*: “The representative of Tel Aviv has had enough time before the council and it would not be a great loss if he refrained from further statements and continuation of proven lies.” [...] *He then called on Mr. Rafael who started by saying* that the Soviet representative “spoke like a prosecutor at the Moscow trials in the 1930s” (*TT* June 12, 1967).

The article where example (4.40) can be found, depicts how the UN rejected a move to condemn Israel. Here the journalist presents the views (through direct and indirect speech) of both the Soviet Union (Dr. Nikolai Fedorenko), and Israel (Mr. Gideon Rafael). The attitudes conveyed are quite strong and negative from both parties, but externally sourced, and thus the journalist does not have to take any responsibility for them. This can be perceived as a general trend throughout most of the material, and is regarded a common journalistic norm (Martin and White 2005; Manoff and Schudson 1986; White 2012). Most of the heteroglossic

instances are of the acknowledging type, so that even though the journalists do not necessarily agree with the propositions made, they do not distance themselves from the statements. This may have an important effect on the reader. Consider by way of example (4.41):

- 4.41 *The observers point out* that an attempt by President Nasser to return to the status of 1956 was in Russian eyes an acceptable method of harassing the western powers (TT June 6, 1967\_1).

Example (4.41) demonstrates a heteroglossic voice of acknowledgement, signaled by the phrase “point out”, where the external source is allowed to criticize the both President Nasser and the Soviet Union. Although the verb phrase “point out” is neutral in nature, the amplitude found in “harassing” implies the journalist taking sides with the alternative voice. This example also illustrates a more explicit negative appraisal of the Russians, and is therefore unsurprisingly externally sourced.

We also find a few examples of proclamation of various alternative voices. One of them can be seen in example (4.35), where the journalist is pronouncing the notion of Arab politicians making much of “British and American intervention”, signaled by “alternatively there is little doubt”. And we even find some that affirm (4.42) and others that endorse (4.43) the alternative views:

- 4.42 [...] *and in the circumstance it was understandable* that no statement was issued from the Foreign Office (TT June 10, 1967\_1).
- 4.43 *Already in 1964 Mr. Khrushchev showed his irritation* with the Arab trend towards nationalism rather than Communism (TT June 6, 1967\_1).

In (4.42), we see that affirming is used to show alliance with the alternative voice, i.e. the journalist agrees with the decision of not issuing a statement, expectedly, perhaps, due to the alignment being with his country’s Foreign Office. (4.43) is an interesting example of sourcing a proposition to an external voice, in this case Mr. Khrushchev, but still construing it as valid or undeniable. The fact that it is the Soviet President criticizing Arabs and their ideology makes this an excellent way of portraying discord between two apparent allies, and at the same time implicitly evaluating both parties negatively (see further section 4.3).

Even when a journalist construes a dialogistic backdrop for alternative value positions, the instances of contractions are still directed towards excluding certain

alternatives, and/or constraining the scope of them. Therefore, although many of the instances are labeled “heterogloss”, they do not necessarily allow alternative voices or interpretations. The findings suggest that the journalists in 1967 were more open towards Israeli and British/American sources, than to Arab and Soviet ones (further discussed in 4.3).

#### 4.1.4 Graduation

Most of the graduation instances are of the force type, used to raise or enhance either quality, as in words such as “occupied”, “thunderous” and “aggression”, number, as in items such as “286”, “any” and “20”, and processes, such as “knocked out” and “crush”. Consider by way of example (4.44) and (4.45):

- 4.44 The statement apparently not signed by Rumania accused the United States of collusion with Israel in her **“aggression”** (TT June 10, 1967\_1).
- 4.45 Listing the enemy losses, General Rabin said the Egyptian Air Force lost **286** aircraft, Syria **52**, Jordan **27** and Iraq **9** (TT June 5, 1967).

In (4.44), “aggression” is an enhancement of quality, a quite forceful statement used to condemn Israel and the United States. The journalist probably kept the quotation marks/ scare quotes, so as to distance himself from the proposition. In (4.45), we find an enhancement of quantification. By quantifying the numbers of losses, in form of aircraft, one illustrates how extensive the losses were.

There are significantly fewer instances of the “focus type” in the 1967 material. Most of the instances are analyzed under focus: thing: specificity (example (4.46)), however, we do find one example of the “authenticity type”, here seen in example (4.47).

- 4.46 It heard **heated** invective by the communist and Arab representatives directed **mainly** against Israel (TT June 12, 1967).
- 4.47 [...] but the United States is seen as the **real villain** of this particular plot (TT June 10, 1967\_2).

In (4.46), the sharpening contributes to the understanding that the “heated invective” was mainly turned against Israel, i.e. the graduation is revealed through the specification of the direction of the invective. In (4.47), apart from “villain”, which in itself is an intensification of quality, we find the isolated item “real”, here amplifying “villain”.

Considering that the paragraph the example is taken from depicts allegations directed towards the UK and the US, it is perhaps no surprise that *TT*, being a British newspaper, would like to place the blame solely on the US.

## 4.2 Results of the analysis of the material from *TT* 2014

### 4.2.1 Attitude

Most of the findings in the *TT* 2014 material depict negative attitude. Obvious ones are evaluations of the war and conflict in general, which correspond with the findings in the 1967 material. An overview of the various attitudes is displayed in table 4.2.

**Table 4.2: An overview of the attitudes revealed in the material from *TT* from 2014.**

	Attitude						
	Appreciation		Judgment		Affect		
	Valuation (social)	Social significance	Social sanction	Social esteem	Un-/happiness	In-/security	Dis-/satisfaction
No. of instances	85	54	80	38	6	22	1
Percentage of instances	29.7%	18.9%	27.97%	13.3%	2.1%	7.7%	0.35%
Total	286 (100%)						

### Judgment

The various attitudes conveyed are for the most part either judgment or appreciation. Of the former we find mostly instances of social sanction: propriety, but also quite a few of social esteem: capacity. These are respectively exemplified in (4.48) and (4.49).

4.48 Israel blamed Hamas for the murders of the teenagers (*TT* July 9, 2014).

4.49 Zehava Galon, the leader of the liberal Meretz party, called the truce “a strategic failure on the part of Netanyahu, who went to war without clear objectives and ended it by delivering a tremendous achievement to Hamas (*TT* August 28, 2014).

(4.48) is a typical example of the negative attitude of judgment: social sanction: propriety, which is in this case also inscribed. Thus the evaluation of the appraised is explicit. (4.49), exemplifying judgment: social esteem: capacity, is also inscribed. Here, we find an evaluation of Israel’s prime minister, and his capacity as a leader.

Instances of invoked judgment: social propriety can be seen in the following examples:

- 4.50 Israel has destroyed more than 120 Palestinian homes in Gaza in airstrikes over the past four days (*TT* July 11, 2014).
- 4.51 Hamas upped the rhetoric further yesterday, warning that fighters would fire at Tel Aviv's international airport. A rocket also caused the first serious Israeli casualty of the conflict, one of eight people hurt when a fuel tanker was hit at a service station in Ashdod, 20 miles north of Gaza (*TT* July 11, 2014).

(4.50) illustrates how seemingly objective reporting can still carry evaluation, in this case, negative appraisal of Israel. The word “destroyed” in relation with “homes” evokes connotations of Israel doing something unethical, as the word “home” implies residence for civilians, families and so forth. (4.51) is taken from the same news article, and shows how the journalists evaluate the opposite party of the conflict, Hamas. Words such as “warning”, “fighters” and “fire” evoke connotations of negative appraisal. The reason why this particular example has been labeled judgment: social sanction: propriety is due to the context of the article, as well as the social context of the conflict. Although the article's headline “Israel vows to carry on air strikes until Hamas is crushed” suggests an overall negative appraisal of Israel, due to the intensified word “crushed”, Hamas also receives negative evaluation, here signaled by the phrase “the first serious Israeli casualty”. However, considering that this one incident on the Israeli side gets almost as much attention as significantly higher numbers of casualties on the Palestinian side, it may be a sign of journalistic fear of being biased, so that even unproportioned incidents get the same amount of attention/article space.

### **Appreciation**

The instances of appreciation are concerned with social valuation of the conflict/war in general (example (4.52)), the cease fire/peace agreement (example (4.53)), the various policies regarding the issue (example (4.54)), the attacks and airstrikes (example (4.55)), and possible UN-related investigations (example (4.56)).

- 4.52 More than 1,500 Palestinians, mostly civilians, and 63 Israeli soldiers and three Israeli civilians have been killed since the conflict erupted (*TT* August 1, 2014).
- 4.53 Mr Abbas said yesterday that the core issues underlying the conflict had yet to be addressed in the absence of a comprehensive peace deal between the Israelis and the Palestinians (*TT* August 28, 2014).

- 4.54 “My view has been that our policy in relation to the Middle East peace process generally but more recently our approach and language during the current crisis in Gaza is morally indefensible, is not in Britain’s national interest and will have a long-term detrimental impact on our reputation internationally and domestically,” she wrote (*TT* August 5, 2014).
- 4.55 The World Health Organisation said that the change last week from an air campaign to a ground offensive had greatly accelerated the casualty rate as well as the numbers displaced (*TT* July 23, 2014).
- 4.56 “The predictable result will be the libeling of Israel and even greater use of human shields by Hamas,” a statement from the prime minister’s office said (*TT* July 23, 2014).

Parts of (4.54) can also be seen as a borderline case between appreciation and judgment, because “she”, identified as Lady Warsi, refers to the policy and government conduct as “morally indefensible”; thus the first part of the sentence is categorized under judgment: social sanction: propriety/appreciation: valuation (social), and the rest as appreciation: valuation (social).

### **Affect**

There are fewer instances of the affect category than of the former two. Both the insecurity and unhappiness type occur, however, more of the insecurity kind than the unhappiness one. This is probably due to the subject being war. Of affect: insecurity we find examples such as:

- 4.57 Sirens sounded across Israel for a fourth day, sending people scurrying for bomb shelters (*TT* July 11, 2014).
- 4.58 Besieged Palestinian civilians waved white flags from the windows of their homes yesterday, begging for rescue after Israeli tanks began a fresh cross-border offensive in southern Gaza (*TT* July 23, 2014).

Both of the examples illustrate connotations of fear and insecurity through images such as “sirens sounded”, “scurrying for bomb shelters” and “begging for rescue”. They are also examples of how journalists portray the situation on both sides through depictions of feelings of fear and insecurity (affect). Instances of affect: unhappiness can be found in examples such as (4.59) and (4.60):

- 4.59 Israeli leaders were infuriated by the ban saying it “gave terrorism a prize” and demanding it should be revoked (*TT* July 23, 2014).
- 4.60 In her resignation letter, posted on her Twitter page, Lady Warsi hinted that she was unhappy at the impact of changes in last month’s Cabinet reshuffle – including Mr Hague’s replacement at the Foreign Office (*TT* August 5, 2014).

(4.59) shows an inscribed evaluation of the American ban on airlines flying to Ben Gurion airport, by the use of affect: unhappiness. This can be seen directly through the use of the verb “infuriated”, directly displaying unhappiness in the form of anger. The word “terrorism” obviously also evokes feelings of insecurity, but in relation with the phrase “should be revoked”, the identified appraiser, here Israeli leaders, make a negative evaluation of the abstract thing, “ban”, and thus the clause is also analyzed as appreciation: social valuation.

(4.60) illustrates affect a little differently. The phrase “Lady Warsi hinted that she was unhappy” is of course an inscribed evaluation of unhappiness, with regards to the Tory Party, however the items “reshuffle” and “replacement” may also evoke feelings of unhappiness, but these are more invoked, and can only be fully understood in relation to the rest of the sentence. (4.59) consists of a longer sentence, displayed in (4.65), where we see how the rest of the evaluation of the ban is portrayed through appreciation: social valuation.

### 4.2.2 Engagement

Most of the engagement category deployed in this material is the heterogloss one, of which expand: attribute: acknowledge is the one most widely used, as seen in example (4.61):

- 4.61 *Binyamin Netanyahu, the prime minister, said* that his security cabinet had agreed to step up military operations after a day when militants in Gaza fired rockets at the reactor where Israel’s nuclear weapons are believed to be made (*TT* July 9, 2014).

In (4.61), we see the use of the “neutral” verb “said”, a common attribution to external sources, and thus it is analyzed as an instance of acknowledgement, because the journalist does not show any disalignment with the alternative voice. Prime Minister Netanyahu is allowed to implicitly evaluate Hamas negatively, through phrases such as “militants in Gaza”, where the word “militant” itself means “having or showing a desire or willingness to

use strong, extreme and sometimes forceful methods to achieve something”, and an/a “aggressively active” person or party.<sup>33</sup>

Of the expanding type, we also find instances of distance such as (4.62) and (4.63):

4.62 *The two sides have accused* each other of violating peace agreements (TT August 1, 2014).

4.63 *The council’s last investigation of Israel’s conduct in Gaza, by the Goldstone commission, harshly criticized Israel’s conduct during the 2008 Operation Cast Lead, and accused it of several breaches of international law – badly damaging its image internationally* (TT July 23, 2014).

Both of the examples illustrate distance from the alternative voice, through the choice of reporting verb, such as “accused” and “criticized”. In (4.62), the reporting verb is even intensified with the premodifier “harshly”, identified in my framework under the category of graduation. By deploying these verbs the journalists are, although letting other voices in, still keeping a distance to the voices’ various value positions.

Although few in number, there are occurrences of the contracting category as well. Some of the most common ones are identified through conjunctions such as “but” (example (4.64)) and “however” (example (4.65)):

4.64 “In my heart I think this is not a good idea,” Mr Bouskila said. ”*But* this is something that must be solved...” (TT July 11, 2014).

4.65 *However, the European Aviation Safety Agency told* airlines under its jurisdiction yesterday that it had made “strong recommendation to avoid until further notice Tel Aviv Ben Gurion” (TT July 23, 2014).

In (4.64), the former mayor of the border town of Israel, Sderot, is giving an evaluation of the entire situation in the area, stating that “something is not working”. He goes on to say that he does not think the war and Israeli offence is a good idea, but counters that later, as signaled by “but”, by implying that it may be the only way for reaching a permanent solution. (4.65), signaled by “however”, is a countering of Israel’s infuriation of the American ban on flying to Ben Gurion airport, by adding that even the European Aviation Safety Agency had advised to do so. This weakens the Israeli statement, and the demand for revoking the ban.

Less obvious instances of contraction are seen in (4.66) and (4.67):

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<sup>33</sup> Merriam-Webster online dictionary: <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/militant>.



- 4.66 *Hamas neither confirmed nor denied Lieutenant Goldin's capture, but blamed the Israelis for breaking the truce by launching the assault. The group later said that it had no information on his whereabouts (TT August 1, 2014).*
- 4.67 *Nahum Barnea, one of the country's most popular columnists, wrote: "The Israelis expected a leader, a statesman who knows what he wants to achieve, someone who makes decisions and engages in a sincere and real dialogue with his public. They received a seasoned spokesperson and very little beyond that" (TT August 28, 2014).*

In both of the examples I was compelled to include longer stretches of text, in order to demonstrate the contraction and countering of value positions. For instance, in (4.66), although the journalists explicate how Hamas neither confirmed nor denied the capture, they counter this in the following clause, by saying that Hamas blamed Israel for launching the assault, and it is thus implied that they might have had something to do with it. However, in the following sentence, this is again countered by using the phrase "the group later said", thus suggesting that Hamas denied their involvement. Interestingly enough, the source of voice is quite vague. The first clause is in my analysis attributed to the journalists, simply because of the statement "neither confirmed nor denied" suggests that it is the journalists' evaluation of the apparent silence from Hamas' side. The following two clauses are attributed to Hamas, but the verb "blamed" denotes a distance from the statement on the journalists' part, thus it is difficult to trust both the position, and the source. Considering that the entire issue is portrayed as a complex relationship between the two fighting parties, the reader may find it hard to believe that Hamas did not have anything to do with it, especially since the journalists have put Hamas' trustworthiness into question in the previous clause.

(4.67) is another interesting example of rhetoric. Here, Nahum Barnea first describes the Israelis' expectations of a leader and statesman, all of which are positive, and then counters the whole proposition by saying that the leader in mind, Binyamin Netanyahu, is none of the above. The countering is here implied, but understood through the fronting of what the people wanted, compared to what they received.

There are also a few examples of the contracting deny, as seen in (4.68) and (4.69):

- 4.68 *[...] is not in Britain's national interest...(TT August 5, 2014).*
- 4.69 *While southern Lebanon is a stronghold of Hezbollah, the Shia militia were not thought to be responsible (TT July 11, 2014).*

(4.68) is a clear example of denying other voices and positions by using negation after the verb. The addresser, Lady Warsi, is disclaiming other ways of looking at the current government's policy, other than it being detrimental for Britain's interests. (4.69) is a little more tricky, in that the negation is placed in the phrase "were not thought", a phrase that in itself may signal hesitation. Again, having the negation present, the journalists are still considered to be contracting the position and alternative voices, only in this case a little more hesitantly.

All of the previously mentioned examples are a part of the contracting: disclaim category, but we do also, although significantly less, encounter examples such as (4.70) and (4.71), which belong to the proclaim: pronounce and/or proclaim: concur category.

4.70 *"Of course, we believe that Israel has the right to defend itself,"* Mr Cameron said (TT August 5, 2014).

4.71 *There are believed to have been around 600 rocket attacks against Israel* (TT July 11, 2014).

In (4.70), we find an example of proclaim: concur, signaled by "of course", followed by proclaim: pronounce, signaled by "we believe". Any other voices and value positions on Israel's actions are firmly disclaimed, and the validation for defense is pronounced and highlighted by Britain's prime minister. What effect this has on the readers, and where this fits in the broad perspective of press politics and ideology, is further discussed in chapter 6. (4.71) is another example of pronouncing a statement, here by giving the number of rocket attacks against Israel. Although one assumes that the journalists are cooperating with reliable sources, sentences such as these are interesting, precisely due to the lack of attribution. Who believes or confirms that there have been around 600 attacks? With examples such as (4.71), one is left to source them to the journalists themselves, especially since they use verbs such as "believe", that can both be understood as confirming, and as vague and distancing. If you believe that something has happened, do you also have facts to back that up? This is particularly important, since most of the other numbers and "facts" are sourced and attributed externally.

The monoglossic voice is realized through the use of phrasing that intrinsically shows no recognition of dialogistic alternatives. Common examples for the 2014 material are illustrated in example (4.72) and (4.73):

- 4.72 *Foreign Office minister Baroness Warsi resigns over Gaza policy (TT August 5, 2014).*
- 4.73 *For the first time Hamas fired Syrian made M-302 rockets that are more accurate and have a longer range than models used in previous conflicts (TT July 9, 2014).*

In (4.72), we are dealing with the headline of a news article about Lady Warsi's resignation from the post as minister in the Foreign Office, as well as the minister for faith and communities, due to what she considers to be a "morally indefensible" Middle East policy (previously discussed in section 4.2.1). This is a case of clear monoglossic voice, where the journalist is simply reporting on what has happened. There are no instances or items of so-called value laden words, and thus no attitude. This can be seen as an example of objective hard news reporting (Bell 1996). (4.73) is also analyzed as monoglossic, but in this example we have an instance of inscribed positive attitude of Hamas' capability as a military force. This goes to show that even seemingly objective reporting can, through the use of the monoglossic voice, portray negative or positive appraisal. Whether it was truly the journalists' intention to do so, or what the desired effect really was, is obviously debatable. On one hand, we can argue that they are simply stating facts about Hamas' rockets and their accuracy. On the other hand, the effect that such a phrasing has on the readers is one that sees Hamas as a growing force that now possesses more powerful weapons, without giving them any alternative viewpoints. Placed in the social context that the conflict is a part of, including media's establishment of Hamas as a militant, terrorist group, even this seemingly objective portrayal of the group's military force (positive appraisal of its capacity) has the ability to raise anxiety and fear in the readers. The sentence may thus infer questions and implications of the imaginable actions that a "terrorist group" can do with these "accurate" and "long-ranging" rockets.

### 4.2.3 Graduation

Not surprisingly, the most common way of graduating the attitudes conveyed is through the use of intensification such as (4.74), and quantification such as (4.75) and (4.76):

- 4.74 The offensive, which began on Tuesday, marks the **most serious** outbreak of hostilities between Hamas and Israel since their **eight-day** war at the end of 2012, after which Hamas **mostly** observed a ceasefire (TT July 9, 2014).

4.75 Those who escaped Khuzaa described **bodies littering the streets** as tanks and helicopters **pounded** the village (*TT* July 23, 2014).

4.76 **More than 1,500** Palestinians, **mostly** civilians, and **63** Israeli soldiers and **three** Israeli civilians have been killed since the conflict erupted (*TT* August 1, 2014).

In (4.74), “most serious” and “mostly” are common examples for force: intensification: quality, within the category of graduation. This is an inscribed evaluation of the conflict, where the journalists intensify the evaluation of the outbreak through the phrase “most serious”. The phrase “eight-day” is an example of force: quantification: extent, and describes the duration of the war in 2012. However, along with the following identified item of graduation, “mostly”, it adds to the intensification of the current outbreak. In (4.75), we see an interesting use of the rhetorical device of metaphor (Richardson 2007: 66-67; Martin and White 2005: 64), “bodies littering the streets”. The term “littering”, mostly found in the context of trash adds to the intensification of the horrific pictures and encounters that the people present were met with. The other item identified, “pounded”, is also analyzed as an infused intensification, as the word is more emotive than for instance the synonyms “stroke” and “hit”. The language here is quite graphic, enabling the reader to imagine the situation referred to in the news article. Both of these items are analyzed as force: intensification: process, due to them referring to ongoing actions/states. This is also an example of what Martin and White (2005: 64) refer to as a provoked meaning, i.e. where the text provokes an evaluation through the use of a metaphor. The graduation items, which are also identified as items of attitude, intensify the negative appraisal of the ground invasion of Gaza, and simultaneously encourage the reader to be “disgusted” by the results of the attack (more on alignment/disalignment in section 4.3). (4.76) contains items mostly labeled as quantification: number, i.e. the graduation is put forth through the counting and numbering of victims and targets, in order to enhance the implicit negative evaluation of the conflict in general.

There are a few instances of the sub-category of focus as well, although this category is rarer than the force one. Some of the most common examples of focus are displayed in example (4.77) and (4.78):

4.77 The **fresh violence** at Khuzaa took place as John Kerry, the US secretary of state, flew to Israel on an unannounced visit to meet Israeli and Palestinian officials in an effort, with Ban Ki Moon, the UN secretary general, to broker a ceasefire (*TT* July 23, 2014).

- 4.78 Hamas has been **trying to seize** an Israeli soldier for the past three weeks...hoping to repeat the 2006 capture of Gilad Schalit, who was held for five years and eventually swapped for more than 1,000 Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails (*TT* August 1, 2014).

The word “fresh” in (4.77) is a good example of focus: thing: specificity, where the journalists are, as mentioned in section 2.3.3, making something non-gradable gradable, with regards to the violence at hand being new. Although the term “fresh” can also be understood as an intensified isolated quality of the inherently negative word such as “violence”, I have chosen to analyze it as focus, precisely due to the fact that we are in this case not dealing with a quality, but rather a premodifier that explains when the new violence took place, i.e. after the calling for a truce. Although Martin and White (2005: 139) note that instances of sharpening are often associated with positive attitudinal assessment, while instances of softening often flag negative assessment. The case of “fresh violence” here is one that Martin and White (*ibid*) would most likely refer to as an attitudinal term, since the word “violence” is inherently a negative one, and thus the item “fresh” raises and sharpens the negative term. They (*ibid*: 139) state that the rhetorical effect of this is to “indicate maximal investment by the authorial voice in the value position being advanced” and hence align the reader with this particular value position. In the case of (4.77), the value position being advanced is one of a negative appraisal of the ground offensive of Gaza. (4.78) is an example of a softening term for the process of seizing. Martin and White (*ibid*: 139) note that when the softened term is negative, the effect is to “indicate lessening of the speaker/writer’s investment in the value position”, and thus maintain some sort of solidarity with those who hold contrary views. With regards to (4.72) I would argue that it is a case of distancing by the journalist, as well as an explanation for the reasoning behind Israel’s actions. In the grander scale of things, the mere statement of Hamas “trying to seize” an Israeli soldier, suggests that Hamas is both capable and willing to do the same thing again, which is confirmed by mentioning similar past happenings. Therefore, although we can argue that the journalists may be showing solidarity with contrary views (of Hamas not necessarily having done so), this is countered in the following clauses, when they exemplify previous incidents of similar events. The importance of sharpening/softening becomes clearer in cases such as (4.79):

- 4.79 Fifty days of fighting between Israel and Hamas ended on Tuesday night with an Egyptian-brokered deal that made no mention of the demilitarization of the Gaza Strip – **one of the key** conditions that the Israeli prime minister had set for calling off the offensive (*TT* August 28, 2014).

The term “one of the key” sharpens the importance of the conditions that were not addressed, and thus intensifies the negative appraisal of Netanyahu’s capacity as prime minister.

### **4.3 Discussion and implications of the findings**

After having shown how the various categories of the Appraisal framework are utilized as rhetorical devices, and how they unfold throughout the news articles from both 1967 and 2014, I will now turn to the possible implications and interpretations that the various portrayals may have.

#### **4.3.1 Political interests**

As mentioned in chapter 1, Britain had many political and economic interests in the area of Israel and Palestine in 1967, among which oil was highly important, exemplified above in (4.14) and (4.33), and in:

4.80 Kuwait is Britain’s single oil provider, supplying 23 per cent of total British imports (*TT* June 7, 1967).

It is natural that the war and fighting would be of importance to the country, when some of their political and economic interests might be affected by the outcome of it. This means that it was most likely in Britain’s interest to get a quick resolution to the conflict, and continue maintaining the relationship it had to some of the Arab countries (its oil suppliers). However, as noted in section 1.1.2, the British government was at the time led by Harold Wilson, a strong Israel supporter, who regardless of the possible negative outcomes, and proclamations of neutrality, continued to commit to Israel’s independence and security. In reality, this meant that Israel, although being “warned” not to occupy any more land, was not directly prohibited from doing so either, a notion that the lack of negative and the obvious present positive appraisal of Israel in the newspaper implies.

The 1967 material reveals both explicit and implicit negative evaluations of the countries and people in the Middle East. This is seen through examples such as (4.81) and (4.82):

4.81 A mob of Arab demonstrators set the United States embassy on ablaze this morning (*TT* June 7, 1967).

4.82 The attempt will not become any easier by the latest anti-British mood here, encouraged by Egyptian radio propaganda that British and American forces are helping the Israelis (*TT* June 6, 1967\_2).

In the first one, we see that Arabs are directly identified as a “mob”, thus negatively evaluated, whereas the second one illustrates a more implicit negative evaluation through depictions of “Egyptian radio propaganda” (implying moral flaws) and “anti-British mood” (playing on the readers feelings, seeing that the readers themselves are British).

Contrastively, when the journalist or the UK/the US can be identified as the source, both of the countries are mostly evaluated positively, in what seems to be a defense against the negative appraisal coming from the other parties (see section 4.1). Naturally, considering that *TT* is a British newspaper, Britain is in focus. The positive evaluations are mostly invoked, with examples such as:

4.83 Mr Brown burns midnight oil (*TT* June 10, 1967\_1).

(4.83) relates how the Foreign Secretary, Mr Brown, is working very hard on Middle East affairs, thus reflecting positively on Britain in general by suggesting that they are truly involved in the process of finding a solution to the conflict. These two evaluating sides confirm the notion of *TT* aligning with the politics at the time.

Along these lines, we also find a predilection for portraying the US in a more negative light than the UK, even though the two countries seemed to be on the same side, and had much the same political interests in the area. This supports the view that newspapers comply with the conventions of their respective countries, and thus tend to appraise their own countries in a more positive light than other countries. If there is some sort of newsworthy wrongdoing with regards to the matter at hand, it seems obvious that both the government and the newspapers would try and attribute this to another party. In the *TT* material, the UK seems to shove this responsibility more or less entirely on to the US, as previously seen in example (4.47).

The news articles from 2014 resemble the ones from 1967 in that the material from both of years contains mostly negative attitude, invoked and inscribed. However, as is discussed below, the various attitudes unfold differently, and have a different focus.

In 2014, the two opposing parties of the conflict are Israel and Hamas, so unlike in 1967, where the newspapers used the generic term “Arabs” for all the various peoples and countries involved in the conflict, the journalists have in 2014 identified a certain group of

people, currently controlling Gaza, as the opposing party to Israel.<sup>34</sup> Israel continues to be referred to in terms of the whole country, although we do find identification of smaller groups and individuals as representatives for the actions of the country. It is, however, important to note that the journalists seldom make a distinction between the country as a whole, and the people leading it, whereas with regards to the people in Gaza and their government, this distinction is made. Consider by way of example (4.84):

4.84 “Israel uses its weapons to defend its civilians,” he added. “ Hamas uses its civilians to defend its weapons” (*TT* July 11, 2014).

Here we see that Israel as a whole is identified as one side, whereas Hamas, the leading government in Gaza, is identified as the other side. This may lead readers to perceive the Israeli side as one unity, civilians, leaders and military alike, while the other side is divided into Hamas (identified as a militant group), and civilians/Palestinians respectively.<sup>35</sup> It is thus acceptable to negatively appraise a group identified both as “terrorists” and “militants”, because they are separated from the civilians they are leading. It should be noted that (4.84) is an example of external attribution, and the source is identified as being Lieutenant-Colonel Peter Lerner, an Israeli military spokesman, which is perhaps predictable, since the first sentence is a positive evaluation of Israel, and a defense of the country’s actions, while the other sentence is a negative appraisal of Hamas. However, this distinction between *country* and *group* representing certain people is evident through the rest of the material, both in attributions, and instances of monoglossic voice, sourced to the journalists themselves:

4.85 By last night, Israel had attacked at least 560 Hamas sites in Gaza while Hamas militants who control Gaza had fired more than 160 rockets at Israel (*TT* July 9, 2014).

(4.85) illustrates the distinction between country and group, and also shows how seemingly objective reporting about two opposing parties carries implicit evaluation of one. In the example, Hamas is identified as a “militant” group that “controls” Gaza, two items that carry negative connotations, and are analyzed as negative appraisal of Hamas. So while the number of Israeli attacks (intensified graduation) in (4.85) is higher than the number of Hamas’ attacks, it is the latter group that is explicitly referred to as militant, and thus this group’s

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<sup>34</sup> Hamas won a decisive majority in the Palestinian Parliament, in January 2006 (Beinin and Hajjar 2014: 15).

<sup>35</sup> This may also be due to the non-recognition of a Palestinian state, seeing that Israel is considered a country, and Palestine/Gaza is not.



attacks may be perceived as more wrong than the other attacks. Having established a notion of “good guys” and “bad guys”, it is easy for the newspaper to continue along these lines. Now, the question is not whether Hamas is a militant group, but rather how *TT* frames the two opponents. If the material portrays Israeli attacks on innocent Palestinian people without many explicit negative evaluations of Israel, and contrastively many explicit negative evaluations of Hamas, what message does that give to the readers? I will argue that once an enemy has been established, e.g. through labels such as “terrorist” and “militants”, the implicit and explicit condemnations of Israeli attacks do not diminish the Israeli justification for acting the way they do.

This brings us to the amount of positive attitudes in the 2014 material. Although there is only a small amount of positive appraisal in general, it is interesting that most of it concerns Israel and its military. About half of the approximately forty instances of positive attitude were directed towards Israel, Israeli army, and their defense system:

4.86 No Israeli casualties have been reported, a source of pride to military crews manning Israel’s Iron Dome defence system, which shot down rockets launched at Tel Aviv for a second day (*TT* July 9, 2014).

4.87 It argues that the dwellings were legitimate military targets because they were occupied by commanders from militant groups, including Hamas and Islamic Jihad, responsible for launching rocket attacks (*TT* July 11, 2014).

(4.86) mostly expresses a positive attitude towards Israel’s military capacity; however, seen in relation with earlier accusations of Hamas using civilians as human shields, the example can also be understood as a positive moral judgment of Israel and its military. (4.87) may also be understood as a positive ethical judgment of the country. It is a positive appraisal of the Israeli attack on Gaza, sourcing from Israel itself, and a justification for the attacks, by using a defense strategy where “enemy groups”, such as Islamic Jihad and Hamas, are identified as targets, i.e. not Palestinians in general. This can be examined in a larger context, such as “New World Order”, where a definition of a moral order is focused on, as seen in (4.85) one side is the “good guys” and the other side is the “bad guys” (Lazar and Lazar 2004). The Israel-Palestine conflict can then be identified as a part of the “war on terror”, and therefore justified through the eyes of the international community.

Positive attitudes towards Hamas were only identified in eight instances. The rest of the positive appraisal is directed to the peace agreement, aspects of the war and to Lady

Warsi. Most of these attitudes are invoked, both when attributed to external sources, and when the journalists themselves are doing the appraising:

4.88 Last month the group claimed to have captured another soldier (*TT* August 1, 2014).

4.89 Last night the Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal called for a truce to allow humanitarian relief into Gaza (*TT* July 23, 2014).

It may be debated whether (4.88) can really be understood as a positive appraisal. I would like to mention again how attitudes unfold dynamically throughout the text, so that a clause such as (4.88) in a discussion of military capacities can be interpreted as a positive evaluation of Hamas, rather than a negative appraisal of their claimed action. The few instances of inscribed positive judgment are directed towards Hamas' military capacity, and may thus in the greater scale of things also be understood as negative appraisal, seeing that the group is constantly referred to as "militant":

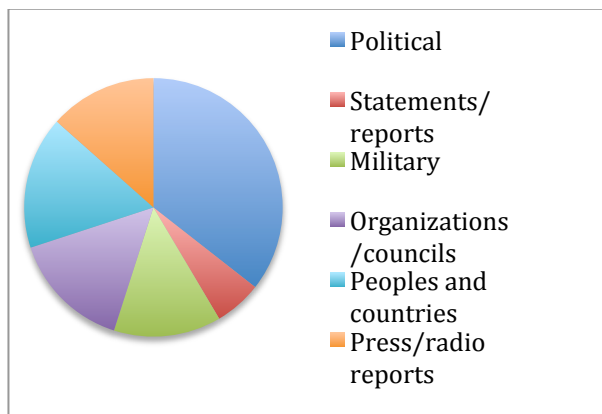
4.90 Two rockets reportedly crashed into the sea off the northern port city of Haifa, the farthest a rocket fired from Gaza has ever travelled (*TT* July 9, 2014).

What all of this suggests is that, although the 2014 material contains more depictions of Palestinian suffering (thus implicitly negative evaluations of Israel), the prevalence for a positive appraisal of Israel, along with the explicitly negative appraisal of Hamas, points to the newspaper not having changed significantly its political leaning from 1967 to 2014. Perhaps unsurprisingly, since the current British government insists on Israel having the right to defend itself. The Middle East region is still of interest in 2014, seeing that the outcomes of the war, as well as the way in which the UK deals with the conflict, might have a long-term effect on the country itself (*TT* August 5, 2014).

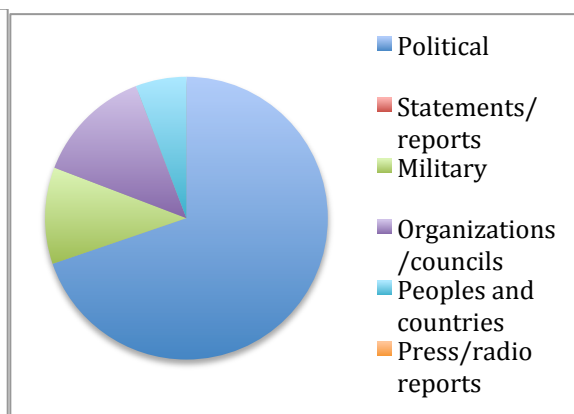
### **4.3.2 What voices are constrained or excluded?**

As mentioned in chapter 2, van Dijk (2011: 203) argues that since news is gathered under the control of editors and majority institutions such as government agencies, groups who do not support the majority's main interest seem to be systematically ignored or attributed less relevance. This can be seen through the engagement category of sources, where both the findings from 1967 and the ones from 2014 illustrate a preference for politically associated sources (see figures 4.1 and 4.2).

**Figure 4.1: Social significance: an overview of the various groups of sources identified in *TT* material from 1967. The division of the pie chart is based on percentages from a total number of 264 identified sources (correlating with the number of clauses analyzed).**



**Figure 4.2: Social significance: an overview of the various groups of sources identified in *TT* material from 2014. The division of the pie chart is based on percentages from a total number of 246 identified sources (correlating with the number of clauses analyzed).**



In fact, there is a significant increase in the use of political sources, of which Western and Israeli make up the most. Moreover, the “statements/reports” category is no longer utilized, suggesting that newspapers nowadays have other (more reliable) sources in the various countries. It also marks a shift towards more human attributions, rather than texts and documents written by people from the particular countries.

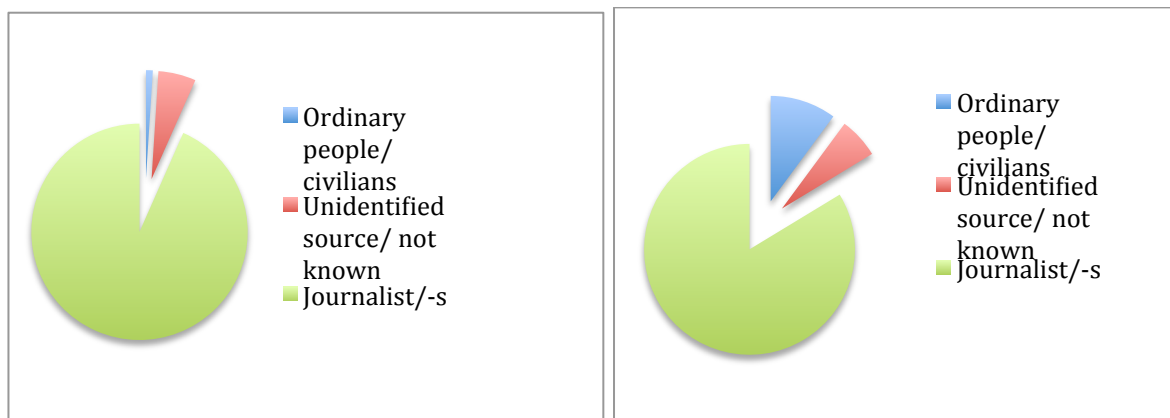
In contrast to the 1967 material, where most of the external sources were either political or military, we now find civilians, identified by name, age etc., UN representatives, as well as various humanitarian organizations. Compare (4.91) with (4.92), (4.93) and (4.94):

- 4.91 *Listing the enemy losses, General Rabin said the Egyptian Air Force lost 286 aircraft, Syria 52, Jordan 27, and Iraq 9 (TT June 5, 1967).*
- 4.92 *“Every day I battle through air strikes and shelling just to get something to eat,” Salma Dowla, 85, said, queueing on crutches for bread (TT August 1, 2014).*
- 4.93 *The figures, Ms Pillay said, cast doubt on Israel’s claim that it had taken all necessary precautions to protect civilians (TT July 23, 2014).*
- 4.94 *The World Health Organization said that the change last week from an air campaign to a ground offensive had greatly accelerated the casualty rate as well as the numbers displaced (TT July 23, 2014).*

This trend is illustrated in figures 4.3 and 4.4. Comparing figures 4.1 and 4.2 with these, we notice a decrease in instances where the journalist(s) is identified as source, and a marked increase in the usage of politically significant sources, in the material from 2014.

**Figure 4.3: No social significance: an overview of the various groups of sources identified in *TT* material from 1967. The division of the pie chart is based on percentages from a total number of 264 identified sources (correlating with the number of clauses analyzed).**

**Figure 4.4: No social significance: an overview of the various groups of sources identified in *TT* material from 2014. The division of the pie chart is based on percentages from a total number of 246 identified sources (correlating with the number of clauses analyzed).**



In accordance with the politics of that time, the analysis of the 1967 material reveal that almost all the external sources were Israeli, British or American (see figure 4.5). Hardly any of them are Arab sources, and the few examples where we do find external attributions to Arabs, they are usually indirect and less focused on than the other ones. In fact, the 1967 material reveals only one direct externally sourced voice of the Arab party (see example (4.95)):

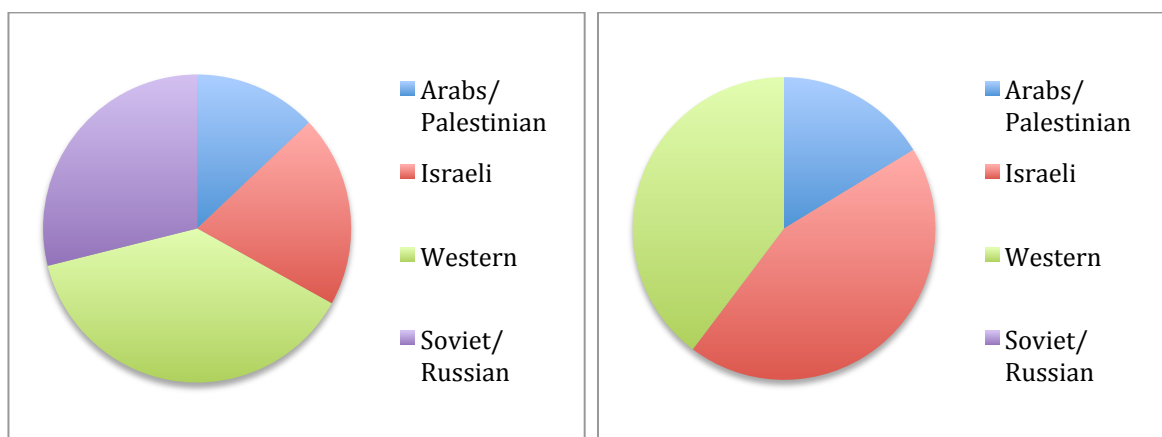
4.95 *As President Senghor of Senegal said: “Our socialism cannot be exactly that of Marx or Engels which was worked out some hundred years ago according to the scientific methods and circumstances of 19<sup>th</sup> century western Europe” (TT June 6, 1967\_1).*

The notion of the “other’s” voice(s) being marginalized or completely ignored is corroborated by Downing’s (1980) study. He found that Third World leaders are seldom allowed to speak for themselves, and often portrayed in condescending ways. Interestingly, in my material, the only instance of Arab direct speech is one implicitly criticizing socialism/communism, thus the heteroglossic voice applied is expanding on the view portrayed, as well as contracting it, in terms of denying the possibility of the Arabs adopting the same system as

the Soviets had at the time. A possible explanation for this could be the need to weaken the other party's military and political strength, and thus enhance one's own position in the conflict. The weaker the cooperation between the Soviet Union and Arabs, the lesser the chance of the union succeeding in their political pursuits. Here we see that the ideological struggle between communism and capitalism is linked to the conflict, a notion that supports the large amount of Soviet sources used in the 1967 material (see figure 4.5). This is further discussed in chapter 6.

**Figure 4.5: An approximate overview of the various sources found in *TT* material from 1967 according to the countries and regions they are from. The division of the pie chart is based on percentages from a total number of 69 externally identified sources, not including "unidentified source/not known" and "journalist/-s".**

**Figure 4.6: An approximate overview of the various sources found in *TT* material from 2014 according to the countries and regions they are from. The division of the pie chart is based on percentages from a total number of 141 externally identified sources, not including "unidentified source/not known" and "journalist/-s".**



Although there is an increase in the usage of Palestinian sources in 2014 (see figure 4.6), figures 4.5 and 4.6 show that the increase in the usage of Israeli sources is much higher than for the Arab/Palestinian ones. Most of these sources are also “socially significant”, and thus considered as more trustworthy than others (Manoff and Schudson 1986: 15-27). It is important to note that all of the “Western” sources are identified as “socially significant”. Obviously, considering that the conflict is happening in a different country, on a different continent, anything else would be unlikely. However, we must keep in mind that these voices, often coming from political backgrounds, often have political motifs. The amount of these has also increased, perhaps suggesting a greater political involvement in the conflict and the area.

The group of “Soviet/Russian” sources is missing in the 2014 material, which supports the notion that the 1967 war was closely identified with the ongoing Cold War (further discussed in chapter 6). As Wolfsfeld (1997) points out, the various newspapers will naturally portray international conflicts as something that will fit the situation/ culture in the respective countries. And since the Cold War was a major concern for Britain in 1967, it is natural that *TT* focused on these matters, and angled the news stories to fit their own concerns. Moreover, the figures raise questions as to the portrayal of the conflict. If Israeli sources make up more than double of the Palestinian sources in 2014, are we then really dealing with a fair and proportioned portrayal? And how does this impact our understanding of the attitudes conveyed? When almost all the attributions from 1967 are either Western or Israeli sourced, with the exception of Soviet attributions, it is evident that one side of the conflict, namely the Arabs, is not represented, which ultimately questions the validity of objective reporting. As is illustrated in section 4.1.3 the issue of refraining from using certain types of sources, may create a very polarized and disproportionate image of the conflict at hand.

However, the engagement category has to be seen in relation to the attitude category, and only then is it possible to speculate about a positive/negative attitude towards Israel/Palestine. Nonetheless, the inclusion of a smaller number of Palestinian/Arab sources in news articles from 1967 suggests stronger ties between Israeli sources and the various journalists of *TT*. Naturally, the easy access to these types of sources compared to the Arab ones, may be a consequence of the strong ties between the British government and the Israeli one. Contrastively, the increased usage of Arab/Palestinian sources in 2014 may be due both to new political relations with the respective countries, as seen in the article about Lady Warsi (*TT* August 5, 2014), and the increased access to Arab/Palestinian areas. Seeing that there is a significant increase in the usage of Israeli sources as well, the findings may suggest that there is little or no worsening of relations with Israel, even though the category of attitude seems to reveal more negative attitude towards Israel in 2014.

# **5 The New York Times 1967 and 2014: results and discussion**

Chapter 5 attempts to portray the various attitudes conveyed in the material from NYT about the Israel-Arab/Palestine conflict in 1967 and 2014. As was the case in chapter 4, the analysis for this chapter is not quantitative as such, but figures are there to indicate certain tendencies. Section 5.1 accounts for the various attitudes, engagement and graduation categories revealed in the 1967 material. Section 5.2 does the same for the 2014 material, before findings are discussed and linked to the social background and political status at the time. Instances of attitude are underlined (see example (5.1)), instances of engagement are in italics (see example (5.32)), and finally instances of graduation are in bold (see example (5.54)).

## **5.1 Results of the analysis of the material from *NYT* 1967**

### **5.1.1 Attitude**

The attitudes conveyed in the 1967 material are mostly negative, and as can be seen in table 5.1 are usually part of the appreciation or the judgment category. Although less frequent, we also find instances of affect. The three categories and the ways in which they are revealed in the material will be discussed in the following sections, starting with affect. Most of the attitudes are of the invoked kind, meaning that they are implicit and mostly hidden, and generally emerge through dynamic influence from the textual surroundings, as well as the aforementioned social background. A full overview of the various attitudes revealed in the material is displayed in table 5.1.

**Table 5.1: An overview of the various attitudes revealed in the material from *NYT* from 1967.**

	Attitude						
	Appreciation		Judgment		Affect		
	Valuation (social)	Social significance	Social sanction	Social esteem	Un-/happiness	In-/security	Dis-/satisfaction
No. of instances	124	51	56	42	6	9	-
Percentage of instances	43%	17.7%	19.44%	14.6%	2.1%	3.13%	-
Total	288 (100%)						

## Affect

Instances of affect can be seen in examples such as the following:

- 5.1 United States officials fear that such conservative Arab states as Jordan, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia might feel compelled to bow to the pressure (*NYT* June 6, 1967).
- 5.2 [...] but they are living under the dominion of fear and as long as the Arabs threaten their existence they either have to deal with the Arabs by force of arms, as they did this week, or seek a balance of power through diplomacy (*NYT* June 7, 1967\_1).
- 5.3 Regardless of how many of the 566,000 on the west bank manage to leave their homes for a second time and cross the Jordan, the Israeli victories have reopened the painful problem of what should be done with these unhappy people (*NYT* June 8, 1967\_2).

Both (5.1) and (5.2) illustrate affect: insecurity through words and phrases such as “fear”, “pressure”, and “threaten their existence”, and are important indications of how affect is used to convey negative feelings about the Arabs to the readers of the newspaper. (5.3) is an interesting example, as it shows how attitudes can be combined, infused in one another, and bring forth various different feelings. For instance, the underlined phrases may be indications of a negative appraisal of the war and the refugee situation, as well as invoked instances of affect: unhappiness, by referring to the Arab refugees as “unhappy people”. The phrase “painful problem” also suggests negative feelings on the Israeli side, seeing that they are the ones having to deal with the refugee situation. Most of the affect instances are invoked, as seen in (5.1) and (5.2), whereas examples of inscribed affect can be seen in (5.3).

## Judgment

Most of the instances of judgment allude to questions of ethical and moral stand, i.e. they are of the social sanction: propriety type:

- 5.4 Soviet threatens to cut Israel tie (*NYT* June 8, 1967\_1).
- 5.5 He said the proposed boycott should continue until the United States and Britain “eliminate all traces of the tripartite aggression against the Arabs” (*NYT* June 13, 1967).
- 5.6 Eleven Jerusalem residents died and more than 80 were injured in the machine-gun, mortar and artillery barrage (*NYT* June 6, 1967).



In (5.4), we find an invoked example of negative appraisal of Israel, this time coming from the Soviet Union, whereas in (5.5), the Arab League's commissioner general, Mohamed Maligoub, makes an invoked negative evaluation of the US and the UK, by accusing the two countries of contributing to the war on Israel's side. (5.6) can either be analyzed as a negative appraisal of appreciation: valuation (social), with "the killing of Jerusalem residents" being identified as the appraised item, or we can understand it as a moral judgment of the killing of innocent people, leading back to the Arabs/Arab forces. It is another one of those borderline cases, where we have to ask ourselves whether the journalist is condemning the action itself or the group responsible for the action. This is obviously a difficult question, but sometimes the answer is not important. If the group responsible for the action(s) is already identified elsewhere in the text, condemning the action itself will inevitably also be a condemnation of the group responsible for it. This is in accordance with previous research (Fairclough 2001, Richardson 2007), stating that such vague writing allows the readers to fill in the blanks themselves. In our case, the blanks suggest that the condemned actions are done by the Arabs, and they must then be condemned too. Appearing significantly less, there are some instances of judgment: social sanction: veracity, i.e. truthfulness:

- 5.7 A Foreign Ministry statement was handed to the Israeli Embassy late in a day of diplomatic consultations between the Soviet leaders and the Arabs, who are reported to be seeking an explanation for Soviet agreements to a cease-fire call that failed to include a demand for an Israeli withdrawal from Arab territory (NYT June 8, 1967\_1).

Here, Soviet intentions and actions are questioned by the Arabs. Thus their trust in the Soviet/Arab cooperation is questioned. This indicates a problematic relationship between the two parties, and is an example of tarnishing any cooperation that the Arabs may have with a super power.

Although appearing less, we do find instances of judgment: social esteem: capacity:

- 5.8 Israeli pilots reported that they had destroyed 374 enemy planes, and that 34 other aircraft probably had been destroyed. The Israelis put their losses at 19 planes (NYT June 6, 1967).
- 5.9 Because pressures within the Arab world, it was pointed out, King Hussein has already been forced to cast his military lot with Mr. Nasser against Israel (NYT June 6, 1967).

In (5.8), the Israeli Air Force is positively evaluated through depictions of having destroyed enemy, i.e. Arab planes. This is further enhanced through items of graduation, in this case force (raise): quantification: number, by mentioning the amount of aircraft taken down (“374” and “34”). Although the Israelis also lost 19 planes, this number is small compared to other numbers, thus the Israeli military capacity is appraised even more positively. The negative evaluations for social esteem: capacity are usually associated with Arab leaders and/or their military. In (5.8), although identified as a positive appraisal of the Israeli Air force, we could simultaneously interpret it as a negative evaluation of the Arab military forces, seeing that the numbering of losses is on their side. (5.9) further explicates the negative appraisal of the Arab capacity, in this case it is the King of Jordan’s capability as a leader that is questioned. A further example of Arabs’ incapability can be seen in examples such as:

- 5.10 He needed the finances of the rich Arab oil states to pay for his adventures and his dreams of Arab unity. He could get their help only by dramatizing their hostility toward Israel, so he ran a kind of “United Arab Appeal” campaign which is now ending in disaster (*NYT* June 7, 1967\_1).

(5.10) is rather complex, in that it consists of several clauses, which can also be analyzed separately. For instance, the first sentence contains wordings such as “adventures” and “dreams of Arab unity”, all of which have positive connotations, and allude both to president Nasser’s capability and to his aspirations as a leader. This may thus be analyzed as both judgment: social esteem: capacity, and as judgment: social sanction propriety, due to “dreams of unity” alluding to positive feelings. However, in the following sentence we find that Nasser could only achieve this through actions that are considered morally wrong (judgment: social sanction: propriety), signaled by the word “dramatizing” and implying that he might have deceived the other Arab countries to get his way, ultimately resulting in a “disaster” (appreciation: valuation (social)). The interpretation of these three clauses portrays Nasser failing as a president and leader, thus judgment: social esteem: capacity.

### **Appreciation**

Most of the instances of appreciation are directed towards abstract things or ideas such as “war”, “Middle East situation”, “victory”, “settlements”, and “attack”. Examples of these, both positive or negative, can be found in:

- 5.11 State Department specialists also see a possibility that some Arab nations will nationalize extensive Western oil interests if the anti-American sentiment goes unchecked or if a seemingly pro-Israeli settlement is imposed upon the Arab nations (*NYT* June 6, 1967).
- 5.12 His speech, made public here, was seen as the opening of a British diplomatic effort to turn the Israeli military victory into a lasting arrangement for peace (*NYT* June 10, 1967).

In (5.11), we find an implicit negative evaluation of Israeli settlements, through the depictions of possible consequences for the American oil market. (5.12), on the other hand, is a positive appraisal of an Israeli military victory, suggesting that it may be the foundation for peace in the area. These are typical examples of what seems to be a recurring trend: when the Arab/Israeli war is scrutinized, the focus is more often American political interests; when the conflict is appraised positively, it is through prospects of having Israel as the foundation for peace. There seems to be very little, if any, focus on Arab interests, or how they perceive possible foundations for peace.

Other occurrences of appreciation are seen through social significance, i.e. highlighting people in powerful and/or special positions. This can be seen in examples (5.13) and (5.14):

- 5.13 The Administration reacted with unusual severity today to the Egyptian charges, which it viewed as a device by President Gamal Abdel Nasser to stir anti-American sentiment in the Arab world (*NYT* June 6, 1967).
- 5.14 The Israeli Chief of Staff, Maj. Gen., Itzhak Rabin, said in a statement issued at a post-midnight news conference in Tel Aviv that Israeli armor had captured El Arish and was moving rapidly along the El Arish- Abu Aweigila road (*NYT* June 6, 1967).

(5.13) illustrates a positive appraisal of the social significance of Nasser, by referring to him as the “President”. Nasser was obviously the President of Egypt at the time, but he is not always referred to as such. Notably, the social significance is tarnished through the negative judgment that Nasser gets by accusing him of stirring “anti-American sentiment”. There are several other examples of positive Arab portrayal being directly followed by negative attitudes. (5.14) is another example of appreciation: social significance, where an Israeli source is identified as “The Israeli Chief of Staff, Maj. Gen.”. The other attitudes identified with this source are also positive ones, referring to the Israeli military and its capacity. This has been noticed as a recurring trend in the material from 1967, and is further discussed in section 5.3.

### 5.1.2 Positive versus negative attitudes

As noted for the *TT* material, there is a great prevalence of negative attitude in the material from 1967. Obviously, any reporting on a conflict or battle will involve items that may trigger negative connotations and feelings of the issue at stake. Examples of negative attitude in the 1967 material can be found in examples (5.15) and (5.16):

- 5.15 There were reports from Israel yesterday that thousands of these refugees on the west bank of the Jordan were trying to flee across the river into unoccupied Jordan. But the 307,000 caught in the Gaza Strip had nowhere to go (NYT June 8, 1967\_2).
- 5.16 Actually, Israel and the Arab states have a similar and fundamental problem from which they are being diverted by their endless and vicious quarrel (NYT June 7, 1967\_1).

Both of the examples evaluate the conflict and the countries involved negatively. However, a significant number of the topics depicted in the material also concern issues such as how the Arab politics might affect US interests (see examples (5.17) and (5.18)), and various evaluations of the Arabs and/or their respective countries (see examples (5.19) and (5.20)):

- 5.17 The Arab oil-producing states were reliably reported today to be attempting to apply indirect economic pressure on the United States and Britain to prevail upon Israel to withdraw her forces from Arab territory (NYT June 13, 1967).
- 5.18 The concern of American officials was that the Egyptian charges would set off anti-American demonstrations in other Arab countries jeopardizing the safety of American citizens and imperiling American investments, particularly in the oil producing (NYT June 7, 1967\_2).
- 5.19 They are a very small country surrounded by a coalition of proud but backward and hostile Arab states (NYT June 7, 1967\_1).
- 5.20 Israel hitherto has taken the position that she cannot, as a matter of national security, admit one million or more hostile Arabs within her borders (NYT June 10, 1967).

(5.17) and (5.18) are understood as implicit negative appraisal of Arabs/Arab countries, as they are exercising “pressure” and giving rise to possible “anti-American demonstrations”. In this sense, the Arabs are the cause of possible consequences for the US, and can therefore be regarded in a negative light. (5.19) and (5.20) are more direct (inscribed) evaluations of Arabs and their countries, through the use of words such as “backward” and “hostile”. In

(5.20), we also find an instance of invoked negative appraisal, “a matter of national security”, which indicates that there is danger associated with letting Arabs into Israel. These last examples illustrate a tendency to shift the angle of the conflict from the happenings themselves towards possible consequences and difficulties for other parties, in this case mostly the US. Furthermore, Arab leaders, especially president Nasser, get their share of negative evaluations. Consider by way of example:

5.21 Nasser’s propaganda after the spectacular defeats of the Arab air forces illustrates the problem. He is blaming them on what he knows to be a fabulous lie- namely, that the American planes of the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean in the battle, and he is doing so because it is intolerable to him to face the fact that this small Jewish minority in the heart of the Arab Middle East has once more defeated his armies, disproved all his propaganda and confounded all his plans (*NYT* June 7, 1967\_1).

Here, Nasser is evaluated both on grounds of his capacity as a leader (“defeats”, “confounded all his plans”), and on the grounds of moral and ethics (“fabulous lie”, “propaganda”). This, when opposed to phrases such as “small Jewish minority”, enhances the negative appraisal of the Arabs, and raises the positive appeal of the Israelis, both on the grounds of military capacity, and also on a more ethical stand, since the Arabs are apparently “lying” and spreading “propaganda”. All of this in turn contributes to a negative image of the Arabs and their respective countries. Negative appraisal of the Arabs is further addressed in section 5.3.

As was the case for *TT* material from 1967, we come across negative evaluations of the Soviet news media in *NYT* as well:

5.22 Controlled Soviet news media have so far not reported rejections of the cease-fire by Syria, Iraq and the United Arab Republic (*NYT* June 8, 1967\_1).

The negative evaluation of judgment: social sanction: propriety can be identified through wordings such as “controlled” and “not reported rejections of the cease-fire”, implying that people in those countries are not getting all the information that they should. Interestingly, unlike in *TT* (section 4.1.2), (5.22) is the only example of a negative evaluation of the Soviet news media in the *NYT*. This is a surprise considering that the US was in the middle of a Cold War with the Soviet Union, and one might expect them to tarnish the opposing super power and its media coverage of certain events, as is the case in the material from *TT*.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> The connection between the Israel-Palestine conflict and the Cold War is further discussed in chapter 6.

Most of the positive appraisal in the material from 1967 is directed towards Israel and the Israelis. Appraised items such as “Israel”, “Israeli Air Force” and “Israelis” are identified and make up for most of the positive evaluations:

- 5.23 Assurance given by the Israelis. They are said to promise humane treatment for all in occupied territory (NYT June 13, 1967).
- 5.24 The Israeli Air Force indicated early today that it had decimated the Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian air force in a sweeping series of air battles and ground attacks (NYT June 6, 1967).
- 5.25 Even in their present mood of exhilaration, the thoughtful people here know this is true (NYT June 7, 1967\_1).

(5.23) indicates an implicit positive evaluation of the Israelis (judgment: social sanction: propriety), given that they have promised to treat everyone humanly. (5.24) appraises the capacity of the Israeli Air Force by specifying what opposing parties they had “decimated”, and how. The word “decimated” is inherently negative, but together with the phrase “series of sweeping air battles and ground attacks”, it gives one the notion of a superior military. And lastly, (5.25) explicitly evaluates the Israelis as a “thoughtful people”, which is in stark contrast to the negative appraisal of Arabs as seen in for example (5.20).

The few positive appraisals of the Arabs and their countries can be seen in examples such as:

- 5.26 Mr. Wilson, after icating the essentials to which he felt Israel was entitled, went on to the Arab case. A settlement must recognize the Arabs’ interests, too, he said (NYT June 10, 1967).
- 5.27 Depending somewhat on the outcome of the political settlement in the opinion of United States experts, Mr. Nasser will probably be able to survive a military defeat by Israel. But there is concern in State Department circles that King Hussein of Jordan, one of the more pro-American Arab leaders, may not be able to survive the crisis (NYT June 7, 1967\_2).
- 5.28 The southern part is desert with enough vegetation to support only scattered herds of sheep and camels. The northern bulge is a rough, hilly area where skillful Arab farmers have been making dubious living growing fruit and wheat on their stony terraces (NYT June 8, 1967\_2).

All three of these examples show that some sort of a positive appraisal of the Arabs, their leader(s) or their countries is usually preceded or followed by a negative one. This is seen in (5.27) where King Hussein is first positively evaluated (most likely in terms of ethics), since

he is “pro-American”, but then later tarnished for his capacity as a leader; i.e. the State Department do not have faith in him surviving the crisis. The positive appraisal of Nasser’s military capacity can also be turned into a negative one, since he represents the more progressive part of the Arab leaders. In (5.28), we see that Arab land is first evaluated negatively, through phrases such as “desert”, “rough” and “hilly”, before the journalist turns to positive appraisal through phrases such as “skillful Arab farmers” and “growing fruit and wheat”. However, the positive evaluation is further tarnished through the use of “dubious living”. Thus, although parts of the example are positive evaluations, the reader will still most likely be inclined to view the Arabs and their land with a certain distance and/or some suspicion. Since most of the positive appraisal (even though positive occurrences in general are fewer than the negative ones) is directed towards Israel and the Israelis, and most of the negative attitude is directed towards Arabs and their countries, it is reasonable to think that a reader will understand and interpret the conflict as a battle between “good” and “bad”, Israel being the good, and the Arab countries being the bad.

The rest of the positive appraisal is directed towards the collaboration between the US and the USSR (example (5.29)), and towards the US alone (example (5.30)), all of which imply good intentions from the respective countries:

- 5.29 Probably only the United States and the Soviet Union, working together, can lead the nations away from this disastrous course (*NYT* June 7, 1967\_1).
- 5.30 The Administration was reported to be considering emergency shipments of relief supplies to the United Nations Relief Works Agency for newly displaced Palestinian refugees (*NYT* June 13, 1967).

It is worth mentioning that there are only two instances identified of positive appraisal of the collaboration between the US and USSR. In contrast, several positive appraisals of the US are found in the material. This comes as no surprise seeing that *NYT* is an American newspaper, writing mostly (at least at the time) for an American audience.

Although (5.29) indicates a positive evaluation of the cooperation between the two super powers, we also come across negative appraisal of the two in examples such as:

- 5.31 They are spending well over \$100 billion a year on their defense efforts. They have their economic problems at home and could use at least half of this on their own domestic programs. But they go on relying on military power, and the smaller powers follow the lead (*NYT* June 7, 1967\_1).

(5.31), apart from being a criticism of the way the US and the USSR are spending their money, it is also a great example of how journalists question the politics of their own countries, and alludes to the notion of media not being entirely (and at least not always) reliant on the state politics. This particular example suggests that the *NYT* 1967 material, although consisting of a lot of negative appraisal of the Arabs, also allows for some criticism of the US and its policies. It does not, however, amend the negative image of the Arabs portrayed in the media.

### 5.1.3 Engagement

Unlike *TT* from 1967, *NYT* from the same year shows a preference for the heteroglossic voice, with the category of “expanding” being most frequent ones. This can be seen in examples (5.32) and (5.33):

5.32 *Mr. Mahgoub said the ban could be extended to include any country that promoted the Israeli economy or aided the Israeli military machine (NYT June 13, 1967).*

5.33 *Except for Jerusalem, where shelling was widespread and continuous, the fighting on Israel’s central and northern sectors seemed to be intermittent and haphazard (NYT June 6, 1967).*

Example of (5.32) illustrates a common use of heterogloss, where we see an attribution to an external voice, Mr. Mahgoub. The verb “say” is neutral in its use, thus the journalist acknowledges the validity of the statement without positioning himself. In (5.33), we have a case of both monogloss and heterogloss. The sentence starts off in a monoglossic voice where the journalist recounts the situation in Jerusalem – notice how there is no question about the fighting there being “widespread and continuous” – but he is slightly more cautious in the following clause where he depicts the situation in central and northern sectors of Israel, hedged by “seemed to be”. This is in my framework analyzed as “heterogloss: expand: entertain”, where proposition is presented as one of a range of possible positions. The difference between the two examples is that the first one is clearly externally sourced, whereas the second one comes from the journalist himself. There are several similar examples of heteroglossic voice, sourced back to the journalist. Consider the following:

5.34 *From a position of military victory, Israel would be in a position to demand sweeping concessions from the Arab side as her terms for a settlement (NYT June 6, 1967).*



- 5.35 *This is clear* on any objective analysis of Nasser’s political and military moves over the last few months (*NYT* June 7, 1967\_1).
- 5.36 *As in the 1956 Suez campaign, the conquest of Arab areas raises* the question how much territory Israel will give back. *But there is no* question of the tremendous burden Israel would assume if she kept very much of what she has been taken (*NYT* June 8, 1967\_2).

(5.34) is another typical example of heterogloss: expand: entertain sourced to the journalist himself. Although one may argue that there is no clear evaluation found in this sentence, there is an implicit (positive) appraisal of Israel’s military capacity, signaled by the words “victory” and “sweeping”, and it resembles the evaluation found in (5.35). The engagement items found in (5.35) signal a contraction of voice through the proclamation of an objective analysis of Nasser’s political and military moves, thus the readers are encouraged to believe in this proposition, rather than any other alternative positioning. The example occurs after monoglossic statements about the Arab states being hostile and backward (see example (5.25)), and that Israel had to fight for its independence, thus the bashing of alternative voices is enhanced, as well as the negative attitude towards the Arabs and their intentions (further discussed in section 5.3). (5.36) begins in a monoglossic voice, explaining one of the possible challenges of conquering Arab areas (the word “conquest” signaling a positive attitude of military capacity). It ends in a heteroglossic voice, by first countering the positive attitude to the conquest, signaled by “but”, and then fending off any alternative voices, signaled by “no question”, through the depiction of the burden (referring to Palestinian refugees) Israel would assume if the country took over that land. Although we are presented with apparently different perspectives on the matter, all of the voices are sourced back to the journalist, and the previous perspectives are fended off in that last clause, leaving the readers with only one possible understanding: conquering Arab land would be wrong, due to the burden of the refugees. What is interesting here is not just that the journalist fends off alternative voices, or brings up the issue of the Palestinian refugees, but rather that the negative evaluations of the war in general focus solely on possible consequences for Israel and Israelis. The question of how the “conquest of Arab land” may affect the Palestinian people and others living in the area is completely ignored.

Negative evaluations of the war, attacks and shellings are mostly sourced back to the journalist. This is in accordance with previous research (Manoff and Schudson 1986; Richardson 2007), showing that the journalist wants to stay as neutral as possible with regards to the two competing sides, but may still appraise their actions. As previously

mentioned, although the journalist's appraisals may mostly be in the form of appreciation: valuation, the appraised items are of great importance when considering the objectivity/subjectivity of the news articles. If most of the appraised items identified are for instance attacks on Israel, this may then suggest biased reporting. Obviously, we have to keep in mind in what way these items are evaluated (positively or negatively), and also who the appraisal is coming from. This is further discussed and illustrated in chapter 6. Instances of negative evaluations of Arabs and their countries generally come from sources such as Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, (seen in (5.37)) and "oil industry sources" (seen in (5.38)):

- 5.37 *Later, in the West Lobby of the White House, Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, suggested that the charges were being "invented" by Cairo "to create difficulties for Americans in the Near East" (NYT June 6, 1967).*
- 5.38 *The Saudi Arabian Government was said by oil industry sources to have suggested to the Arabian American Oil Company that it apply pressure on the United States Government to urge to pull her forces back to her original frontiers (NYT June 13, 1967).*

Negative evaluations of Israel and the Israelis come mostly from the Arab allies, the Soviet Union, as seen in example (5.39), with a few exceptions of the journalist evaluating negatively (example (5.40)). Albert Einstein's thoughts are also channeled in the discourse, implying a negative appraisal of the war and seemingly Israel (example (5.41)).

- 5.39 *Aside from diplomatic relations, the statement said, "it goes without saying that the Soviet Government will consider and implement other necessary measures stemming from Israel's aggressive policy (NYT June 8, 1967\_1).*
- 5.40 *The irony of Israel's courage and success in the Middle Eastern conflict- as so often in the history of the Jewish people- is that military victory does not produce peace (NYT June 7, 1967\_1).*
- 5.41 *"Peace cannot be kept by force," he said. "It can only be achieved by understanding" (NYT June 7, 1967\_1).*

Interestingly, instances of Arabs evaluating Israel negatively are only found in more implicit examples where the Arab side is appraising the US and the UK negatively, due to their relationship/co-operation with Israel:

5.42 *His statement said that the boycott would involve replacing American and British goods by goods from other countries that did not support Israel (NYT June 13, 1967).*

“*His statement*” here refers to the Arab League’s commissioner general, Mahmoud Maligoub’s, statement. This may indicate that political interests are more important than the war itself, thus negative evaluations of the US (and the UK) are regarded as more interesting to the newspaper and its readers than the actual opinions of Israel’s opposing party. The negative evaluations of the US are more evident, as exemplified in (5.43), and mostly stem from various Arab sources:

5.43 *Later, after the United Arab Republic announced that it was breaking diplomatic relations with the United States [...] (NYT June 6, 1967).*

Here, the Arab source is identified as the United Arab Republic. Not surprisingly, most of the positive evaluation of the US is attributed to sources such as the US administration officials (5.44), Prime Minister Wilson (5.45), and the respective journalist (5.46). Again, this comes as no surprise since an American newspaper would most likely want to enhance the positive attitude towards the country’s politics.

5.44 *The United States were reported by the Administration officials today to have cautioned Israel against any eviction of Palestinian refugees and Jordanian citizens from the territory she has occupied in western Jordan (NYT June 13, 1967).*

5.45 *The Prime Minister said that cooperation among four permanent members of the United Nations Security Council- Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the United States- was necessary to make a Middle Eastern settlement possible. “One particular field in which this four-power cooperation is particularly necessary is the organization of some general understanding to control the level of armaments flowing into the area,” he asserted (NYT June 10, 1967).*

5.46 *For the moment, the Administration’s only concern is to seek an immediate cease-fire (NYT June 6, 1967).*

All three examples portray the US in a positive light either through having morally good intentions, as in (5.44) and (5.46), or as being necessary in the Middle Eastern area in order to accomplish peace, as in (5.45).

More importantly for the purpose of this thesis, the positive appraisal of Israel comes both from Israel and Israelis, seen in (5.47) and (5.48), and from trustworthy sources such as Prime Minister Wilson, seen in (5.49), and the respective journalists as seen in (5.50):

- 5.47 *Israel depicts gains* (NYT June 6, 1967).
- 5.48 *Israeli Embassy officials were said to be supporting their assurance that every effort was being made to restore normal activity by pointing to the steps taken in the Israeli-occupied section of Jerusalem, where some of the powers have been turned back to the Jordanian police* (NYT June 13, 1967).
- 5.49 *Prime Minister Wilson called* on Israel today to offer “some progress” on the problem of the Arab refugees, and on the Arab states to accept Israel’s right to existence (NYT June 10, 1967).
- 5.50 *Even in their present mood of exhilaration, the thoughtful people here know this is true [...] They had to fight to save the existence of their country* (NYT June 7, 1967\_1).

(5.47) is a common example of a country at war estimating their military capacity, in this case, Israel is depicted as a greater military force than the Arabs. (5.48) shows how considerate the Israelis are, signaled by their efforts to restore normalcy, a notion that is also acknowledged in depictions by journalists such as in (5.50). (5.49) is a prime example of how the US and the UK are portraying Israel and its need for existence in the Middle East.

We also have some instances of “unknown sources” or sources of more vague origin, most of which are used to appraise Israel and/or its military capacity ((5.51) and (5.52)), as well as the US Administration (5.53)):

- 5.51 *The fall of Gaza itself was considered imminent* (NYT June 6, 1967).
- 5.52 *In reply, the Israeli Government was said to have given general assurance of humanitarian treatment of refugees and Jordanian citizens remaining in Israeli-occupied territory* (NYT June 13, 1967).
- 5.53 *The Administration was reported to be considering emergency shipments of relief supplies to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for newly displaced Palestinian refugees* (NYT June 13, 1967).

All three examples depict predominantly positive attitude towards the Israeli Government and its military, as well as America’s role and moral stand in the conflict. This goes to show that even though *NYT* reveals a preference for the heteroglossic voice in the 1967 material, the analysis of the category of engagement still suggests more openness towards allowing Israeli and American/British voices, as was also the case with the material from *TT*.

### 5.1.4 Graduation

The attitudes found in the 1967 material are intensified or lowered in one way or another, either through the use of "strong" words, or through some sort of quantification. The various ways in which this is done is seen the following paragraphs.

As in the *TT* material from 1967, most of the graduation instances from 1967 in *NYT* are of the force type, meaning an up- or down-scaling of attitudes. They are commonly used to enhance or raise either quality, as in example (5.54), or process, as in example (5.55). Most of the instances of the quantification type are also used to enhance or raise either quantification of people/losses (example (5.56)), or estimate land area (example (5.57)). A small number are utilized to lower the attitude of some sort, but are mostly arranged in such a way that when they lower one thing, they simultaneously contribute to the enhancement of something else (see example (5.58)).

- 5.54 Before dawn, an American protest was delivered to the Egyptian Embassy here, calling on the Cairo Government to halt its "**hostile and provocative**" statements, which were termed "**totally and demonstrably false**" (*NYT* June 6, 1967).
- 5.55 Arab Group **Threatens Boycott** of U.S. (*NYT* June 13, 1967).
- 5.56 Incomplete reports received by the State Department and Western Embassies here indicate that **about 50,000** people have fled across the River Jordan into the eastern section of Jordan (*NYT* June 13, 1967).
- 5.57 The Gaza Strip, a sun-blistered rectangle **25 miles long** and **about 5 miles wide**, holds **430,000** Arabs, **70 per cent** of whom are Palestinian refugees (*NYT* June 8, 1967\_2).
- 5.58 On the basis of information obtained by the State Department, it appears that **only a small number** of Arab residents fled from Jerusalem (*NYT* June 13, 1967).

In (5.54), the words "hostile", "provocative" and "demonstrably false" are used to intensify the negative attitude towards the Egyptian statements. "Totally" intensifies the meaning of the "demonstrably false" statements, suggesting that they are completely, without a hint of truth, false. (5.55) illustrates how the choice of verb in terms of processes may intensify the attitude towards a particular matter. Here the word "threaten" is a strong indication of the Arab feelings towards the US, and suggests a negative evaluation of the Arabs' moral. Why else would you have to "threaten" somebody? (5.56) illustrates the category of quantification, with "50,000" being the number of people having fled across the River Jordan. However, here we also find an example of how the quantification can be softened through the use of

words such as “about”, analyzed as focus (soften): thing: specificity. The issue of the number of refugees is further diminished in (5.58), with “only” softening the number, and “a small number” lowering the quantification, indicating that the refugee situation is not necessarily as grave as one would think. (5.57) illustrates the use of quantification: number, “430,000” and “70 per cent”, and mass, “25 miles long” and “5 miles wide”, in this case used to describe why the Gaza Strip is less desirable for the Israelis. The expression “sun-blistered” (intensification of quality) also suggests a very hot and dry place, thus not a desirable place to be, intensifying the negative attitude towards it even more.

Most of the “focus type” instances are analyzed as focus: thing, either as sharpening with words such as “basic” and “frankly” (example (5.59) and (5.60)), or as softening with phrases such as “a kind of” and “attempting to apply” (example (5.61) and (5.62) (the latter of which is a process, and not a thing)):

- 5.59 In Administration circles, the **basic** policy question was how to protect the security interests of Israel without causing **greater** damage to American interests among Arab nations (*NYT* June 6, 1967).
- 5.60 When Israel finally received part of the guarantees she was seeking, the Government, then led by Premier David Ben-Gurion was **frankly** relieved that it was free of the burden of the Gaza Strip (*NYT* June 8, 1967\_2).
- 5.61 [...] so he ran **a kind of** “United Arab Appeal” campaign which is now ending in **disaster** (*NYT* June 7, 1967\_1).
- 5.62 The Arab oil-producing states were **reliably** reported today to be **attempting to apply indirect** economic pressure on the United States and Britain to prevail upon Israel to withdraw her forces from Arab territory (*NYT* June 13, 1967).

In (5.59), “basic” (focus (sharpen): thing: specificity) indicates a sharpening of the most important question, while “greater” (force (raise): intensification: quality) suggests that some damage has been done to the American interests, they just do not want that to increase. (5.60) is one of the few instances of focus (sharpen): thing: authenticity, enhancing the truthfulness of Israel’s relief for not having to deal with the “burden of the Gaza Strip”. This specific example follows what seems to be a tendency of negative appraisal of the refugees and the areas where they live, and will be further discussed in chapter 6. An example of focus (softening) is found in (5.61), where the phrase “a kind of” tarnishes President Nasser’s campaign for an Arab Unity, indicating that it was not successful. This use of graduation diminishes Nasser’s capability as a president, and tarnishes any perception of an Arab Unity. (5.62). While exemplifying a form of softening, the phrase “attempting to apply” also

concerns a process, suggesting that it was perhaps not successful. This is also highlighted by the word “indirect”.

## 5.2 Results of the analysis of the material from *NYT* 2014

### 5.2.1 Attitude

The analysis of the 2014 material from *NYT* mostly reveals negative attitude. Obvious items are the war in general and the various attacks, which correspond both with the findings in the 1967 material, and the findings from *TT* (the differences between the two newspapers will be dealt with in chapter 6). The negative attitude emerges through instances of either appreciation or judgment, most of which are invoked. However, we also come across examples of affect. The negative attitude is directed slightly more towards Israel, Israeli attacks and military force, and towards some of the country’s politicians. However, Hamas and what is identified as “other Islamic militant groups” are also frequently portrayed negatively. The various attitudes occurring in the material are portrayed in the following sections. A full overview of the attitudes from the 2014 material is displayed in table 5.2.

**Table 5.2: An overview of the various attitudes revealed in the material from *NYT* from 2014.**

	Attitude						
	Appreciation		Judgment		Affect		
	Valuation (social)	Social significance	Social sanction	Social esteem	Un-/happiness	In-/security	Dis-/satisfaction
No. of instances	138	50	80	18	14	23	-
Percentage of instances	42.7%	15.5%	24.8%	5.6%	4.33%	7.12%	-
Total	323 (100%)						

### Affect

Instances of affect are found either as the type of insecurity (5.63) or the type of unhappiness (5.64), of which the former occurs more frequently than the latter (as seen in table 5.2).

5.63 Residents of Khan Younis said that Wednesday night was particularly unnerving because of the explosions (*NYT* July 10, 2014).

5.64 “What shall I say? It was only a few minutes after he went out,” Ms. Dawawsa, 37, wailed as she clutched a picture of her son at 5 years old in a camouflage outfit (*NYT* August 8, 2014).

The attitude of affect: insecurity is signaled by the items of "unnerving" and "explosions" in (5.63), the former alluding directly to emotions and feelings, and the latter more indirectly suggesting insecurity in terms of fear. In (5.64), we are introduced to Sabah Dawawsa, mother of Ibrahim, who had just been killed in an Israeli attack. Affect: unhappiness is signaled by the verb "wailed", along with the phrase "clutched a picture of her son at 5 years old", implying that the mother finds it very difficult to part with her son. (5.63) is inscribed, since it refers directly to the feeling of insecurity through the item "unnerving", whereas (5.64) is analyzed as invoked, since the identified items imply unhappiness, without directly stating it, as was the case in (5.63).

Affect: insecurity occurs more often than unhappiness, both inscribed and invoked, and is often used to depict emotions of fear and worry among the civilians, or to describe the living conditions and situation in the Middle East in general. Consider (5.65) and (5.66):

5.65 "The bombing did not stop, the children could not sleep, it was really frightening," said Hassan Bashiti, 52, street of the town where all the stores were closed, waiting for the funeral, who stood with a group of men wearing white gowns in the main (NYT July 10, 2014).

5.66 He described "certain bedrock outcomes" as essential to a long-term solution, saying that Israel needed to live "without terrorist attacks, without rockets, without tunnels, without sirens going off and families scrambling to bomb shelters," (NYT August 26, 2014).

In (5.65), the word "bombing" and the phrase "children could not sleep" are used to allude to a state of fear and insecurity, whereas as the word "frightening" is a direct depiction of their emotional state, thus it is analyzed as inscribed. (5.66) gives a depiction of life in Israel, and shows how words and phrases such as "terrorist attacks" and "families scrambling to bomb shelters" imply a state of insecurity and fear. They are thus analyzed as invoked. "Tunnels" are also identified as items invoking attitude, since Hamas is known to use tunnels in order to cross into Israel to attack, and thus they are a signal of fear.

Affect: unhappiness is mostly invoked, as seen in (5.66), but we also find one instance of what may be considered as inscribed affect: unhappiness in (5.67):

5.67 "I was happy for the last three days- today I felt sick because the cease-fire ended," said Amar al Masri, 45 (NYT August 8, 2014).



Here “happy” signals a positive attitude of affect: happiness, and “sick” signals a negative attitude of affect: unhappiness, both of which are portrayed explicitly. There are unsurprisingly almost no feelings of positive affect, and the very few that occur enhance the negative feelings towards the current situation.

## **Judgment**

Most of the instances of the attitude of judgment are found as invoked social sanction, or inscribed social sanction, of which the former occurs more frequently. Common examples of this attitude are found in the following examples:

- 5.68 Capitalizing on broader Israeli-Palestinian tensions after the kidnapping and killing of three Israeli teenagers in the West Bank last month and the grisly killing of a Palestinian teenager in Jerusalem last week, Hamas had called for a mass demonstration Monday night in the volatile West Bank city of Hebron (*NYT* July 7, 2014).
- 5.69 Even in what pass for ordinary times here, Israel permits very few Gazans to enter its territory, citing security concerns because suicide bombers and other militants from Gaza have killed Israeli civilians (*NYT* July 20, 2014).

In (5.68), although the killing of Israeli and Palestinian teenagers is evaluated negatively, it is Hamas’ way of exploiting the killings that is evaluated, hence invoked judgment: social sanction: propriety. (5.69) starts off with an invoked judgment of Israel, saying that Israel permits few Gazans into its territory, but ends with an inscribed judgment of certain groups from Gaza, referring to them as “suicide bombers” and “militants”. The last clause also justifies the judgment from the first clause, and it is interesting to note that the negative appraisal of Israel is invoked, whereas the negative appraisal of certain Palestinian groups is inscribed. This is further discussed in section 5.3 and chapter 6.

Other inscribed instances of judgment: social sanction: propriety are found in examples (5.70) and (5.71):

- 5.70 Gaza militants launched a rocket toward southern Israel exactly at 8 a.m. (*NYT* August 8, 2014).
- 5.71 “The mood is very critical of Israel, but they are also asking questions of Hamas: Why did we have to go through all this? Why is there no cease-fire? Why did we provoke Israel into this war? More and more questions are in the minds of the Palestinians, especially in this last week” (*NYT* August 26, 2014).

In (5.70), we find the word “Gaza militants”, evidently an instance of explicit negative evaluation of the group responsible for the launching of the rocket. Why these are referred to as “Gaza militants” and not, for instance, “ Hamas” is difficult to say. The news article identifies Israel and Hamas as the two opposing parties, but (5.70) suggests that there might be other dangerous groups in Gaza, besides Hamas. This is supported by the indefinite form of the noun phrase, thus there is no textual (phoric) reference. (5.71) illustrates how both Hamas and Israel are explicitly evaluated negatively, this time by the political scientist, Mkhaimar Abusada. What is interesting in this example is that the criticism of Israel is brief, whereas the inscribed criticism of Hamas states that they provoked Israel into this war. This is important, because the source of the appraisal is a Palestinian, and is probably considered even more reliable in its critique of Hamas, which confirms previous judgments of the group as “terrorists”, “militants”, etc.

The 2014 material also consists of instances of judgment: social esteem: capacity. Representative examples of this attitude are found in examples such as (5.72) and (5.73):

5.72 The military has also bombed scores of homes it says are used as control and command centers by field operatives of Hamas, the Islamic group that dominates Gaza, and other militant organizations (NYT July 10, 2014).

5.73 Israel achieved its original stated goal, to restore quiet (NYT August 26, 2014).

In (5.72), we have an invoked positive judgment of the Israeli military’s capacity. The positive appraisal is further emphasized through the inscribed negative judgment (social sanction: propriety) of Hamas and other organizations operating from Gaza, signaled by “Islamic group”, “dominates” and “militant”. In (5.73), we see that the journalist explicitly evaluates Israel by saying that they achieved their goal, which was restoration of peace. On another level, this may also be understood as a moral positive judgment of Israel, implying that the country has good intentions.

The two previous examples reveal positive attitude with regards to social esteem, but we do also come across negative ones:

5.74 Colonel Lerner said that the air force attacked the tunnel a couple of days ago and that when the Hamas militants entered on Sunday night, possibly to use it for an attack on Israeli forces, it collapsed or exploded on them. These were Hamas’ heaviest losses in months (NYT July 7, 2014).

- 5.75 In Israel, support for Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s performance dropped by more than half this weekend from a high of more than eight in 10 Israeli Jews in the battle’s early days, according to polls conducted for Channel 2 news (*NYT* August 26, 2014).

The first sentence in (5.74) is an invoked negative appraisal of Hamas’ capacity as a negative force, at the same time as identifying them as “militants” (negative moral judgment). The second sentence is an inscribed negative appraisal of their capacity, signaled by “heaviest losses”. (5.75) reveals a negative judgment of Benjamin Netanyahu’s capability as a prime minister by stating that he is losing support in Israel.

### **Appreciation**

The instances of appreciation in the 2014 material are concerned with the various attacks, the living conditions and situation in Gaza and Israel, and various aspects of the cease-fire between the two parties. As is the case in the *TT* material, the war itself is evaluated through the category of appreciation. Most of the appreciation is of the “social valuation” type, and most frequently invoked. Common examples of this category are found in the following examples:

- 5.76 A 25-mile-long rectangle just a few miles wide, and one of the most densely populated places in the world, Gaza is surrounded by concrete walls and fences along its northern and eastern boundaries with Israel and its southern border with Egypt (*NYT* July 20, 2014).
- 5.77 Hundreds of mourners gathered at another nearby mosque to pray over the body of the first casualty in the latest chapter of the monthlong battle that has claimed the lives of nearly 1,900 Palestinians, including more than 300 children, and, on the Israeli side, 64 soldiers and three civilians (*NYT* August 8, 2014).

(5.76) reveals a negative attitude towards the situation in Gaza, and alludes to difficult living conditions for the people there. This is seen through the items of “just a few miles wide”, implying that the Palestinians do not have much area to live on at all; “densely populated”, meaning that apart from being a small area, it is also overcrowded; and then finally “surrounded by concrete walls and fences” suggesting that the people there live in a prison. (5.77) illustrates how journalists evaluate the war negatively by stating human losses, predominantly civilians and children. What is particularly interesting about this example is that it compares the losses on both sides, highlighting the high number of civilian losses on the Palestinian side, as opposed to the Israeli losses that were mostly military (see further

section 5.3). Another important feature is the way the journalists frame the attitude by opening the sentence with a scene of mourners (“hundreds” intensifying the feeling of grief) over the body of a casualty. This naturally influences the readers’ understanding and interpretation of the facts presented, in this case in favor of the Palestinians rather than the Israelis.

Instances of inscribed appreciation are found in examples such as (5.78) and (5.79):

5.78 Colonel Lerner said the missile had been meant to be a “precision strike,” adding, “We were targeting a terrorist” (*NYT* July 10, 2014),

5.79 The developments were likely to further undermine Hamas’ recent reconciliation pact with the more moderate Palestinian Authority leadership based in the West Bank, which has been urging calm rather than protests (*NYT* July 7, 2014).

In (5.78), Colonel Lerner does a positive appraisal of the Israeli attack on the “Fun Time Beach Café”, justifying it by saying that they were targeting “a terrorist”. This is analyzed as an inscribed attitude, due to the colonel directly responding to the attack and trying to defend the action. (5.79) is an inscribed negative evaluation of the pact between the two parties controlling Gaza and the West Bank, Hamas and Fatah, signaled by “undermine Hamas’ reconciliation pact”, while at the same time positively appraising the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank, who is more “calm” and opposed to “protests”, i.e. judgment: social sanction: propriety. Naturally, this will further highlight the negative aspects of the pact, seeing that the two parties could not be more different from one another. What this may suggest is a disagreement between the leadership of Gaza and the Palestinian people, and a need for external help in order to restore peace in the “troubled” area.

### **5.2.2 Engagement**

As is common in news articles nowadays, most of the engagement is of the heteroglossic type, and for the most part the expansion type, i.e. allowing alternative voices and positions. However, quite a few instances of the heteroglossic voice are sourced back to the journalist, thus not all of the heterogloss instances may allow alternative viewpoints. For the most part, the heteroglossic instances traced back to the journalist are of the contracting kind, either countering statements made by external sources, or denying them. This will be further discussed in the following paragraph.

Of the expanding type, most of the heterogloss instances were of the category attribute: acknowledge (see (5.80) and (5.81)), i.e. the journalist introduces other voices without taking a stand to the perspective they might be taking. These examples are signaled by for instance the “neutral” verb “said” and “announced”:

5.80 *“The problem,” said Maissa al-Attar, 21, “is that when we are fleeing from the shelling, we still find the shelling around us” (NYT July 20, 2014).*

5.81 *Early Tuesday, the Israeli Defense Forces announced on Twitter that they had “commenced Operation Protective Edge in Gaza against Hamas in order to stop the terror Israel’s citizens face on a daily basis” (NYT July 7, 2014).*

As can be seen in both of the examples, the sources invited into the discourse are neither tarnished nor fended off. The journalists allow them to contribute without taking a stance themselves.

Of the expanding type, we also find instances of distance, where the journalists allow for other voices, but then chooses to distance themselves from the proposition they make. This can be seen in examples such as (5.82) and (5.83):

5.82 *Israeli officials speculate* that Hamas militants have threatened people with retaliation if they leave, using them as human shields (NYT July 20, 2014).

5.83 *Hamas’s military wing claimed* responsibility for firing dozens of rockets into Israel for the first time in this latest round of hostilities, which began three weeks ago (NYT July 7, 2014).

In (5.82), the journalist clearly separates herself from what she refers to as Israeli officials’ speculations; cf. the verb “speculate”. In (5.83), a similar distance is made regarding Hamas’s statement about the amount of rockets fired into Israel, signaled by “claimed”. Here, Hamas tries to portray their military as a capable party through their achievements, but the journalist does not seem to be entirely certain of their implicit positive appraisal of themselves.

Then we have instances of contraction, meaning that certain viewpoints are either countered (example (5.84)) or denied (example (5.85)) in some way. As previously mentioned, most of these examples are sourced back to the journalist him-/herself, and can be seen in the following examples:

5.84 *Colonel Lerner said* the missile had been meant to be a “precision strike,” adding, “We are targeting a terrorist.” *But he had* no immediate information on the identity

of the person in Israel's sights or why the military struck when the café was abuzz with more than a dozen people (*NYT* July 10, 2014).

5.85 *Perhaps most important*, the vast majority of Gazans *cannot leave* Gaza (*NYT* July 20, 2014).

(5.84) shows how the journalist first lets in an alternative voice, Colonel Lerner, by allowing him to justify Israel's attack, but then counters the justification through a denial, due to the lack of reasons for the attack. (5.85) illustrates another way of contracting other viewpoints, by starting off with an expand: entertain, signaled by "perhaps", continuing with a proclamation: pronounce, signaled by "most important", and ending with a complete denial of a previous proposition made in the news article, signaled by "cannot leave", implying that it has been suggested that Gazans have somewhere else to go, which is not the case.

Moving over to the bare assertions of the material, i.e. monoglossic voice, a typical example can be seen in (5.86):

5.86 *After 50 days of fighting that took some 2,200 lives, leveled large areas of the Gaza Strip and paralyzed Israel's south for the summer, Israeli and Palestinian leaders reached* an open-ended cease-fire agreement on Tuesday that promised only limited change to conditions in Gaza and left unresolved the broader issues underpinning the conflict (*NYT* August 26, 2014).

In this example, we are presented with an image of the happenings during and the consequences of the war, as well as a statement of Israeli and Palestinian leaders reaching a cease-fire agreement. At the same time, the journalist is negatively appraising the cease-fire, as it does not lead to any significant change to the condition in Gaza, and does not address the main issues underpinning the war. All of this is done through the journalist's perspective, seemingly objective, but without the invitation of alternative voices. Now, alternative voices are included in the news article, but it is still interesting to note how this example is organized, especially considering that it is the opening line of the article, and serves as a backdrop for the understanding of the rest of the text.

Naturally, since most of the instances analyzed reveal negative attitude, most of the monoglossic instances will also be linked with the negative attitude. It is, however, noteworthy that most of the instances of positive attitude that can be sourced back to the journalist evaluate judgment: social esteem: capacity or judgment: social sanction: propriety. Consider by way of example the following:

- 5.87 *Israel achieved its original stated goal, to restore quiet, but Hamas' repeated penetration of Israeli territory through tunnels, the deaths of the most Israeli soldiers since the 2006 Lebanon war, and the killing on Friday of 4-year-old Daniel Tregerman in a kibbutz near Gaza have scarred the country's psyche (NYT August 26, 2014).*
- 5.88 *With the casualties of Israel's aerial campaign in Gaza mounting, Egypt opened the Rafah border crossing, the main gateway for Gaza's population of 1.7 million, to allow the evacuation of wounded to hospitals in Egypt and the passage of Palestinians who hold Egyptian citizenship (NYT July 10, 2014).*

In (5.87), the journalist appraises Israel for having achieved its goal. The statement is a bare assertion, and there are no other voices challenging it. The journalist, however, counters the implication of a successful country (signaled by “but”), by following up with a clause about the setbacks that Israel has suffered, and how this has clearly affected the country’s spirit. (5.88) is an example of a seemingly objective statement still functioning as a positive appraisal of Egypt, which by opening the border crossing has helped millions of people in need. The key point here is that the people in need are portrayed in almost all of the news articles about the war in 2014. Another interesting feature is the use of the word “aerial campaign” to describe an Israeli attack. This can be compared to other wordings such as “air attack”, which carries more negative connotations, as well as alluding to more suffering than the word “campaign” itself. This issue will be further discussed in chapter 6.

### 5.2.3 Graduation

The attitudes conveyed in section 5.2.1 are intensified and enhanced through the use of so-called “strong” words, metaphors and quantification of various losses. The ways in which attitudes in the 2014 material are amplified or softened is described in the following paragraphs.

Force is the most utilized category of graduation. Particularly the sub-category of intensification: raising, i.e. meaning that attitudes are enhanced in some way. Most of the instances are intensification: quality (example (5.89)), and quite a few of intensification: process (example (5.90)). The sub-category of quantification is also quite often deployed, both in referring to numbers of for instance people, rockets etc. (example (5.91)), and in referring to extent (see example (5.92)).

- 5.89 It killed Ibrahim, leaving a **pool of blood** from his skull next to a **crushed** SuperCola can and **an abandoned flip-flop** (NYT August 8, 2014).

- 5.90 After the killing on Wednesday of the Palestinian teenager, Muhammed Abu Khdeir, 16, **street clashes** between young Arab protestors and Israeli security forces **flared** in parts of East Jerusalem and in Arab towns across Israel (*NYT* July 7, 2014).
- 5.91 On the Israeli side, **64** soldiers and **six** civilians were killed, including **two** men felled by a mortar round that exploded near a swimming pool in a kibbutz just outside Gaza around 6 p.m., the military said (*NYT* August 26, 2014).
- 5.92 “We acted **immediately** to apprehend the **murderers**,” he continued (*NYT* July 7, 2014).

In (5.89), we find force: intensification: quality, signaled by the phrases “pool of blood” and “an abandoned flip-flop”. Both of these items intensify the negative attitude towards the death of a young boy. Particularly, the imagery of a “pool of blood” and “an abandoned flip-flop” contributes to the enhancing of feelings. In (5.90), we find the intensification of process through the use of the verb “flared”, which is here used to intensify the feeling of negative attitude. (5.91) is a great example of how quantification: number is used to enhance the negative attitude towards people getting killed. The higher the numbers, the worse are the feelings toward the conflict and the various parties involved. In (5.92), we find quantification: extent, signaled by the word “immediately”, which shows how fast the government reacted to the injustice done. Here the negative attitude is further enhanced through the word “murderers”, hence the immediacy of the government’s reaction is even more intensified.

There are also a few instances of the category of quantification: mass, as exemplified in (5.93):

- 5.93 Hamas, the militant Islamist faction that dominates Gaza, declared victory, even though it had abandoned **most** of its demands, ultimately accepting an Egyptian-brokered deal that differs **little** from one proffered on the battle’s seventh day (*NYT* August 26, 2014).

Here, we see that Hamas’s victory is downplayed through the use of graduation; first by noting how they had abandoned “most” of their demands, and then by comparing the deal with an earlier deal, saying that it differed “little” from the earlier one, the word “little” then lowering the notion of victory, since Hamas could have gotten it a lot earlier.

Only a very few of the analyzed instances are used to lower the intensification or quantification. One of them is presented in (5.94). Another common example is the following:



- 5.94 What they were not watching for was an Israeli missile, apparently targeting what Israel’s military later described as **a single terrorist** (*NYT* July 10, 2014).

In (5.94), the journalist recounts an Israeli café attack in Gaza, depicting how Palestinians were watching the World Cup match when the attack happened. According to the journalist, eight people were killed in the attack. By noting how the Israeli military were only targeting “a single terrorist”, but ended up killing eight, he diminishes the Israeli mission, and at the same time enhances the negative attitude towards Israel and its military.

Of the other graduation type, focus, only few instances were detected, all of which are oriented towards things, and the sharpening of things. Consider by way of example the (5.95) and (5.96):

- 5.95 Egypt has also **severely** curtailed Gazans’ ability to travel, opening its border crossing with the territory for **only 17 days** this year (*NYT* July 20, 2014).
- 5.96 Kamal Sawalli, **the oldest of the four** brothers, was sitting up beside one of the bulldozer drivers, refusing calls from relatives to attend the funerals (*NYT* July 10, 2014).

In (5.95), Egypt is evaluated negatively for having contributed to the Gazans’ difficulties due to it having closed the border crossing for most of the year. Here the journalist sharpens the negative attitude by explicitly noting how the border crossing was “only” open for “17 days”, the first item then sharpening the number of days the border crossing was open. Martin and White (2005: 139) state how instances of sharpening are often associated with positive attitudinal assessment, which is the case in (5.96), where an invoked positive judgment is made of Kamal Sawalli, who is persistent in wanting to find his brother. The items of focus, “the oldest” and “of the four”, contribute to the story of Sawalli, and enable the readers to identify more closely with him. The sharpening in (5.95), however, does not flag a positive attitude, but is rather used to intensify a negative one, due to the co-textual influence. However, the material is in accordance with Martin and White’s (ibid: 139) notion of focus: softening being mostly used to flag negative assessments. This can be seen in example (5.97):

- 5.97 A statement from Egypt’s Foreign Ministry describing the deal included **only vague** language about “the aspirations of the Palestinian people” (*NYT* August 26, 2014).

Here, we see that the adjective “vague” is used to amplify the non-attitudinal term “language”, by obscuring it, whereas the sharpening “only” is used to intensify just how ambiguous it is.

## 5.3 Discussion and implications of the findings

As was demonstrated in chapter 4, with *TT*, the topic for the news articles selected is an inherently negative one. Thus it is no surprise that most of the attitudes revealed are negative. However, there are certain other topics addressed, which seem to suggest various political leanings.

### 5.3.1 Political interests

In accordance with the politics at the time, and as outlined in section 1.1.3, *NYT* material from 1967 reveals more negative attitudes towards Arabs and their politics. This is seen through statements such as “Arabs said to Exert Pressure” (*NYT* June 13, 1967) and “‘hostile and provocative’ statements” (*NYT* June 6, 1967), as well as more positive attitude towards Israel and its military capacity, through phrases such as “efforts to restore normalcy” (*NYT* June 13, 1967), and “Israeli troops and tanks had ousted the Arab force” (*NYT* June 6, 1967). This is expected, since the Americans have always been dedicated to the state of Israel, its security and people. Despite having foreign policy advisers arguing against US support for Israel because it may anger the Arab states, and that the US’ priority in the Middle East should be access to oil rather than on the creation of an Israeli state, numerous US presidents have supported Israel and its political operations in the Middle East.<sup>37</sup> President Truman supported the creation of Israel, in the aftermath of World War II, both personally, and on a more public level.<sup>38</sup> Kennedy was the first president to approve the sale of defensive US weapons to Israel, and Lyndon B. Johnson, US president in 1967, approved tanks and fighter jets. He also helped craft UN Resolution 242, ensuring Israel the right to keep some of the territories captured during the war, and allegedly had strong personal and emotional motifs for supporting Jews and Israelis (Gluska 2007: 25-26; Maoz 2008).

The negative appraisal of Arabs can be seen as a trend throughout the entire material, where for instance, apart from one brief mentioning in example (5.26), Arab interests are

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<sup>37</sup> Miller Center: <http://millercenter.org/president/truman/essays/biography/5>.

<sup>38</sup> Miller Center: <http://millercenter.org/president/truman/essays/biography/5>.

completely ignored, whereas Israeli interest are both explicitly mentioned and focused on (see example (5.98) and (5.99)):

5.98 Senator Javits argued that any settlement must provide for forcible terms with strong guarantees to protect Israeli interests (*NYT* June 6, 1967).

5.99 “Whatever the controversies which surrounded the establishment of the state of Israel, any settlement must unequivocally now recognize Israel’s sovereign right to existence, and this must be accepted by all her neighbors,” the Prime Minister said (*NYT* June 10, 1967).

Both (5.98) and (5.99) explicitly state Israel’s interests, and demand actions on the country’s behalf. At the same time Israel is referred to as having a “sovereign right to existence”, meaning that any questions of the state’s legitimacy, which Arabs in the region have been raising since the creation of the country, are firmly rejected. These findings correlate with the close political relationship between Israel and the US.

Again, echoing the politics of the time, *NYT* material from 2014 indicates a more negative attitude towards Israel and its actions, and a somewhat lower degree of positive attitude towards the country. Although there is a slight increase in the positive attitude of the Palestinians (further discussed in chapter 6), Hamas is singled out, and the negative evaluations are turned towards them:

5.100 Hamas, the militant Islamist faction that dominates Gaza, declared victory, even though it had abandoned most of its demands, ultimately accepting an Egyptian-brokered deal that differs little from one proffered on the battle’s seventh day (*NYT* August 26, 2014).

The negative evaluations here are understood both from the explicit reference to Hamas as a “militant Islamist faction”, and by stating that they “dominate Gaza”, implying that they are put there by force, and not through free elections. Rockets fired by Hamas into Israel are always counted, whereas the number of Israeli attacks is almost never accounted for:

5.101 Israel killed several top Hamas military commanders and felled three high-rise buildings in audacious airstrikes, while more than 100 rockets a day pounded its battered south (*NYT* August 26, 2014).

In (5.101), we see how Israel’s capacity to destroy an established enemy (terrorists) is positively appraised, simultaneously as Hamas’ attacks are negatively evaluated through the

depiction of number of rockets, and the difficult state that the area in south of Israel is in. At the same time, we find what may be perceived as the newspapers' desire to be more objective, where human losses on the Palestinian side are put up against Israeli soldiers killed or wounded. The numbers are significantly different, and the portrayal might also be understood as negative towards Israel, seeing that the loss of civilians is considered as more tragic than the loss of soldiers. It can also be argued that when the newspaper gives the same amount of space to the death of Israeli soldiers as it does to the death of Palestinian civilians, then that in itself is disproportionate and not objective.

The overall depictions of Palestinian suffering due to Israeli attacks, also contributes to the interpretation of a more negative attitude towards Israel and the attacks:

5.102 [...] moving is not as simple as packing a bag and running. Families are deeply rooted in their neighborhoods, and many lack potential hosts elsewhere. The Attars thought of selling their farmland near the Israeli border, to move somewhere safer, but they could not afford apartments in Gaza City, where the scarcity of land, especially near the sea, drives prices high (NYT July 20, 2014).

In (5.102), we are presented with a depiction of the difficult conditions that Palestinians live in, personalized through the identification of a civilian family, the Attars. Examples such as this one may lead to a desire to help these people, and hence simultaneously an opposition to the country and people responsible for the severe state that the Palestinians are in. This change in attitude is echoed in President Obama's speech at Cairo University in 2009, in which he addresses the issue of the Palestinian's peoples suffering, the intolerable conditions and what he refers to as "legitimate Palestinian aspirations for dignity, opportunity, and a state of their own".<sup>39</sup> By comparison, the Palestinian suffering was never mentioned in the material from 1967. The only mention of possible hardship for the people affected by the conflict was through the portrayal of the refugee situation, referred to both as a "burden" (see (5.36)) and a "problem" (see (5.3)). Notably, the intolerable conditions for the people affected by the conflict in 1967, i.e. the refugees, were for the most part only seen in the light of what a burden it would be for Israel, and not how difficult it might have been for the people affected by it.

However, the 2014 depictions of Palestinian suffering are not unproblematic. Apart from *NYT* now allowing more Palestinian voices in, especially voices of ordinary people, the portrayal of Palestinian suffering can also be considered as part of a long-standing tradition

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<sup>39</sup> Miller Center: <http://millercenter.org/president/obama/speeches/speech-5502>.

of western media wanting to portray a Middle East in distress, where US help and liberation is more than needed (Altheide 2007: 298). The fact that the newspaper goes from negative evaluations of Arabs as “hostile” and “barbaric”, to now being mourning “brothers”, “mothers” and “fathers” struck by Israeli attacks and powerless to do anything, is not necessarily just a positive one. Most of the depictions that the readers have of the Palestinian people are through stories of sadness, mourning and so forth, and may thus, according to Yell’s study (2012), bring the reader to an emotional engagement with the victims, and then lessen the gap between the Palestinian victims and the US readers. However, the 2014 material depicts them as merely being objects, i.e. being acted upon. Compassion with the victims is also addressed in the material from 1967, where Prime Minister Wilson states that the refugees are “entitled to sympathy and understanding for their point of view” (June 10, 1967). The word “sympathy” obviously differs from Yell’s “empathy”, but goes to show that the portrayal has somewhat altered in 2014. Either way, apart from showing what can be seen as sympathy or empathy, there is little real positive appraisal of the group. Portrayals of Palestinians sitting at the “Fun Time Beach Café”, watching “the World Cup” (*NYT* July 10, 2014), drinking coffee, can undoubtedly be understood as a step in the right direction when it comes to portraying Arabs/Palestinians as “people like us” and ultimately someone that we can all relate to, but the general direct positive appraisal is still lacking (see further chapter 6).

Israel, on the other hand, although being questioned for its political intentions, maintains its position as a western democratic society in the Middle East, hence more ‘us’ than the ‘others’. And its political and military actions, although granting some criticism, are still mostly considered to be within the frame of what any country should do when being attacked. Its military force and operations are mostly portrayed as dealing with the conflict according to western ideas and laws (most of the negative appraisal of Israel is invoked), whereas Hamas, although being democratically elected, is explicitly evaluated as a terrorist group, and their attacks and intentions accordingly. This is probably best exemplified in (5.103) where the collision between the two parties is depicted through calling Hamas a “militant group”, Israel remains just “Israel”, and by referring to what Hamas does as “avenge” the deaths of the group’s fighters. Israeli army actions are told through more “military language” saying that they were “attacking targets”. Undoubtedly, Hamas’ actions are implied to be vengeful, traits of “terrorists”, whereas the Israeli army is dealing with the situation in a calm and premeditated way:

5.103 Israel and the militant group Hamas seemed set on a collision course on Tuesday, with an escalation of cross-border clashes around the Gaza Strip, Hamas vowing to avenge the deaths of six of its fighters, and Israeli warplanes attacking dozens of targets in the Palestinian coastal territory (*NYT* July 7, 2014).

Interestingly, there is little mention of the UN, and that Israel is breaking international law in the material from *NYT*, which is a further indication that the newspaper follows national political agenda. The US has for some time wanted to create some distance to the UN, and maintain a pro-Israel position (Chomsky 1989: 84-86). In fact, the UN's opinion on the conflict and Israel's role in it is only expressed once in the material, and only peripherally, which is in stark contrast to *TT* material from 2014.

5.104 They live under restrictions that make this narrow coastal strip, which the United Nations considers occupied by Israel, unlike anywhere else (*NYT* July 20, 2014).

To consider the Gaza Strip “occupied by Israel” indicates a negative evaluation of Israel, but seen in contrast to the more explicit appraisals depicted in the material from *TT*, this example of negative evaluation can be seen as indirect, especially considering that it is a part of the journalist's depictions of the situation, and only placed there as a side remark (further discussed in chapter 6). Furthermore, we only come across one instance of direct voice sourced to the UN. The example concerns the cease-fire, which has in general received more negative appraisal than positive, due to its inability to address the root causes of the crisis:

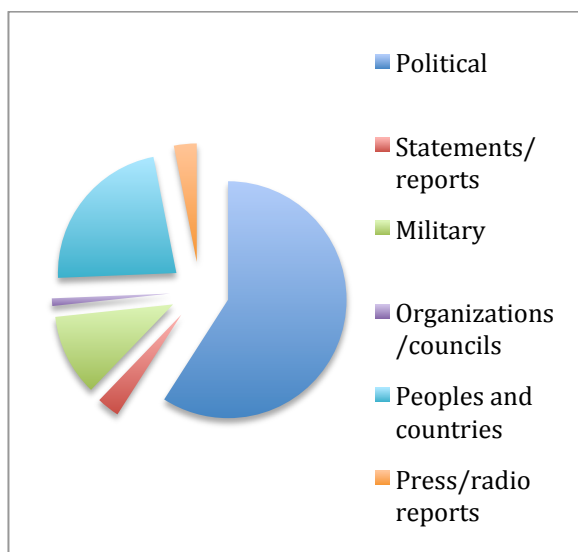
5.105 Secretary General Ban Ki-moon of the United Nations welcomed the cease-fire, but said in a statement, “The blockade of Gaza must end; Israel's legitimate security concerns must be addressed” (*NYT* August 26, 2014).

### **5.3.2 What sources are included/excluded?**

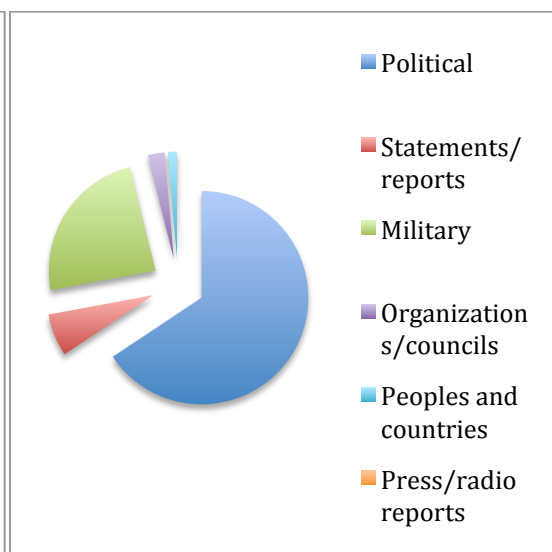
As mentioned in chapter 4, it is usually the majority's main interests that are for the most time systematically focused on in the news (Van Dijk 2011). This is supported by the findings related to sources from 1967, where we find that most of the sources, i.e. alternative voices allowed into the discourse, are political and usually either Western (mostly American or British), or Israeli (see figure 5.5). This supports the findings from the *TT* material from 1967, and confirms the close relationship between the US and Israel. Especially notable is the reliance on sources with some sort of social significance, in this case mostly political or military. We also have instances of the country as a whole mentioned as source, e.g. “Israel”,

or its people, e.g. “Israelis”. In these cases it is somewhat difficult to tell where exactly the information is coming from, in other words, how reliable the sources are. However, in some of the instances, it is possible to trace the items depicting countries or groups of people back to officials speaking on behalf of the country/peoples.

**Figure 5.1: Social significance: an overview of the various groups of sources identified in *NYT* material from 1967. The division of the pie chart is based on percentages from a total number of 254 identified sources (correlating with number of clauses analyzed).**



**Figure 5.2: Social significance: an overview of the various groups of sources identified in *NYT* material from 2014. The division of the pie chart is based on percentages from a total number of 268 identified sources (correlating with number of clauses analyzed).**



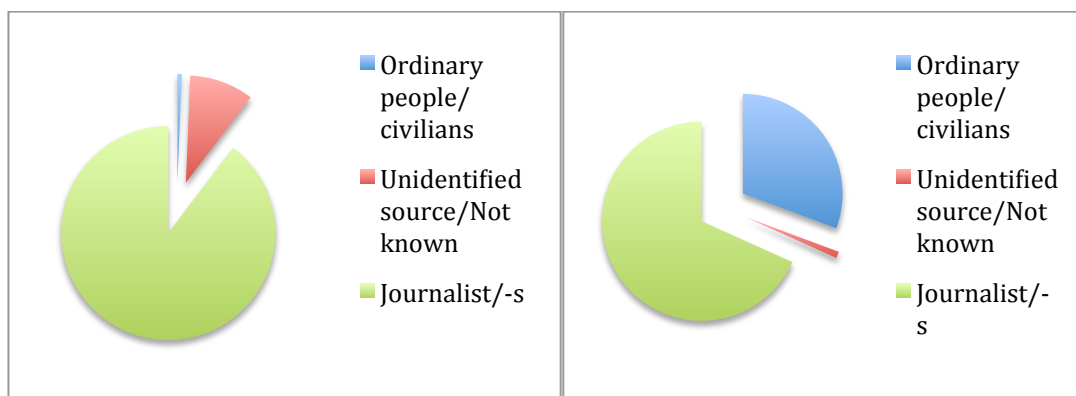
Compared to the findings regarding sources from 1967, the percentage of political sources in 2014 has not changed that much (see figure 5.2). We still come across prime ministers, spokesmen of various parties, and presidents issuing their opinions on the conflict. However, military sources have increased in 2014, of which most of them can be sourced back to Israel. The pie slice of “peoples and countries” has diminished rather a lot, and that of “press/radio reports” has disappeared completely.

By examining figures 5.3 and 5.4, we see that the sources labeled as having “no social significance” revealed more unidentified sources in the material from 1967 than 2014, probably due to a shift in journalistic norm, which may also explain a decrease in the more generic source of country or peoples, and a shift to more specifically identified sources. Noteworthy for both the 1967 and the 2014 findings is the high number of instances sourced back to the journalist (see figures 5.3 and 5.4), with only a relatively small decrease in 2014. As illustrated in section 4.2.3, this means that although some of the instances traced back to

the journalist are heteroglossic, the fact that most of them can be traced to the journalist implies less objectivity than one would presume from hard news. However, figure 5.4 illustrates an increase in “civilian/ordinary people” sources, which was also one of the main findings in *TT* material, thus suggesting a step in the direction of more nuanced reporting.

**Figure 5.3: No social significance: an overview of the various groups identified with no social significance in *NYT* material from 1967. The division of the pie chart is based on percentages from a total number of 254 identified sources (correlating with number of clauses analyzed).**

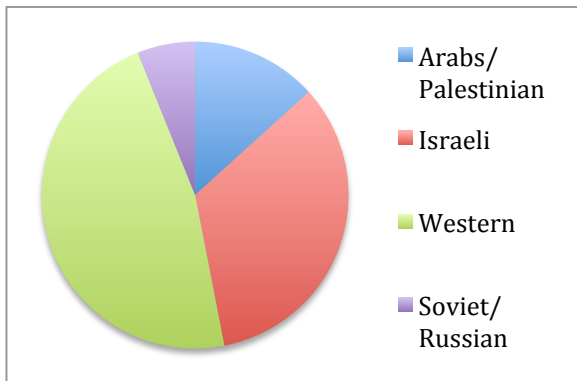
**Figure 5.4: No social significance: an overview of the various groups identified with no social significance in *NYT* material from 2014. The division of the pie chart is based on percentages from a total number of 268 identified sources (correlating with number of clauses analyzed).**



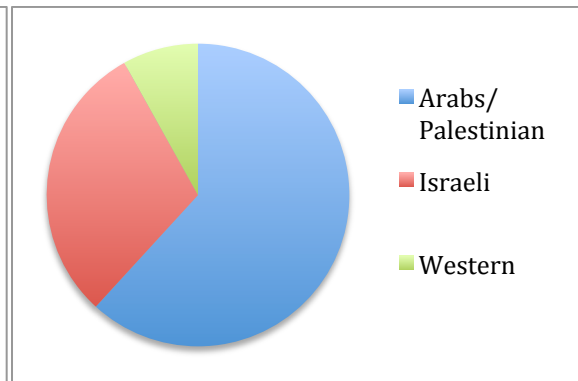
The most significant difference between the findings from 1967 and 2014 regarding general Arab/Israel/Western sources is the notable increase in Arab/Palestinian sources, and the considerable decrease in Western sources (compare figures 5.5 and 5.6), as well as the obvious lack of Soviet/Russian sources in the 2014 material. The latter can be explained by the end of the Cold War, as the conflict no longer is an extension of the US and the Soviet Union’s fight for political power. Apart from the previously mentioned political shift in the US, with President Obama directly addressing Palestinian needs and aspirations, as well as stating that America now wants to focus more on a broader engagement in the Middle East, the increase in Arab/Palestinian sources may also be a result of journalists having better access to Gaza in 2014 than in 1967, when most, if not all, of the depictions of the war came from the Israeli side. This means that the changes in attitude and engagement may be caused either by the political shift or the journalists’ improved access to areas. Furthermore, it is important to mention that, due to social media, news travels much faster today than forty-five years ago, which has an effect both on what newspapers write, and ultimately the way governments act.



**Figure 5.5: An approximate overview of the various sources found in *NYT* material from 1967, according to the countries and regions they are from. The division of the pie chart is based on percentages from a total number of ninety-eight externally identified sources, not including “unidentified sources” and “journalist(s)”.**



**Figure 5.6: An approximate overview of the various sources found in *NYT* material from 2014, according to the countries and regions they are from. The division of the pie chart is based on percentages from a total number of 136 externally identified sources, not including “unidentified sources” and “journalist(s)”.**



## 6 Comparison and discussion

In chapters 4 and 5 we saw how the appraisal framework reveals positive and negative, explicit and implicit attitudes in the material from *TT* and *NYT*. This chapter will now compare the two newspapers, discuss some of the similarities and differences, and attempt to link these to the social and political background in the respective countries.

### 6.1 Comparison between *TT* and *NYT*

As stated in chapters 4 and 5, most of the attitudes that the appraisal framework revealed were negative, due to the topic at hand being inherently a negative one. Following Martin and White (2005), we have seen that Appraisal theory does not just account for explicit realizations of attitude, but it also considers how writers may attempt to evoke or provoke attitudinal evaluation. This may in turn persuade readers to adopt certain stances or viewpoints, and align them with the writer's, i.e. adopt the writer's attitudinal positioning. Although news reporting is considered to be objective and neutral, previous research (cf. chapter 2) has shown the problems with such a perspective on the news genre. Even when we argue that 'objectivity' refers to the journalists' attempt at being as objective as they possibly can (Manoff and Schudson 1986: 15-26), we cannot overlook the fact that all texts, even news articles, are produced in a social setting and thus inevitably also in a political one. The observations made in them are therefore "constrained or determined by cultural preconceptions and traditions". News reported on will always be conditioned by "the social background and ideological perspective of journalists, editors and management" (Iedema et al. 1994: 3).

The findings of this thesis support earlier research on war reporting, suggesting that in addition to the overall negative evaluations, we also find attitudes and appraisals that go beyond the mere nature of war being a negative matter. Some of these evaluations were discussed in chapters 4 and 5, regarding politics in the respective countries. There are, however, a few more issues that need to be mentioned. These concern the general 'frames' which both of the newspapers seem to operate within. As Tiffen (1989: 53) notes, conflicts are often contextualized: "stories are presented in a way that maximizes their apparent relevance to the audience". Similarly Wolfsfeld (1997) argues that issues presented in the media are often connected to the political debates going on in the countries where the consumers of the media are to be found. Thus, even a conflict taking place far away from the

readers will be portrayed within familiar notions and frames for the media consumers. This further supports the reasoning of this thesis that news is not objective (at best), and can be biased (at worst). Some of these frames within which both of the newspapers represented and still represent the Israel-Palestine conflict are discussed in the following sections.

### **6.1.1 Creating and maintaining stereotypes**

One of the most striking similarities between *TT* and *NYT* from 1967 is the inclination to describe Arabs in negative and stereotypical terms. This is identified in the category of appraised items in the framework, seen through the positive representations of "us" and negative of "them" (see example (4.5), where Israelis are identified as a part of "us" and Arabs as a part of "them"); through descriptions of the Palestinian refugees as a "problem" and a "burden" (see examples (5.3) and (5.36)); the Arab leaders as incompetent and "warlusting" (see examples (4.30) and (5.10)); and finally through various negative depictions of the Arab land (Gaza Strip) (see example (5.28)). Similar tendencies have previously been noted by other researchers, such as Chomsky (1989: 315), who notes the stereotypicism through wordings such as "crazed Arab" and "always blames others for his predicament, and in the end lances the painful boil of his frustrations in a pointless, though momentarily gratifying, act of bloodlust". Lazar and Lazar (2004: 234-236), who present representative stereotypes of Arabs, such as 'bellicosity', i.e. the notion of Arabs thriving in conflict, and 'moral degeneracy'. The notion of bellicosity can be found in the 1967 material (see example (4.30), where Arabs are frequently portrayed as "warlusting" and always willing to fight, and the term 'moral degeneracy' can today be closely linked to terror and militant groups (see examples (5.78) and (6.7)), thus the uncivilized "other".

This negative stereotyping of Arabs and positive stereotyping of Israelis indicates a dichotomy, where we find the readers, whether British or American, with the Israelis on one side, and the Arabs on the other. This was discussed in section 4.1.1, where the journalist seems to want the readers to identify Israelis with "us" considering that they are restoring normalcy and order, and Arabs with "them", since they are "warlusting".

Van Dijk (2011: 199-204) notes that a negative portrayal of "them" in news discourse is often combined with a positive portrayal of "us", a tendency also noted in my own findings (see, for instance, examples (4.26) and (4.27)). Van Dijk (2011) further argues that a lack of certain portrayals may be a sign of a misrepresentation of particular groups. This tendency was also identified in my material: both newspapers evaluate their countries in a positive

light, and avoid criticizing their governments' potentially failing strategies with regards to the war. Furthermore, the portrayal of Palestinians in 2014, although it now includes more varied depictions, may still be considered incomplete, since we are only presented with an image of mourning, sad Palestinians/Gazans in distress, and their "vengeful" leaders, Hamas. We never get to see who these people are outside these frames, and outside these events. On the other hand, according to Bednarek and Caple (2012: 39-44), negative depictions are considered more newsworthy than positive ones, so we would probably never even hear about the area or the people had it not been for the war. And although most of the portrayals of Palestinians are identified through instances of negative affect, and through negative depictions of the consequences of the war for the people living in the area, these contribute to a new and better understanding of the conflict, as compared to 1967, when victims and human losses were seldom mentioned.

In 1967, the Soviet Union, considered to be an Arab ally at, was also portrayed in a negative light, thus reflecting the ideological struggle between the two "super powers", i.e. the US and the Soviet Union. This can be seen in examples such as the following:

6.1 Moscow's dilemma is that the decline of western influence in the new nations has not led to a corresponding rise in communist influence [...] Communist parties are banned or restricted in almost all the Arab states (*TT* June 6, 1967\_1).

Here the Soviet Union is presented as having the sole interest of enhancing its communist ideas, and not necessarily wanting to help the Arab countries. Furthermore, the relationship between the Arab nations and the Soviet Union, now together identified as the "other" party, can be seen through the attempts to minimize the strength of their co-operation, and by enhancing the differences between their ideologies. Considering that the region had become "a hot spot of Cold War rivalry" (Bejnin and Hajjar 2014: 6), it is implied that it was important for the West to show that "they" are not a threat to "us".

In a similar vein, there is a tarnishing of the Soviet Media, both in *TT* and *NYT*, illustrated previously in examples (4.23) and (5.22). However, as noted in chapter 5, there are more such instances in the British newspaper than in the American one, which is strange considering the rest of the framing of super power rivalry.

### 6.1.2 Emotions in hard news

Affect and feelings of “mourning” bring us to the notion of emotions in news articles. Yell (2012) notes a difference between feeling ‘for’ (sympathy) and feeling ‘with’ (empathy) victims, arguing that in reporting on disaster events, readers are often positioned to feel ‘with’ their own, and feel ‘for’ the others (ibid: 418-425). This is also noted in my own findings from 1967, where we find instances of sympathy for Arabs, rather than empathy with them:

6.2 “They are entitled to sympathy and understanding for their for their point of view, not least at this difficult time for them,” he declared (*NYT* June 10, 1967).

However, the material from 2014 suggests a shift in this trend, and we find what can be perceived according to Yell’s (2012) definition as instances of empathy:

6.3 The Attar family, from northern Gaza, was crammed into a United Nations school classroom on Sunday, 27 relatives in all, their clothing hung on hooks for children’s book bags. They had moved first to a relative’s house, where 34 people shared two rooms, then tried to rent an apartment, but could find none free, and they longed for a truce so they could go home (*NYT* July 20, 2014).

In (6.3), we see that the readers are presented with the Palestinians’/Gazans’ difficult situation through personalization of the victims, identifying them as families being forced to seek refuge in schools, i.e. the empathy is evoked through both appreciation and affect. To some extent, this goes against some of the tendencies noted in Yell’s study (2012), where the media presume that readers care more about those who are culturally and geographically close; thus one would expect more sympathy, as opposed to empathy. Yell (ibid: 426) further notes that ‘grief’ and ‘mourning’ entail solidarity and empathy with victims, as opposed to, for instance, ‘shock’ and ‘horror’. Although shock and horror are a part of the 2014 material (*NYT* August 8, 2014), many of the examples were also of mourning Palestinians burying their dead, and mothers remembering their dead children (see, for instance, *NYT* August 8, 2014).

These tendencies were also detected in the *TT* material, with examples such as the following:

- 6.4 Two brothers, Mohammed Aarif, 13, and Amir Aarif, 12, died in an airstrike on Shejaiya, east of Gaza City, while a strike in the nearby Zeitun district killed Amina Malaka, 27, and her 18-month-old son, Mohammed (*TT* July 9, 2014).
- 6.5 “There is nothing left, not even a piece of clothing. We are still baffled at why we were targeted,” Mohammed Hamouda, 55, said as he picked his way through the twisted heap of metal and concrete, all that remained of his home two miles from the border with Israel (*TT* August 1, 2014).

In (6.4), we see a clear identification of victims, through both names and age, as well as family members, while in (6.5), in addition to the source, Mohammed Hamouda, and his age, we are presented with his whereabouts and the condition of his home. The depictions are given almost as a story, enabling the reader to envision Hamouda walking in the remains of his home.

Apart from the increase in the use of affect in both newspapers (compare tables 4.1 and 5.1 with 4.2 and 5.2), there is also a shift in the way this attitude aligns the readers. We now find that the readers are aligned to feel more ‘with’ the Palestinians, as opposed to ‘for’ as they were in 1967. A possible explanation for this shift may be the increased access to international news and social media. We are forced to look at the conflict from different perspectives than we were back in 1967, because we now have many different people, including victims, with access to Internet and the opportunity to broadcast their views on the matter. The globalized world has made distances smaller, and thus inevitably countries closer. Another factor that may play a role is the familiarity with the conflict. With roots going as far back as the end of the nineteenth century, readers are rather familiar with the conflict, and thus the Israelis and Palestinians/Gazans might be considered more proximate. Moreover, we need to keep in mind that many of the Israelis and Palestinians living in other countries may have helped bring attention to this case, and thus also humanized the various sides to readers across the world.

Stenvall (2008) also addresses news reporting on emotions, and argues that it inherently challenges journalistic ideals of objectivity and factuality. Her study concerns the way in which readers are aligned to feel empathy, specifically mentioning the presentation of individuals as members of a family, as illustrated in examples (6.3) and (6.4). The findings then indicate a somewhat more personalized journalistic style in the material from 2014, going in favor of the Palestinians/Gazans.

### 6.1.3 A shift in genre

The affect category is also closely related to the way journalists now report the events. The 2014 material reveals a higher degree of victim identification and personal stories about their lives, which underpin the affect category, and enhance the readers' ability to engage with the people portrayed in the articles.

The new trend resembles the genre of 'narrative' (Martin and Rose 2008: 51-55, 67-74), and is an important and significant journalistic choice, since it "determines the shape of the event to be judged and thereby often the judgment that is to be rendered" (Manoff and Schudson 1986: 218). Furthermore, narratives make sense of the world, and thus have a form of power. But the sense they make is conventional (ibid: 228-229). In contrast, most of the news articles from 1967 were more of the 'recount' type, depicting sequences of events. Obviously, as Richardson (2007: 71-74) points out, hard news narratives are very rarely complete stories, rarely chronological, and tend to focus more on the unfolding event. They are also organized in the 'inverted pyramid structure, meaning 'climax first' structure, as can be seen in example (6.6):

- 6.6 Sabah Dawawsa was in the kitchen Friday morning, frying the chicken livers her 10-year-old son, Ibrahim, had requested for the after-prayer meal. With Palestinian rockets having resumed at the 8 a.m. expiration of the 72-hour cease-fire, followed by Israeli airstrikes, Ms. Dawawsa said she had told Ibrahim to stay inside, in their house in Gaza City's Sheikh Radwam neighborhood (*NYT* August 8, 2014).

The effect on the readers is that they are drawn into the event, through being provided progressively with more and more information about the participants and the reported action, almost like a spy novel. This leads to a blurring of genres of news and entertainment, and enhances the readers' interest, as well as increasing the degree of identification between the readers and the people portrayed.

In conclusion, this suggests a trend moving from portraying Arabs as just the "bad guys" and "them", towards making it easier for the American and British readers to identify with them, hence closer to "us". However, as previously stated, this new trend is not unproblematic, and the victimization of one group of Arabs does not exclude negative depictions of other groups. Although personalization and the use of affect may contribute to feelings of empathy and a desire to help the Palestinian people, it also alludes to a Middle East in distress, in need of Western help, and thus ultimately contributes to what still seems to be UK and US political interests in the area.

#### 6.1.4 Militant and terrorist groups

Whenever we deal with victimization, we often also find a group identified as the guilty party. In 1967, the Arabs were largely identified as the “bad guys”, whereas in 2014, the issue is a little more complicated. Both *TT* and *NYT* reveal a more negative appraisal of Israel in the 2014 material. However, as has been noted in chapters 4 and 5, it is important to look at how the negative appraisal is brought forth. The material in both newspapers reveals some interesting findings in this regard: Israel, although receiving most of the negative appraisal, is seldom explicitly criticized, whereas Hamas is frequently explicitly referred to as a “militant group”. Consider by way of example the following:

- 6.7 It argues that the dwellings were legitimate military targets because they were occupied by commanders from militant groups, including Hamas and Islamic Jihad, responsible for launching rocket attacks (*TT* July 11, 2014).
- 6.8 During the current fighting between Israel and the Hamas militants who control Gaza, only those with Egyptian or foreign passports or special permission were allowed to exit (*NYT* July 20, 2014).

Furthermore, the term “terrorist” is also used to describe the governing group, often sourced to external sources such as Israeli officials (example (6.9)), or more indirectly by the Secretary of State, John Kerry (example (6.10)):

- 6.9 “[...] There can be no moral sympathy between a terrorist aggressor and a democracy defending itself,” he said (*TT* July 23, 2014).
- 6.10 He described “certain bedrock outcomes” as essential to a long-term solution, saying that Israel needed to live “without terrorist attacks, without rockets, without tunnels, without sirens going off and families scrambling to bomb shelters,” [...] (*NYT* August 26, 2014).

The label ‘terrorist’ fits in a broader perspective of news reporting, along with militant groups such as Al Qaida and Hizbollah, which were labeled “terrorists” by President Bush and his administration (Simon and Benjamin 2000: 61-62). The term ‘terrorism’, in its basic sense, can be understood as a “politically motivated crime intended to modify the behavior of a target audience” (Weinberg and Davis 1989 in Bhatia 2009: 281), and can thus easily be applied to radical groups, as well as governments. However, as Bhatia (2009: 281) points out, the term is frequently attributed subjective meaning, and in the recent decade mostly associated with Islamic radicals. By using this term to describe one of the parties involved in the conflict, Hamas, one immediately criminalizes the party, and to some extent justifies



actions against it. It is therefore not surprising that Israel would like to portray the group as a terrorist organization, nor that Kerry refers to the group's actions as "terrorist attacks". In fact, according to the US government's official papers, Hamas is considered a terrorist group.<sup>40</sup> The term "militant", on the other hand, is defined as "having or showing a desire or willingness to use strong, extreme, and sometimes forceful methods to achieve something". According to the online version of Merriam-Webster dictionary, it can both be used in the sense of "engaged in warfare" or "aggressively active".<sup>41</sup> Considering that both Israel and Hamas are engaged in warfare, but only one of them referred to as "militants", it is reasonable to assume that whenever journalists or other sources refer to Hamas as such, they have the negative interpretation in mind.

This direct reference to them as militants or terrorists tarnishes any positive appraisal that may occur, for instance that they want a cease-fire too (see example (4.89)), and constructs the group as an enemy, not just of Israel, but also of "us". This can be explained through Lazar and Lazar's term of "(e)vilification", Khan and Govindasamy's explanation (2011) of media dehumanizing 'the other', which in turn may lead to a discursive bipolarity that further perpetuates "a blueprint for heightened differences and conflict" (Lazar and Lazar 2004: 223). Essentially, such wordings may place Hamas and other Palestinian groups in the wider context of a moral order and 'war on terror',<sup>42</sup> based on the dichotomization and antagonism of out-groups ("them") and in-groups ("us") (Lazar and Lazar 2004: 223-234).

Moreover, when suggestions are made that there are other (unidentified) militant groups in the area of Gaza (see example (5.72)), it enhances the feeling of insecurity and urgency, and further evaluates Gaza and the Middle East as an area in distress in need of western help. Some of the news articles suggest that Hamas' "terror" is not only directed towards Israel, but towards internal civilian groups, thus indicating that nobody is safe and further highlighting the notion of "evil" for this particular party (see example (4.84)). These findings are in accordance with Altheide's study (2007: 287-293), where he argues that the mass media promotes terrorism by stressing fear and uncertainty, and that 'war on terror' may be a way of expanding the US military presence throughout the world. He further notes that "legitimate police officers and military personnel are seldom cast as gunmen" (ibid: 291), meaning that in-groups, although executing the same actions as identified militant groups, will not be referred to as "militant groups" or "terrorists". This suggests that Israel is

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<sup>40</sup> <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/65462.pdf>

<sup>41</sup> <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/militant> [Internet source] [Accessed on August 24, 2015].

<sup>42</sup> Referred to as the 'New World Order'.

still an “in-group”, whereas Hamas is not. Consequently, this type of news discourse may be understood as indirectly justifying Israel’s actions, seeing that they are “targeting terrorists” (*NYT* July 10, 2014) – a threat to all of us, including the UK and the US. Richardson (2007: 49-52) refers to this as referential strategies, and explains how this not only projects meaning and social values onto the referent (in our case Hamas), but also establishes the way in which other social actors are represented, something that may echo van Dijk’s notion (1989: 34) of a simultaneous negative “other-presentation” and a positive “self-presentation”.

### 6.1.5 Armor’s advance versus human suffering

Both *TT*’s and *NYT*’s portrayal of the conflict in 1967 is heavily focused on arms, aircraft losses and military capacity. As stated in section 4.1, bare mentioning of aircraft losses alludes to the question of a country(s) military force, something that seemed to be very important in 1967, perhaps due to the arms race between the US and the Soviet Union. According to Gluska (2007: 36-37), the US policy of selling weapons to Israel was partly due to the increasing influence and infiltration of the Soviet Union in the Middle East, and the rift between the conservative pro-Western and the revolutionary countries. In other words, the policy was based on US political interests. There is thus a significant focus on appraisal of the respective military capacity, intensified through quantification of “enemy losses” and a specification of what type of aircraft were destroyed. Consider by way of example the following:

- 6.11 [...] and both sides claimed the destruction of numbers of aircraft [...] They have already inflicted a defeat on the Egyptian forces in Sinai which goes beyond their expectations [...] The Egyptian Air Force losses, he said, were **30** Tupolev- **16** bombers; **26** light bombers of the Ilyushin- **28** type- **12** bomber-fighters of the **Sohoi-7** type only recently acquired from the Soviet Union, **90** MIG-21 jet fighters; **20** MIG-17s; **75** MIG 15-17s; and **30 other** transport planes and helicopters (*TT* June 5, 1967).

In (6.11), we firstly see the need for the various parties to claim their military capacity, and thus evaluating their capabilities in a positive light, and secondly, we see that the negative portrayal of the Egyptian Air Force is identified through the item “losses”, and further intensified through quantification of the various types of aircraft. Similar notions of war news are advanced by Broadbent et al. (1985: 9-28), who find that military authorities often want only “the good news” printed, rather than the whole picture however bad it may be. This often due to the desire and need to manage the way in which various conflicts are portrayed.

Hallin (1997: 208-209) notes how during the First World War, one realized that the ‘home front’ (civilians and their force of economic production) was crucial for military success. Several strategies for dealing with this were implemented in UK and US news reporting, of which “managing public opinion” was one of the most important ones.

Other instances of military focal points is the focus on “morale”:

- 6.12 Morale among the little Arab community sheltering in the hotel basement quickly evaporated and some even shouted “Shalom” at passing soldiers (TT June 6, 1967\_2).

The notion of the “quickly evaporated morale” is important in any war, and can, in relation to the rest of the depictions of a failed Arab force, be regarded as a sign of a failing military. Moreover, the “shouting of ‘Shalom’” is here an indication of the Arab community accepting the defeat of their forces, and trying to adapt to the Israeli rule. When we have established that the Israeli army is on “our side”, we have simultaneously suggested that their enemy is our enemy. Thus, a weakening of the Israeli enemy implies that “we” have nothing to worry about, “our” military is superior to theirs, and “we” will win.

Unlike in 1967, the material from both newspapers from 2014 shows a different focus in terms of “losses” and “counts of war”. Now, the focus of losses is on people, civilians and casualties, i.e. what was previously used to positively evaluate military force, is now substituted with loss that negatively evaluates the war and the attacks:

- 6.13 **More than 120,000** people are sheltering in UN buildings across the Gaza Strip, and **more than 1.2 million** of Gaza’s **1.8 million** people have no, or only limited, water because of damage to power networks (TT July 23, 2014).
- 6.14 The death toll in Gaza had risen to **at least 78** by Thursday, the majority of them noncombatants, according to Health Ministry officials in the Palestinian coastal enclave (NYT July 10, 2014).
- 6.15 The **mounting** Palestinian deaths, a quarter of whom were children, is increasing pressure on Israel not to launch a threatened ground offensive despite strong public demand for a decisive military operation (TT July 11, 2014).

All three examples illustrate the trend of explicitly stating loss of people, and civilians in general. (6.13) and (6.14) do so by directly referring to numbers, i.e. the intensification of the losses comes through quantification, whereas (6.15) mentions “mounting” number of deaths and “a quarter of whom were children”, i.e. is not specific about the numbers, but still

intensifies the significant amount of losses. “Mounting” may also be simultaneously perceived as a quality, and thus enhance even more the feeling of the growing (unspecified) number.

Another difference between the 1967 and 2014 material is the focus on demolition of “homes” and “hospitals”:

- 6.16 Some people are warning that Gaza’s health system is close to collapse, with at least three hospitals and 13 health facilities having been damaged in the fighting (*TT* July 23, 2014).
- 6.17 Since the first attack on Beit Hanoun weeks ago, Mr Kaferna said they had been staying at the maternity hospital where he worked as a security guard, though it was also pocked by shelling (*NYT* August 8, 2014).

Both of the examples illustrate how the words “homes”, “hospital(s)” and “health facilities” are a part of the negative appraisal of the conflict in general, as well as possibly being considered as an implicit evaluation of the party responsible for the action.

What all of these examples illustrate is a shift from an equipment/inanimate focus to a more human/animate focus that also includes facilities that are important to these humans, and that directly affect their lives. The implications of such a shift are significant: the 2014 material portrays stories of the conflict that even readers far away can identify with, more than they possibly could with earlier depictions of armor significance and recollections of political speeches/debates and so forth. The changes in focus of “loss” are also connected with the changes in the inclusion of sources, an issue further discussed in section 6.1.7.

In sum, in 1967, we see a prevalence of positive appraisal of military capacity and the counting of enemy losses. More recently, in 2014, the losses accounted for are focused on human beings and victims, thus shifting the focal point to a negative evaluation of the consequences of the war.

### **6.1.6 Aerial campaign versus air attack: camouflaging the acts of war**

Apart from the notable changes in items implying negative/positive attitudes, as well as intensifying items enhancing these attitudes, we also come across an interesting thing in the section of appraised items. I have previously mentioned some difficulties with regards to this section, seeing that there could be many different levels of interpretation of attitudes and appraisal, and that the appraised items might vary according to what level you are operating on. For instance, in example (6.18), we see that on the more explicit level of interpretation,

we are dealing with an evaluation of the “rockets” and their long range capacity; however, looking at it from a wider perspective which includes context, we realize that it is in fact Hamas that is evaluated here (“rocket fired from Gaza”). Although the rockets may be “doing their job well” by having the capability of traveling far, the fact that the “terrorist group” Hamas now has these types of rockets invokes fear of what they are capable of, and thus an evaluation of the group, rather than the rockets:

- 6.18 Two rockets reportedly crashed into the sea off the northern port city of Haifa, the farthest a rocket fired from Gaza has ever travelled (*TT* July 9, 2014).

Lukin et al. (2004: 65) note in relation to ‘agency’, that technological equipment is often identified as agents of actions of war, having the effect of “effacing human agency” and “dehumanizing the construction of war”, i.e. leaving humans out as potential agents of the actions. Moreover, passive constructions such as (6.19), where the agent of the action is omitted, obscure the identity of the humans responsible for the offensive:

- 6.19 More than 70 Palestinians were killed in Shejaiya on Sunday, half of the death toll in the single bloodiest day of violence of the Gaza offensive, now in its third week (*TT* July 23, 2014).

The Gaza offensive is implicitly evaluated in a negative light, but it is only through the knowledge of the conflict and the influence of the surrounding text that we as readers interpret this as also an evaluation of the Israeli army. This shows one of the strengths of the appraisal framework: apart from only looking at the present words, it accounts for what these words actually are meant to represent, i.e. what interpretation readers most likely will infer from them. Moreover, Lukin’s study (2004: 146-147) shows that depictions of actions of war are often carried out by an “act of war” such as “strikes” and “attacks”. This is in accordance with my own analysis, especially in the case where the attacks and strikes originate from Israel. Consider the following:

- 6.20 He ran to the construction site where, three months ago, work began on a 13,000-square-foot mosque, called Al Nour, to replace the one destroyed **by an Israeli strike** during Operation Cast Lead in 2008-9 (*NYT* August 8, 2014).
- 6.21 [...] after a day when **militants in Gaza fired rockets** at the reactor where Israel’s nuclear weapons are believed to be made (*TT* July 9, 2014).

In (6.20), we see that the agent of the action is a “strike”, i.e. an abstract thing, and is thus in the present framework analyzed under appreciation, whereas in (6.21) the agent is in fact human, “militants”, and thus analyzed under judgment. Furthermore, in (6.22), we see that the entity responsible for the mounting casualties is referred to as “Israel’s aerial campaign”, and therefore not only distancing the human actors from the action, but also somewhat distancing the event from negative evaluations:

6.22 With the casualties of Israel’s aerial campaign in Gaza mounting [...] (*NYT* July 10, 2014).

This can be seen as what Richardson (2007: 69-70) refers to as ‘neologism’, i.e. developing new euphemistic meaning. This is especially evident in the 2014 material, whereas in the 1967 material we can come across examples such as (6.23):

6.23 Her armies have overrun major refugee camps in the Gaza Strip and on the west bank of the Jordan (*NYT* June 10, 1967).

”Her armies” here refers to Israel’s armies. Thus the identification of agent was less abstract in 1967 than in 2014 (as illustrated with the examples from the 2014 material).

### **6.1.7 The use of sources and alternative viewpoints**

Stenvall (2008: 1571) notes that journalists consider direct quotes from external sources as a guarantee of ‘factuality’, because they do not have to take a stand for or against the propositions and viewpoints advanced. Similarly, White (2012: 57) refers to this feature as one of the pillars of what has been termed ‘objectivity’ in news reporting. However, as this thesis proposes, even with externally sourced attitudes, journalists and newspapers are not absolved from responsibility. Although hard news may be read as detached and impartial, they also simultaneously advance particular axiological positioning. This is especially evident through the engagement category, where we find the sources of the attitudes and evaluations proposed. As illustrated in chapters 4 and 5, the proportion of various sources also plays a role in the determination of objectivity.

In chapters 4 and 5, it was illustrated how the use of sources went from almost only ones with social significance, towards a tendency of letting ordinary people’s voices in (compare, for instance, figures 4.1 and 4.2 with figures 4.2 and 4.4). This is important for the

readers' understanding of the conflict, as well as for their identification with the people in need, and a shift from what Manoff and Schudson (1986: 12-15) noted in 1986: ordinary people seldom appear in news, unless they are part of some sort of official proceedings. Similar observations are found in Lukin's study (2004: 147-150) of an article from *The Australian* about the war in Iraq, noting that although critical/alternative voices were heard, the article favored official interpretations of the war, meaning that even the alternative voices had some sort of social significance. This means that even seemingly varied and balanced discourse can carry a political agenda.

The trend of allowing more ordinary people into the discourse is not enough when attempting to determine the implications of the news articles. For instance, the category of engagement reveals that although the 2014 material from *TT* shows an increase in the use of Palestinian sources, the use of Israeli sources actually increased significantly compared to 1967 (see figures 4.5 and 4.6, chapter 4). This means that although *TT* is allowing more Palestinian voices into the discourse, they are outweighed by the number of Israeli sources. Additionally, most of the Israeli sources are official sources of some sort, and thus reflect the research on how for the most part only the powerful entities in society are organized enough to "generate press materials, hold press conferences and otherwise garner media attention" (Richardson 2007: 87-89), and that the elites are ultimately the ones who get to construe the happenings of the conflict. This in turn gives further support to what Fowler (1991: 48-54) refers to as "the ideology of consensus", i.e. maintaining the notion of a common set of beliefs and values, ones often advanced by the people and groups in power.

The material from *NYT* showed similar tendencies, except from a significant lack of sources labeled 'organizations/councils', a significant decrease in western sources, a doubling of military sources, and forty-nine per cent increase in the use of Arab/Palestinian sources (compare figures 5.5 and 5.6). The latter is almost four times higher than the percentage of Arab/Palestinian sources in *TT* from 2014. The percentage of western sources in *NYT* is also five times lower than in the British counterpart. However, the increase in military sources is twice as high as the number found in the material from *TT*. What this suggests is that *NYT* actually manages to balance the perspective points in the news articles better than *TT*. However, the numbers are not unproblematic. Regardless of the obvious increase in Arab/Palestinian voices, there were almost no direct negative evaluations of Israel coming from valued organizations such as the UN. In contrast, several of these were found in *TT*:

- 6.24 The UN human rights council voted for an international inquiry into Israel's offensive, hours after Navi Pillay, the UN human rights chief, warned that Israel may have committed warcrimes in Gaza. She also condemned Hamas for targeting Israeli civilians and launching attacks from civilian areas in Gaza, saying the militant group was also violating international laws of war (*TT* July 23, 2014).

This is in accordance with the recent politics, where the US has distanced itself from the UN, and wants to manage their foreign policies on their own (Butt et al. 2004: 267-268). Interestingly, the appraisal of Israel in (6.24) is invoked, signaled by the vague reference to the need for an “international inquiry”, because Israel “may have committed” war crimes, whereas the negative appraisal of Hamas is inscribed, signaled by the direct use of “condemned”, “violating international laws of war”, and by referring to them as a “militant group”. Hence, it becomes clear that although Israel is being criticized for its actions in *TT*, Hamas is actually the party that gets the direct and explicit criticism. This indicates that the UN human rights council is unsure of whether Israel's actions are right or wrong, whereas there is no doubt about Hamas' actions being ethically erroneous. Such an understanding may ultimately lead to what Lazar and Lazar (2004: 230-231, 236-237) refer to as a “criminalization of the political actions of the enemy”, which in the material for this thesis is done both through the designation of Hamas as a “militant group” and “terrorist organization”, and through the strategy of attributing criminal actions to the particular enemy. Ultimately, this means that although *TT* allows the UN into the discourse, and *NYT* does not, the notions portrayed in the attributions still follow the political positioning of the country.

Already in 1989, Chomsky (1989: 218-221) noted the US' declination to condemn Israeli practices and change the establishment of Israeli settlements, even when the practices were addressed in the Security Council. Chomsky (*ibid*) argues that as long as the UN was a “docile instrument” of the US, they were more than happy to co-operate, however, as soon as UN policies contradicted those of the US, the attitudes towards the organization shifted.

Moreover, my analysis from the 2014 material from *TT* reveals that not all of the official Israeli sources from 2014 were positive towards Israel and its politics. In fact, some proved to be critical of the government's political and military decisions, and criticized especially the prime minister for the failing strategy. Consider (6.25):

- 6.25 Nahum Barnea, one of the country's most popular columnists, wrote: “The Israelis expected a leader, a statesman who knows what he wants to achieve, someone who makes decisions and engages in a sincere and real dialogue with his public. They received a seasoned spokesperson and very little beyond that” (*TT* August 28, 2014).



Interestingly, most of the negative evaluations are through the category of judgment: social esteem: capacity. This is seen in (6.25), through Netanyahu's lacking ability to lead the country and carry through the military strategy as promised, and not through moral judgments of the Government's actions. Consequently, the readers, even when presented with criticism of Israel, are faced with evaluations of a seemingly failing prime minister, and not failing politics on the grounds of a moral stand. Moreover, some of the external attributions included were the current government's opposing political parties that surely have an agenda. As Knightley (2002) argues, all political and military sources have an agenda. This is further problematized by Hallin (1997: 209), who explains that the British and American press have developed a style of war reporting that is heavily dependent on official sources, and therefore view the world from the centralized perspective of those who are managing the global war apparatus. In other words, when official sources such as political and military are used, the perspectives on the conflict we as readers get are influenced by their agendas.

### **6.1.8 Political interests**

In addition to making international conflict a part of party policies, nations also have political interests that may go beyond the 'local' policies, and have an effect on entire countries. Some ways in which the Israel-Palestine conflict affected and still is affecting the UK and the US are discussed in this section.

Oil is the most obvious political and economic interest of the US and the UK in the Middle East area. The focus on oil is evident in the analyses through items revealing negative evaluations in the attitude category. Consider by way of example:

- 6.26 Egyptian sources said today that the Government was considering steps against the United States that could include nationalizing the property of the two principal American oil companies operating in Egypt [...] Pan American, which has invested about \$90-million in the United Arab Republic, has been pumping oil in the Gulf of Suez in a joint venture with the Egyptian government. Philips, whose investments here totals approximately \$30-million, operates in Egypt's Western Desert also in a joint undertaking with the Egyptian government (*NYT* June 14, 1967).<sup>43</sup>

Here, we see that a possible oil boycott, due to US involvement in the war, is considered negative, since it will cause American oil companies to lose their businesses in Egypt. The negative appraisal is implicit, but alludes to notions of moral judgment, because the

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<sup>43</sup> Pan American and Philips are oil and petroleum companies (*NYT* June 14, 1967).

American oil companies who had invested a lot of money in the area could now be forced out of business there. The oil boycott itself is also identified as an appraised item in examples such as the following:

- 6.27 An Arab oil boycott would hit Britain more than the United States (*TT* June 7, 1967).

Here we see that, apart from the negatively loaded word “boycott”, the verb “hit” implies a negative consequence for Britain and the country’s interests, thus the boycott is not wanted. Notably, there is a comparison between the effects of a boycott on the US and Britain, where *TT* suggests that Britain has the most to lose from one, and is therefore even more against it than the US. This is an important point, since it illustrates the complexity of the relationship between the two western countries, who are often seen as partners in international issues. In (6.27), *TT* suggests that this partnership may not be as clear-cut as we would like to think.

Less obvious examples of political bias in 1967 are the reporting of the conflict in the context of the ongoing Cold War. The analyses revealed links to the rivalry between the US and the Soviet Union (as mentioned in chapter 4), portraying the conflict as a part of the battle between capitalism and communism. Accordingly, the Arab nations and the Soviet Union were portrayed as being on one side of the conflict, whereas the US, Britain and Israel on the other. Consider by way of example the following:

- 6.28 The Russians are constantly trying to show the Arab-Israel clash as a confrontation between progressive national liberation forces of the “revolutionary Arab states” and western imperialism which is backing Israel and the traditionalist regimes of Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Iran (*TT* June 6, 1967\_1).
- 6.29 Accordingly, these small wars are at least indirectly connected with the larger cold war. Certainly Nasser would not have risked this action unless he thought he had the support of Moscow, and no doubt he or his successor will risk it again some time in the future unless Moscow and Washington finally try to create a more reasonable world order (*NYT* June 7, 1967).

Unsurprisingly then, most of the negative attitudes in the material from 1967 from both newspapers were turned towards the Arabs and their ally, the Soviet Union. This is in accordance with the socio-historical background at the time, with Wilson’s government supporting the Israelis, and distancing themselves from the communist regime of the Soviet Union. Because the war was construed as a polarized conflict between two conflicting

Parties - one side supporting Israel (including the US and the UK), and the other side supporting the Arabs (including the Soviet Union) - a lot of the discourse around the fighting was reduced to disagreements between the parties and their meetings with the other UN members.

The findings are supported by Gluska's book (2007) on the origins of the 1967 war, which argues that the rivalry between the US and the Soviet Union during the Cold War played a vital part in the evolution of the Arab-Israel conflict. Both of the countries were battling for influence, and although they tried to avoid direct confrontation, they still contributed politically and militarily. Gluska (ibid), however, problematizes the seemingly tight relationship between the US and Israel, noting that Washington was eager to maintain its relationship with other countries in the area as well. However, he also highlights the resolute nature of the US' commitment to the opening of the Straits for Israeli shipping, and reports President Johnson saying: "Israel will not be alone, unless it decides to go alone" (ibid: 136, 181), thus indicating a readiness for involvement and coordination of moves.

As mentioned in chapters 4 and 5, the 2014 material from both newspapers indicates a tendency towards more negative appraisal of Israel. This tendency has, however, been scrutinized in section 4.3 and 5.3, arguing that the negative and positive appraisals are not that clear-cut. As illustrated in (6.24), a negative appraisal of Israel is swiftly followed by a negative appraisal of Hamas. The lack of explicit judgment and criticism of Israel, and instead an implicit positive appraisal of the country's actions is exemplified in (6.30):

- 6.30 Instead of offering direct criticism of Israel, the prime minister has insisted that it has a right to defend itself from rocket attacks by Hamas militants (*TT* August 5, 2014).

Here the journalist states that there has been a lack of direct criticism towards Israel coming from the prime minister and his cabinet, thus implying that he does not agree with the government's policies. Prime Minister Cameron, on the other hand, justifies Israel's actions, and refers to them as a defense, even though he has been quoted in *NYT* saying that Gaza is like "an open-air prison" (*NYT* July 20, 2014).

Similar notions have been detected in the *NYT* material from 2014, with reporting that alludes to negative evaluations of Israel's actions, through depictions of mourning and suffering Palestinians (see examples (5.65) and (5.77)). In contrast to the British prime minister, the president of the US, Obama, has shown somewhat more opposition to Israel's actions, and more direct positive attitude towards Palestinian and the urgency for having their

needs met (see section 5.3.1). However, as pointed out earlier, the lack of direct criticism, especially the exclusion of UN condemnation, indicates that *NYT* is also reluctant to directly condemn/criticize, which in turn may imply politics in play. According to Lukin (2013: 431), “force is legal when it is demonstrably for the purpose of self-defense”, which can be seen in contrast to the portrayal of Hamas’ “terrorist attacks” (see example (6.10)). Similarly, Butt et al. (2004: 271) in their investigation of speeches note that legally defined authority is not up for negotiation. Accordingly, if we are now to believe that there is in fact a link between politics and hard news, then there is little surprise that both of the newspapers seem to be reluctant to officially and explicitly criticize Israel. Both Cameron and Obama have stated that Israel has the right to defend itself, i.e. justifying Israel’s actions as a defense (even when referred to as “attacks”), and defining Hamas’ actions as “terrorist attacks”.

### **6.1.9 Summary of similarities and differences**

This study differs from some of the previous research in that the newspapers’ governments are not directly involved in the conflict at hand. Butt et al. (2004) and Richardson’s (2007: 178-219) investigation of the Iraq war “propaganda campaign” is of high importance to the understanding of how governments and politics shape the discourse and the audiences’ opinions on matters important to national issues. However, my own study has been an attempt to reveal how even international issues may play a part in local politics, and how these matters are shaped according to local social and political matters. The following list is an overview of the main differences and similarities between the two newspapers, and how the appraisal detected connects to the social and political setting of the respective country:

- The attitude category revealed that the category of appreciation and judgment was most commonly used, and that there were significantly fewer instances of affect: insecurity and unhappiness, in both newspapers, in the material from 1967. Judgment: social esteem was detected in more instances in *TT* than *NYT*, and affect: unhappiness was found in more instances in *NYT* than in *TT*. The 2014 material from both newspapers reveals an increase of the affect category, and a decrease in the judgment: social esteem one. This has been portrayed through the increase of depictions of human suffering in the conflict eruption of 2014, and a decrease in the portrayal of military capacity.
- The increase of the affect category in the 2014 material is accompanied by the way the news is presented in both newspapers. We see a trend towards a personalization of

the news, through the identification of victims, both by age and name in 2014. In contrast, only the occasional western casualty was mentioned in the same way as victims in the region are today. Additionally, we see a style resembling narratives in the 2014 material, especially in the American newspaper.

- For both newspapers, the focus has shifted from inanimate items, such as weapons and aircraft, to animate items, such as people, family members and so forth. This is especially evident when comparing the aircraft losses from the 1967 material to the human losses in the 2014 material.
- Arabs were in general portrayed in a negative light in both newspapers in 1967, and seldom given a voice. In contrast, both newspapers let Israeli voices in. The 2014 conflict saw a shift in this reporting for both *TT* and *NYT*, with an increase in both the use of “ordinary people” as sources, and letting Arab/Palestinian voices be heard, leading to a more negative appraisal of Israeli attacks. Notably, *NYT* uses more Arab/Palestinian sources than *TT* does. Moreover, *TT* reveals an increase in the use of Israeli sources compared to 1967.
- The engagement category revealed more use of the monoglossic voice in *TT* in 1967 than in *NYT*. However, as depicted in chapter 5, the preference for the heteroglossic voice in *NYT* does not mean a higher number of external sources, but rather the journalist himself portraying several viewpoints. One of the more striking differences found between the two newspapers is the use of UN as external source. *TT* makes frequent use of UN attributions, some of which even explicitly criticize Israel, whereas *NYT* almost none.
- A similar political interest for both newspapers in 1967 was oil, thus many of the focal points of the news articles back then were oriented around the subject.
- Both newspapers make use of political framing when portraying the conflict, in order to make it easier for the readers to relate the issue to more familiar matters. In the material from 1967, this is seen through linking the conflict to the ongoing Cold War and the power struggle between communism and capitalism, whereas in 2014, we see this through the connection made between the “militant groups” in Gaza and the threats to national security in the UK and the US. Interestingly, there is significantly more focus on the Cold War in *TT* in 1967, than in *NYT*. Similarly, the links between a failed peace strategy in the Middle East in 2014 and threats to national security back

home is for the most part made in the British newspapers, indicating that *TT* makes more use of framing than *NYT* does.

- The framework also reveals negative attitudes towards the current ceasefire and potential peace agreements in the future, leaving the readers with an image of a region in distress with little hope for a reconciliation.

## 7 Conclusion

The aim of this study was to investigate the various evaluations made of the Israel-Palestine conflict in the British newspaper *TT*, and the American newspaper *NYT*. This was done by employing the Appraisal framework, and examining what similarities and differences can be found in the linguistic choices made in the newspapers' reportage from 1967 and 2014. It has been an attempt at illustrating how even a seemingly neutral and objective medium, such as hard news, may carry both explicit and implicit attitudes towards the issue at hand. The study has been contrastive in that it has compared four sets of news articles, each consisting of approximately 5,000 words. Considering that news is a 'social construct' (Iedema et al. 1994: 3), it was considered pivotal to include the social and political background of the conflict, as well as linking the framework to other types of research, such as CDA and the media research approach of framing. The framework applied is concerned with attitudes, how journalists applaud or condemn various issues, and how they align readers into various positions. The study has thus focused on interpersonal meaning and interpersonal relationships, as revealed through the categories of the Appraisal framework. I have chosen to conduct a broad investigation of the various attitudes portrayed in the material by linking them to potential political leanings as well as social and political contexts, which may have been used to frame the reporting of the conflict. This was necessary in order to answer whether or not the newspapers can be considered to have political leanings, and working according to the respective countries' political agenda. The study has shown interesting tendencies with regards to the conflict, indicating that journalists from both newspapers indeed make linguistic choices that reveal both evaluation of and attitude towards the topic at hand, and that they fit this into a broader frame of their political and social setting. With reference to the analyses and the discussion in the previous chapters, let us now revisit the research questions:

1. Do the news articles about the Israeli/Palestinian conflict contain linguistic features that reveal attitudes/evaluations of the conflict? And if so what attitudes are conveyed according to the Appraisal Framework?

The material in both newspapers reveals a multitude of linguistic features captured in the Appraisal framework that reveal both explicit and implicit attitudes. An extensive use of appreciation and judgment is detected for both years, as well as an increase in the use of

affect in 2014. This is identified through the category of attitude, and seen amplified through the category of graduation.

2. Are there any changes in the attitudes or in the conflict portrayal from 1967 to 2014?

Yes, there are some changes in the use of attitudes and the conflict portrayal as a whole from 1967 to 2014. Apart from the increase in the use of affect and emotions, we see a shift in focus from inanimate objects to humans, identified through appraised items and the category of graduation. Where both the newspapers tended to focus on aircraft losses in 1967 (evident through quantification in the graduation category), they now turn their focal point to human losses and suffering. This can be related to a decrease of judgment: social esteem: capacity focusing on military capacities of the various parties. This new trend is further supported by the findings in the engagement category, where we see an increase in the use of ordinary people as sources, especially Arabs/Palestinians. This is especially evident in the *NYT* material. Moreover, we find that Arabs were portrayed almost exclusively in a negative light in 1967, by labeling them and their Soviet allies as “bad guys”. In 2014, negative evaluations are for the most part turned towards the war itself, and Israeli attacks on Gaza.

3. Are the attitudes in accordance with official sources/politicians, or do they act as political challengers?

The attitudes in general seem to be in accordance with the official politics at both reference points, with Israel-friendly policies in 1967, and a desire to help the Palestinians in 2014. However, some differences were detected in the two newspapers. For instance, in 2014, we find that *NYT* uses more Arab/Palestinian sources than *TT* does, while the material from the latter also reveals an increase in the use of Israeli sources compared to 1967. This suggests that *NYT* is more sympathetic to the Palestinian cause than *TT* appears to be. However, the issue is a little more complicated than that. On one hand, we find the British prime minister swearing Britain’s dedication to Israel (*TT* August 5, 2014), and on the other hand both Tory and Labour politicians are observed openly criticizing the current government’s position on the conflict. This is echoed in the *TT* material with depictions of Palestinian suffering – hence negative appraisal of Israeli attacks – and at the same time by referring to the governing group in Gaza as a “militant group”, and the attacks from Gaza as “terrorist attacks”. *NYT*, produced and read in a country where the president is more openly dedicated to the



Palestinian question, reflects this through the many stories of Palestinian victims and their lives both before and after the attacks. However, even in the American newspaper we find both justification for and a “softening” of the Israeli attacks through mentioning of Gazans being warned about the attacks beforehand (*NYT* July 10, 2014). Even president Obama states that the US will never abandon Israel, so naturally this aspect would have to be reflected in the American newspaper. Thus we can conclude that the attitudes are both in accordance with and in opposition to official sources.

#### 4. Do the findings in the newspapers suggest any political leanings?

In line with the previous question, both newspapers seem to be in accordance with the governments’ policies, thus they can be said to reveal political leanings. Even though there is a discrepancy about the issue at hand, and therefore difficult to pin down exactly what the governments’ opinions and perspectives on the issue are, it is precisely this discrepancy that seems to be depicted in the newspapers. Moreover, the framework revealed that both newspapers operate within frames of political interests, seen through items such as “oil boycott” (see example (4.33)) and “the Cold War” (see example (6.29)) in 1967, and “terrorist attacks” (see example (6.10)) and “Britain’s national interests” (see example (4.54)) in 2014. The discourse of the potential peace talks and cease-fire is not very optimistic; the parties blame each other, and neither the journalists nor the various external sources seem to have much faith in the success of a peace agreement.

As Bar-Tal (1990: 24) notes, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is one of the most serious conflicts of our century, not only because of the difficulty of finding a satisfactory solution, but also due to its international outreach. The cost of war has always been a major issue, whether these costs are related to aircraft loss, territories or civilians, it all ultimately points to loss of, or the diminishing of political interest and/or economic gain. This thesis has sought to shed some light on the role of language and linguistics in the bigger picture of conflict portrayal in the media, and how journalists through their use of linguistic features contribute to either the praise or condemnation of governments’ dealing with foreign/international conflicts, which may in turn lead to the truth being lost in all the action. This is not to say that the individual journalist agrees or disagrees with the various portrayals, nor is it implied that they necessarily operate intentionally to cover up for any greater political scheme, rather the findings in this thesis suggest that regardless of the media efforts to factually cover conflicts,

the use of and access to sources, as well as the political settings in which the portrayal is done, will nevertheless influence the way in which conflicts are reported on. Ultimately, this means that even sub-conscious grammatical choices play a vital role in the portrayal of wars, and the readers' understanding of them.

During the year I have spent writing this thesis, one question in particular has been on my mind: whether the reporting of the events in the area would diminish or resume at some point. In accordance with previous research of newsworthiness (Bell 1991; Bednarek and Caple 2012), the moment the 'physical' conflict ended in 2014, the reporting of the events and suffering in the area decreased as well, supporting previously mentioned aspects only seeing the Middle East as an area in distress. Following Fowler (1991: 10-12), who notes that all news will always be reported from some particular angle, and that real events and happenings are subject to conventional process of selection, I cannot help but wonder that as readers, we are only presented with a partial view of the world.

## **7.1 Suggestions for further studies**

The material investigated for the two newspapers is of a modest size. This has benefited the full text analyses conducted for all the news articles, however, it is important to keep in mind that a broader investigation is necessary in order to draw more reliable conclusions. Thus future studies would profit from a larger corpus, as well as from including additional background information such as the economic issues of news production (as argued in Bednarek and Caple (2012)). As has been previously noted, news is not a solo performance, but rather "the product of organizational structures and professional practices" (Bell 1991: 38). Within the limitations of a master's thesis, it was not possible to include all of these factors when researching the subject at hand. Nevertheless, my study has shown interesting tendencies with regards to the portrayal of the Israel-Palestine conflict, and the benefits of utilizing a multi-facet framework such as the Appraisal Theory. It would be interesting to see whether similar tendencies would be found in a larger corpus, and for other international conflicts.

A weakness of the framework is that it represents a western construction of feelings and attitude, which may be considered and understood differently, by other readers and researchers according to their cultures and languages (Martin and Rose 2007). It is therefore a tool best suited within the frames of western discourse. However, what the current thesis attempts to illustrate is that even though people can view things in different ways, the social

background and context, factors that SFL, Appraisal Theory and CDA most definitely take into account, can be regarded as hints to determining what views and interpretations these might be. The strength of the framework applied is precisely that it addresses implicit notions and attitudes, those difficult areas that other approaches overlook due to the difficulty of staying objective/neutral with regards to the topics raised.

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# Appendix

Appendix 1: *TT* June 5, 1967.

Appendix 2: *TT* July 23, 2014.

Appendix 3: *NYT* June 8, 1967\_2.

Appendix 4: *NYT* August 8, 2014.

## For access to all analyses:

*TT* 1967:

<https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/13MdiGivg8r1diUfp5Q09ohhlp089l9A1Av6VQyBkWwg/edit?usp=sharing>

*TT* 2014:

[https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1gURj17Uloq5prbugQmkKLRRF9Qw2LigTc4gy-gXk5\\_M/edit?usp=sharing](https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1gURj17Uloq5prbugQmkKLRRF9Qw2LigTc4gy-gXk5_M/edit?usp=sharing)

*NYT* 1967:

[https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1xhkjtCjh07njP9XnLL8mremnQfvaU7\\_3QIh2UXAl5zU/edit?usp=sharing](https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1xhkjtCjh07njP9XnLL8mremnQfvaU7_3QIh2UXAl5zU/edit?usp=sharing)

*NYT* 2014:

<https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1ZmrqDlvRLSe7a4Cnslj58szXUwDAhIDEVYdsFKkTqjA/edit?usp=sharing>

The Times (London, England), Tuesday, Jun 05, 1967: pg.10	attitude						engagement			graduation		
text	Appraiser/Emoter	Appraised	item	type of polarity	type of attitude	explicitness	item	type of engagement	source of voice	item	type of graduation	type of infusion
<b>ISRAEL CLAIMS SINAI GAINS</b>	Author: journalist	Israel	gains	positive	Judgment: social esteem: capacity	invoked	Israel claims	heterogloss: expand: attribute: distance	Israel			
<b>EGYPT'S ALLIES SEND IN THEIR PLANES</b>							Egypt's allies send	monogloss	Author: journalist			
<b>BRITISH CALL FOR CEASE-FIRE</b>	Author: journalist	British	cease-fire	positive	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	British call	monogloss	Author: journalist			
Israel claimed early today that in a day of battling with the combined forces of the Arab nations, its troops had captured the key town of El Arish, advancing towards Abu Gela.	Israel	Israeli troops	captured the key town of El Arish, advancing towards Abu Gela.	positive	Judgment: social esteem: capacity	invoked	Israel claimed	heterogloss: expand: attribute: distance	Israel			
Earlier it was announced that Khan Yunis had been occupied, isolating the Egyptian forces in the Gaza Strip.	Author: journalist	Israeli troops	Khan Yunis occupied, isolating the Egyptian forces	positive	Judgment: social esteem: capacity	invoked	Earlier it was announced	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Source unknown			
The Middle East became engulfed in war when fighting broke out along the Israel-Egyptian frontier with tanks and aircraft engaged.							The Middle East became engulfed	monogloss	Author: journalist	engulfed	force (raise): intensification: process	infused
Four nations allied with Egypt-Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Iraq-threw their air forces into the struggle.	Author: journalist	Arab forces/ allies	threw their forces into the struggle	negative	Judgment: social esteem: capacity/ social sanction: propriety	invoked	Four nations allied with Egypt-Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Iraq-threw	monogloss	Author: journalist			
The land battle spread to Jerusalem and parts of the Israel-Jordan frontier.							The land battle spread	monogloss	Author: journalist			
Air raid sirens sounded in Cairo and in Tel Aviv	Author: journalist	the war	air raid sirens	negative	Affect: insecurity	invoked	Air raid sirens sounded	monogloss	Author: journalist			
and both sides claimed the destruction of numbers of aircraft.	Israeli and Arab forces	their capability of fighting (having the upper hand)	destruction of numbers of aircraft	positive	Judgment: social esteem: capacity	invoked	and both sides claimed	heterogloss: expand: attribute: distance	Israeli and Arab forces	destruction	force (raise): intensification: quality	infused
<b>Mr. George Brown, the Foreign Secretary</b> , told the Commons that Britain's concern was not to take sides in the conflict	Mr George Brown, the Foreign Secretary	Britain	concern, not to take sides in the conflict	positive	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	Mr. George Brown, the Foreign Secretary, told	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Mr George Brown			
but to work for an early cease-fire.	Mr George Brown, the Foreign Secretary	Britain	early cease-fire	positive	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	but to work	heterogloss: contract: disclaim: counter	Mr George Brown			
He reported anti-British demonstrations in Benghazi, Tripoli, Tunis, and Basra.	Arab countries	Britain	anti-British demonstrations	negative	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	He reported	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Mr George Brown			
<b>The Royal Navy</b> last night began an important deployment of ships-notably the sending of the frigate Eskimo through the Suez Canal to join the group off Aden.							The Royal Navy last night began	monogloss	Author: journalist			
<b>WARSHIP OPENS FIRE OFF TEL AVIV</b> From CHARLES DOUGLAS-HOME, Tel Aviv June 5							Warship opens	monogloss	Author: journalist			
I saw a warship stand offshore from Tel Aviv, shelling targets inland from the city intermittently for 20 minutes.	Author: journalist	attack on Tel Aviv	shelling targets inland, intermittently for 20 minutes	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	I saw	monogloss	Author: journalist	intermittently, for 20 minutes	force (raise): intensification: quality; force (raise): quantification: extent	isolated; isolated
The fire was not returned.	Author: journalist	Israel forces	fire not returned	positive	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	The fire was not	heterogloss: contract: disclaim: deny	Author: journalist			
The ship then sailed northwards and later there was again the sound of naval gunfire.							The ship then sailed	monogloss	Author: journalist			
Tel Aviv's blackout is total.	Author: journalist	attack on Tel Aviv	blackout	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	Tel Aviv's blackout is	monogloss	Author: journalist	blackout; total	force (raise): intensification: quality; force (raise): intensification: quality	infused; infused
Mortar and artillery fire from Jordan was almost continuous as darkness fell.	Author: journalist	attack on Tel Aviv	mortar and artillery fire from Jordan was almost continuous as darkness fell	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	Mortar and artillery fire from Jordan was	monogloss	Author: journalist	almost, continuous	force (lower): intensification: quality; force (raise): intensification: quality	isolated; infused
<b>Mr. Eshkol, the Prime Minister</b> , in a Knesset statement, said that the Egyptian Air Force had taken a great beating, and the Syrian and - Jordan Air Forces were largely destroyed.	Mr Eshkol, the Prime Minister	Egyptian Air Force, Syrian and Jordan Air Forces	had taken a great beating, largely destroyed	negative	Judgment: social esteem: capacity	invoked	Mr. Eshkol, the Prime Minister, in a Knesset statement, said	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Mr Eshkol, the Prime Minister	great; largely	force (raise): intensification: quality; force (raise): quantification: number	isolated; isolated
After one day's fighting the Israel armed forces appear to be jubilant tonight.	Author: journalist	Israel armed forces	jubilant	positive	Judgment: social esteem: capacity	inscribed	After one day's fighting the Israel armed forces appear to be	heterogloss: expand: entertain: distance	Author: journalist	jubilant	force (raise): intensification: quality	infused
They have already inflicted a defeat on the Egyptian forces in Sinai which goes beyond their expectations.	Author: journalist	Israel armed forces	inflicted a defeat on the Egyptian forces, beyond their expectations	positive	Judgment: social esteem: capacity	inscribed	They have already inflicted	monogloss	Author: journalist	beyond	force (raise): intensification: quality	isolated

But soon after dusk tonight the Tel Aviv area was shelled for about 20 minutes (censored).	Author: journalist	Israel armed forces	Tel Aviv area was shelled	negative	Judgment: social esteem: capacity	invoked	But soon after dusk tonight the Tel Aviv area was shelled	heterogloss: contract: disclaim: counter	Author: journalist	about 20 minutes	force (raise); quantification: extent	isolated
The battle in Sinai began at 8 a.m. (Censored).							The battle in Sinai began	monogloss	Author: journalist			
There are reports that they have knocked out airfields in Sinai.	Author: journalist	(difficult to know for sure who "they" refers to)	knocked out	positive	Judgment: social esteem: capacity	invoked	There are reports that they have knocked out	heterogloss: expand: attribute: distance	Source unknown	knocked out	force (raise); intensification: process	infused
There can be no finality until it becomes clear whether the Egyptians repair their airfields, or accept the fact that their Air Force is, to all intents, out of action.	Author: journalist	Egyptian Air Force	out of action	negative	Judgment: social esteem: capacity	invoked	There can be no	heterogloss: contract: disclaim: deny	Author: journalist			
<b>Armour's advance</b>												
Five air raid warnings sounded before 3 o'clock // then there was a lull until 6 o'clock before sun-down. // when the sirens went again.	Author: journalist	the war	air raid warnings, sirens	negative	Affect: insecurity	invoked	Five air raids warning sounded	monogloss	Author: journalist			
Later Israel's strikes were mounted on Syria in retaliation for two air attacks by Syrian fighters.	Israel	Syria	retaliation, Syrian fighters	negative	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	Later Israel's strikes were mounted	monogloss	Author: journalist	retaliation	force (raise); intensification: quality	infused
	Author: journalist	Arabs	Syrian fighters	negative	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked						
With a favourable air situation // Israel armour is said to have advanced (Censored).	Author: journalist	Israeli forces	favourable air situation, advanced	positive	Judgment: social esteem: capacity	inscribed	With a favourable air situation, Israel armour is said	heterogloss: expand: attribute: distance	Not known			
Without air cover Egypt's armour would be seriously weakened.	Author: journalist	Egyptian forces	weakened	negative	Judgment: social esteem: capacity	inscribed	Without air cover Egypt's armour would be	heterogloss: expand: entertain	Author: journalist	seriously	force (raise); intensification: quality	isolated
On Israel's other two fronts fighting has been spasmodic//							On Israel's other two fronts fighting has been	monogloss	Author: journalist	spasmodic	force (lower); intensification: quality	infused
although there is still tonight the thump of artillery from the direction of Jordan.							although there is	heterogloss: contract: disclaim: counter	Author: journalist			
Israel tanks regained possession of the old High Commission building in Jerusalem // which had been taken by Jordan infantry.	Author: journalist	Israeli tanks	regained possession of the old High Commission building	positive	Judgment: social esteem: capacity	invoked	Israel tanks regained	monogloss	Author: journalist			
The building houses the United Nations mission // and Lieutenant-General Odd Bull, the Chief of Staff of the Truce Supervision Organization, was held captive by the Jordanians.	Author: journalist	Jordanians	Lieutenant-General Odd Bull, the Chief of Staff of the Truce Supervision Organization, held captive	negative	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	The building houses, and ... was held	monogloss	Author: journalist			
The Syrian attacks were mounted at Megiddo, in the Haifa region.							The Syrian attacks were mounted	monogloss	Author: journalist			
It remains to be seen // if the Israel victory is really as complete as officers suggest tonight.							It remains to be seen	heterogloss: expand: entertain	Author: journalist	victory	force (raise); intensification: quality	infused
Tel Aviv may be faced with an air attack tonight (censored).							Tel Aviv may be faced	heterogloss: expand: entertain	Author: journalist			
Moreover, on the political plane it is still hard to see what Israel's objectives are.	Author: journalist	Israel	hard to see what Israel's objectives are	negative	Judgment: social sanction: propriety/veracity	invoked	Moreover, on the political plane it is	monogloss	Author: journalist	hard	force (raise); intensification: quality	infused
<b>Outbreak a surprise</b>												
Today's fighting has taken everybody by surprise.							Today's fighting has taken	monogloss	Author: journalist			
Its efficiency bears the mark of great preparation	Author: journalist	Arab fighting	efficiency, great preparation	positive	Judgment: social esteem: capacity	invoked	Its efficiency bears	monogloss	Author: journalist	great	force (raise); intensification: quality	isolated
but there is no evidence that it is really premeditated.	Author: journalist	Arab forces	no evidence	negative	Judgment: social esteem: capacity	invoked	but there is no	heterogloss: contract: disclaim:	Author: journalist	really	focus (soften): specificity: thing	isolated
Listing the enemy losses, General Rabin said the Egyptian Air Force lost 286 aircraft, Syria 52, Jordan 27, and Iraq 9.	General Rabin	Egyptian Air Force	enemy losses	negative	Judgment: social esteem: capacity	invoked	Listing the enemy losses, General Rabin said	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	General Rabin	286; 52; 27; 9	force (raise); quantification: number; force (raise); quantification: number; force (raise); quantification: number; force (raise); quantification: number	isolated; isolated; isolated; isolated
The Egyptian Air Force losses, he said, were 30 Tupolev-16 bombers; 26 light bombers of the Ilyushin-28 type- 12 bomber- fighters of the Sokoi-7 type only recently acquired from the Soviet Union, 90 MIG-21 jet fighters; 20 MIG-17s; 75 MIG 15-17s; and 30 other transport planes and helicopters.	General Rabin	Egyptian Air Force	losses	negative	Judgment: social esteem: capacity	invoked	The Egyptian Air Force losses, he said, were	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	General Rabin	30; 26; 12; 90; 20; 75; 30	force (raise); quantification: number; force (raise); quantification: number; force (raise); quantification: number; force (raise); quantification: number; force (raise); quantification: number; force (raise); quantification: number	isolated; isolated; isolated; isolated; isolated

The Syrian aircraft were 30 MIG-21S, 20 MIG-17S, and two Ilyushin-28 bombers.	General Rabin	Syrian aircraft	(losses) 30 MIG-21S, 20 MIG-17S, and two Ilyushin-28 bombers	negative	Judgment: social esteem: capacity	invoked	The Syrian aircraft were	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	General Rabin (most likely coming from him like the information in the previous clause, but not totally clear)	30; 20: two	force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: number	isolated; isolated; isolated
The Jordan losses were 20 Hawker Hunter fighter-bombers and seven transport aircraft and helicopters.	General Rabin	The Jordanian airforce	losses	negative	Judgment: social esteem: capacity	invoked	The Jordan losses were	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	General Rabin (most likely coming from him like the information in the previous clause, but not totally clear)	20; 7	force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: number	isolated; isolated
Iraq losses were six MIG-21S and three Hunters.	General Rabin	Iraqi airforce	losses	negative	Judgment: social esteem: capacity	invoked	Iraq losses were	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	General Rabin (most likely coming from him like the information in the previous clause, but not totally clear)	six; three	force (raise): quantification: number	isolated
Israel's 19 losses were four Ouragans, four Mysteres, four Super-Mysteres, four Fouga-Magisters, two Mirage jet fighters, and one Vautour.	General Rabin	Israel airforce	losses	positive (when compared to the others)	Judgment: social esteem: capacity	invoked	Israel's 19 losses were	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	General Rabin (most likely coming from him like the information in the previous clause, but not totally clear)	19; four; four; four; four; two; one	force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: number	isolated; isolated; isolated; isolated; isolated; isolated

The Times July 23, 2014	attitude						engagement			graduation		
text	Appraiser/Emoter	Appraised	item	type of polarity	type of attitude	explicitness	item	type of engagement	source of voice	item	type of graduation	type of infusion
<b>Hamas leader calls for truce as Gazans beg to flee</b>	Author: journalists	Hamas leader	truce	positive	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	Hamas leader calls	monogloss	Author: journalists	flee	force (raise): intensification: process	infused
Catherine Philp, Ashkelon, and Abeer Ayyoub in Gaza City Last updated at 7:47PM, July 23 2014												
Besieged Palestinian civilians waved white flags from the windows of their homes yesterday.// begging for rescue after Israeli tanks began a fresh cross-border offensive in southern Gaza.//	Author: journalists	Palestinian situtaion	besieged Palestinian civilians, waved white flags, begging for rescue	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)/ Affect: insecurity	invoked	Besieged Palestinian civilians waved	monogloss	Author: journalists	white flag; begging	force (raise): intensification: quality; force (raise): intensification: process	infused; infused
meeting heavy resistance from Islamist Hamas militants.	Author: journalists	Hamas	resistance, Islamist Hamas militants	negative	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	continuation from previous line	monogloss	Author: journalists	heavy; Islamist; militants	force (raise): intensification: quality; force (raise): intensification: quality; force (raise): intensification: quality	isolated; infused; infused
At least 24 people were killed in shelling overnight when Israeli tanks rolled across the border into Khuzaa.// which Israel says is the site of one of the labyrinths of cross-border tunnels it is seeking to destroy.	Author: journalists	the ground invasion of Gaza	killed, shelling, destroy	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	At least 24 people were killed	monogloss	Author: journalists	at least, 24	focus (soften): thing: specificity; force (raise): quantification: number	isolated; isolated
Those who escaped Khuzaa described bodies littering the streets as tanks and helicopters pounded the village.	Author: journalists	the ground invasion of Gaza	bodies littering the streets, pounded the village	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked/provoke	Those who escaped Khuzaa described	heterogloss: expand: attribute:	Palestinian refugees from Khuzaa	bodies littering; pounded	force (raise): intensification: process; force (raise): intensification: process	infused; infused
"Everything is burning," one resident said.	Palestinians	Israeli attack on Khuzaa	burning	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	one resident said	heterogloss: expand: attribute:	Palestinian resident	everything	force (raise): quantification: number	infused
Both sides quietened their guns briefly to allow Red Cross ambulances in to extract the dead and wounded.	Author: journalists	Israel and Hamas	quietened their guns, allow Red Cross ambulances in	positive	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	Both sides quietened	monogloss	Author: journalists			
Hundreds more, however, remained trapped as fighting resumed.// raising fears of further bloodshed on the same scale as Shejaiya, the eastern neighbourhood all but destroyed in a blistering offensive.	Author: journalists	Israeli attack on Gaza	trapped,fears, bloodshed, destroyed, blistering offensive	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social) / Affect: insecurity	invoked	Hundreds more, however, remained trapped	heterogloss: contract: disclaim: counter:	Author: journalists	hundreds more; bloodshed; on the same scale as Shejaiya; blistering	force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): intensification: quality; force (raise): intensification: quality; force (raise): intensification: quality	isolated; infused; infused; infused
Last night the <b>Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal</b> called for a truce to allow humanitarian relief into Gaza.	Author: journalists	Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal	truce, humanitarian relief	positive	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	Last night the Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal	heterogloss: expand: attribute:	Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal			
"We need the calm for a few hours to evacuate the wounded and assist in the relief."	Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal	truce	need the calm, evacuate the wounded, assist in the relief	positive	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	Continuation from previous sentence	heterogloss: expand: attribute:	Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal			
But he said that any more permanent ceasefire would require Israel to lift its siege.	Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal	truce	any more permanent ceasefire would require Israel to lift its siege	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	But he said	heterogloss: contract: disclaim: counter:	Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal			
More than 70 Palestinians were killed in Shejaiya on Sunday.// half of the death toll in the single bloodiest day of violence of the Gaza offensive.// now in its third week.	Author: journalists	Gaza offensive	bloodiest day of violence	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social) / Affect: insecurity	invoked	More than 70 Palestinians were killed	monogloss	Author: journalists	more than; half of; 70; the single; bloodiest; third	force (raise): quantification: number; focus (sharpen): thing: specificity; force (raise): quantification: number; focus (sharpen): thing: specificity; force (raise): intensification: quality; force (raise): quantification: extent	isolated; isolated; isolated; isolated; infused; isolated
Israel said yesterday that three more of its soldiers had been killed.// taking the military death toll in the past six days to 32.	Israel	Hamas	killed, military death toll	negative	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	Israel said	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Israel	three; more; past; six; 32	force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: number; focus (sharpen): thing: specificity; force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: number	isolated; isolated; isolated; isolated
The fresh violence in Khuzaa took place as John Kerry, the US secretary of state, flew to Israel on an unannounced visit to meet Israeli and Palestinian officials in an effort, with <b>Ban Ki Moon, the UN secretary-general</b> , to broker a ceasefire.	Author: journalists	the ground offensive of Gaza	fresh violence	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	The fresh violence in Khuzaa took place	monogloss	Author: journalists	fresh; violence	focus (sharpen): thing: specificity; force (raise): intensification: quality	isolated; infused
<b>Mr Kerry met Mahmoud Abbas, the Palestinian president,</b> and was due to see <b>Binyamin Netanyahu, Israel's prime minister</b> , before returning to Egypt.// which shares a border with Gaza and has mediated with Hamas.							Mr Kerry met	monogloss	Author: journalists			
							and was due to see	monogloss	Author: journalists			
"We have certainly made some steps forward.	Mr Kerry	the work on the Israel-Palestine conflict	steps forward	positive	Appreciation: valuation (social)	inscribed	Mr Kerry said	heterogloss: expand: attribute:	Mr Kerry	certainly	force (raise): intensification: quality	infused





The council's last investigation of Israel's conduct in Gaza, by the <b>Goldstone commission</b> , harshly criticised Israel's conduct during the 2008 Operation Cast Lead, and accused it of several breaches of international law — badly damaging its image internationally.	The UN human rights council	Israel ('s conduct during 2008 Operation Cast Lead)	harshly criticised, breaches of international law, damaging its image internationally	negative	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	inscribed	The council's last investigation of Israel's conduct in Gaza, by the Goldstone commission, harshly criticised	heterogloss: expand: attribute: distance	Investigation by the Goldstone Commission	harshly; several; badly	force (raise): intensification: quality; force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): intensification: quality	isolated; isolated
<b>Eviatar Manor, Israel's ambassador in Geneva</b> , criticised what he said was the council's institutional bias, particularly its "ritual of naming and shaming Israel...	Eviatar Manor, Israel's ambassador in Geneva	The UN human rights council	institutional bias, naming and shaming	negative	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	inscribed	Eviatar Manor, Israel's ambassador in Geneva, criticised	heterogloss: expand: attribute: distance	Eviatar Manor, Israel's ambassador in Geneva	particularly	focus (sharpen): thing: specificity	isolated
There can be no moral symmetry between a terrorist aggressor and a democracy defending itself," he said.	Eviatar Manor, Israel's ambassador in Geneva	Hamas	terrorist aggressor	negative	Judgment: social sanction: propriety/ Affect: insecurity	inscribed	he said	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Eviatar Manor, Israel's ambassador in Geneva	terrorist aggressor	force (raise): intensification: quality	infused
<b>Philip Hammond, the foreign secretary</b> , arrived at the airport last night to push for a ceasefire.	Philip Hammond	the war	to push for ceasefire	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	Philip Hammond, the foreign secretary, arrived	monogloss	Author: journalists	push	force (raise): intensification: process	infused
<b>Aid organisations</b> warned that the humanitarian situation was worsening by the hour.	Aid organisations	the war	humanitarian situation worsening	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	Aid organisations warned	heterogloss: expand: attribute	Aid organisations	by the hour	force (raise): quantification: extent	isolated
"There is literally no safe place for civilians," <b>Jens Laerke, a spokesman of the UN office for the co-ordination of humanitarian affairs</b> , said.	Jens Laerke	the war between Israel and Hamas	no safe place for civilians	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social), Affect: insecurity	invoked	Jens Laerke, a spokesman of the UN office for the co-ordination of humanitarian affairs, said	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Jens Laerke	literally	force (raise): intensification: quality	isolated
<b>The World Health Organisation</b> said that the change last week from an air campaign to a ground offensive had greatly accelerated the casualty rate as well as the numbers displaced.	The World Health Organisation	Israeli ground offensive	accelerated the casualty rate, displaced	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	The World Health Organisation said	heterogloss: expand: attribute	The World Health Organisation	greatly	force (raise): intensification: quality	isolated
More than 120,000 people are sheltering in UN buildings across the Gaza Strip, and more than 1.2 million of Gaza's 1.8 million people have no, or only limited, water because of damage to power networks.	Author: journalists/ The World Health Organisation	Israeli ground offensive / the war between Israel and Hamas	sheltering in UN buildings, no or only limited water, damage to power networks	negative	Affect: insecurity/ unhappiness	invoked	More than 120,000 people are sheltering	monogloss	Author: journalists/ The World Health Organisation	more than 120,000; more than 1.2 million; 1.8 million	force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: number	isolated; isolated
More than 500 homes have been destroyed.	Author: journalists/ The World Health Organisation	Israeli ground offensive / the war between Israel and Hamas	homes destroyed	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)/ Affect: unhappiness	invoked	More than 500 homes have been	monogloss	Author: journalists/ The World Health Organisation	more than 500	force (raise): quantification: number	isolated
<b>Save the Children</b> warned that the conflict was disproportionately affecting children, and that one child had been killed every hour for the past two days.	Save the Children	the conflict (Israel)	disproportionately affecting children, child killed	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)/ Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	Save the Children warned	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Save the Children	one every hour; for the past few days	force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: extent	isolated; isolated
More than 70,000 of those forced to flee were children.	Save the Children	the conflict (Israel)	forced to flee	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)/ Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	More than 70,000 of those forced to flee were	monogloss	Author: journalists/ Save the Children	more than 70,000	force (raise): quantification: number	isolated
Some people are warning that Gaza's health system is close to collapse, with at least three hospitals and 13 health facilities having been damaged in the fighting.	Some people	the conflict (Israel)	collapse, hospitals having been damaged	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	some people are warning	heterogloss: expand: attribute: distance	Source unknown/ Author: journalists	three; 13	force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: number	isolated; isolated
<b>The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)</b> condemned Monday's shelling of the al-Aqsa hospital, which killed at least four people and injured scores more, denying Palestinians another source of already scarce medical care.	ICRC	shelling of the al-Aqsa hospital (Israel)	condemned, killed, injured, denying medical care	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)/ Judgment: social sanction: propriety	inscribed	The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) condemned	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	ICRC	at least four; scores more; scarce	force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: number; focus (sharpen): thing: specificity	isolated; isolated; infused
The hospital, which came under fire four times, provided services to more than 300,000 people.	Author: journalists	shelling of the al-Aqsa hospital (Israel)	under fire four times	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	The hospital, which came under fire four times, provided	monogloss	Author: journalists	four times; more than 300,000	force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: number	isolated; isolated
"The surgical ward, the intensive care unit and pieces of lifesaving equipment were all severely damaged, disrupting essential medical services," <b>the ICRC</b> said.	ICRC	shelling of the al-Aqsa hospital (Israel)	lifesaving equipment severely damaged, disrupting medical services	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	the ICRC said	heterogloss: expand: attribute	ICRC	severely; essential	force (raise): intensification: quality; force (raise): intensification: quality	isolated; infused
It reminded both sides of their legal obligation to protect medical personnel and facilities.							It reminded	monogloss	Author: journalists			

<i>The New York Times</i> June 8, 1967_2	attitude						engagement			graduation		
text	Appraiser/Emoter	Appraised	item	type of polarity	type of attitude	explicitness	item	type of engagement	source of voice	item	type of graduation	type of infusion
<b>Along With Terrain, Israel Gets Burden of 900,000 Refugees</b>	Author: journalist	Israeli victory	burden, refugees	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	Along With Terrain, Israel Gets	monogloss	Author: journalist	burden; 900,000	force (raise): intensification: quality; force (raise): quantification: number	infused; isolated
By SETH S. RING												
Israel's swift capture of the Gaza Strip and rapid advance into Jordan has suddenly left her with the responsibility for many of the 900,000 refugees who fled 19 years ago from what is now Israel.	Author: journalist	Israeli victory	responsibility, refugees, fled	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	Israel's swift capture of the Gaza Strip and rapid advance into Jordan has suddenly left	monogloss	Author: journalist	suddenly; many of; 900,000; 19 years ago	force (raise): quantification: extent; focus (soften): thing: specificity; force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: extent	isolated; isolated; isolated; isolated
There were reports from Israel yesterday that thousands of these refugees on the west bank of the Jordan were trying to flee across the river into unoccupied Jordan.	Author: journalist	the situation	flee, refugees, unoccupied	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	There were reports	heterogloss: expand: attribute:	Israel	thousands; trying to flee	force (raise): quantification: number; focus	isolated; isolated
But the 307,00 caught in the Gaza Strip had nowhere to go.	Author: journalist	refugee situation	caught, nowhere to go	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	But	heterogloss: contract: disclaim: counter	Author: journalist	307,000; nowhere	force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): intensification: quality	isolated; infused
Their escape routes toward Cairo had been severed.	Author: journalist	refugee situation	escape routes, severed	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	Their escape routes towards Cairo had been	monogloss	Author: journalist	severed	force (raise): intensification: process	infused
Regardless of how many of the 566,000 on the west bank manage to leave their homes for a second time and cross the Jordan, the Israeli victories have reopened the painful problem of what should be done with these unhappy people.	Author: journalist	refugee situation	leave their homes, painful problem, unhappy	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)/ Affect: unhappiness	invoked	Regardless of how many of the 566,000 on the west bank manage to leave their homes for a second time and cross the Jordan, the Israeli victories have reopened	monogloss	Author: journalist	566,000; second time, victories; painful; unhappy	force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: extent; force (raise): intensification: quality; force (raise): intensification: quality; force (raise): intensification: quality	isolated; isolated; infused; isolated; isolated
As in the 1956 Suez campaign, the conquest of Arab areas raises the question how much territory Israel will give back.	Author: journalist	Israel	conquest	positive	Judgment: social esteem: capacity	invoked	As in the 1956 Suez campaign, the conquest of Arab areas raises	monogloss	Author: journalist			
But there is no question of the tremendous burden Israel would assume if she kept very much of what she has taken.	Author: journalist	Palestinian refugees	burden	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	But there is no	heterogloss: contract: disclaim: counter/ heterogloss: contract:	Author: journalist	very much	focus (soften): thing: specificity	isolated

The Jordanian sector of Jerusalem, which includes the Old City, is a different matter.							The Jordanian sector of Jerusalem, which includes the Old City, is	monogloss	Author: journalist			
The Wailing Wall at the base of King Solomon's Second Temple is the most sacred of Jewish shrines and the magnet of Zionism.	Author: journalist	The Wailing Wall	sacred, magnet	positive	Appreciation: valuation (social)	inscribed	The Wailing Wall at the base of King Solomon's Second Temple is	monogloss	Author: journalist	most sacred	force (raise): intensification: quality	infused
Strategically, Jerusalem dominates Jordan's west-bank roads, and whoever holds the city controls the west bank.	Author: journalist	Jerusalem	dominates, controls	negative/positive	Judgment: social sanction propriety/ Judgment: social esteem: capacity	invoked	Strategically, Jerusalem dominates	monogloss	Author: journalist	dominates	force (raise): intensification: process	infused
If Israel were to annex the west bank and the Gaza Strip, her military security would be greatly enhanced.	Author: journalist	possible conquest of the Gaza Strip	military security enhanced	positive	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	If Israel were to annex the west bank and the Gaza Strip, her military security would be greatly enhanced	heterogloss: expand: entertain	Author: journalist	greatly	force (raise): intensification: quality	isolated
But these areas would add about 1,496,000 Arabs to Israel's population of 2.5 million.	Author: journalist	possible conquest of the Gaza Strip	add about 1,496,000 Arabs to Israel's population of 2.5 million	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	But these areas would add	heterogloss: contract: disclaim: counter	Author: journalist	1,496,000; 2.5 million	force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: number	isolated; isolated
Of the latter total 260,000 are Arabs who did not flee.	Author: journalist	possible conquest of the Gaza Strip	Arabs who did not flee	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	Of the latter total 260,000 are	monogloss	Author: journalist	260,000;	force (raise): quantification: number	isolated
So this would mean a total population of 1.7 million Arabs, compared with a Jewish population of 2.2 million.	Author: journalist	possible conquest of the Gaza Strip	total of 1.7 million Arabs compared with a Jewish population of 2.2	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	So this would mean	heterogloss: expand: entertain	Author: journalist	1.7; 2.2 million	force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: number	isolated; isolated
The territory that Israel has captured is among the least desirable on earth.	Author: journalist	the territory captured thus far	least desirable on earth	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	inscribed	The territory that Israel has captured is	monogloss	Author: journalist	least; on earth	force (lower): intensification: quality; focus (sharpen): thing: specificity	isolated; isolated
It contains no ready assets.	Author: journalist	the territory captured thus far	no ready assets	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	It contains no	heterogloss: contract: disclaim: deny	Author: journalist			
It is crowded, short of water, and nearly half the people living in it are, to some degree, on relief.	Author: journalist	the territory captured thus far	crowded, short of water, people on relief	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	It is	monogloss	Author: journalist	crowded; nearly half; to some degree	force (raise): intensification: quality; force (raise): quantification: number; focus (soften): thing:	infused; isolated; isolated
The two sections of Jordan west of the river vary greatly in their geography.							The two sections of Jordan west of the river vary	monogloss	Author: journalist	greatly	force (raise): intensification: quality	isolated



Publicly Israel insisted that with the cooperation of the inhabitants she could provide water, electricity and jobs for them.	Author: journalist	Israel	cooperation, water, electricity, jobs	positive	Appreciation: valuation (social)/ Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	Publicly Israel insisted	heterogloss: expand: attribute: distance	Israel			
But privately, her <b>officials</b> conceded that the Gaza Strip, with its refugees, was the whitest of elephants, economically, and a political albatross.	Author: journalist	Israel	whitest of elephants economically, a political albatross	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)/ Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	But privately	heterogloss: contract: disclaim: counter	Author: journalist	whitest of elephants; political albatross	force (raise): intensification: quality; force (raise): intensification: quality	infused; infused
When Israel finally received part of the guarantees she was seeking, the Government, then led by <b>Premier David Ben-Gurion</b> was frankly relieved that it was free of the burdens of the Gaza Strip.	Israel	The Gaza Strip	the burdens	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	When Israel finally received part of the guarantees she was seeking, the Government, then led by Premier David Ben-Gurion was	monogloss	Author: journalist	frankly	focus (sharpen): thing; authenticity	isolated
<b>Israel's present leaders</b> have said that they have no desire for any of the territory of the Arabs.	Israel's present leaders	Arab land	no desire	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	inscribed	Israel's present leaders have said...no desire	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge... heterogloss: contract:	Israel's present leaders			
With the exception of Sharm el Sheik, which has strategic value, and Jordanian Jerusalem, no prize would go to them if they changed their minds.	Israel's present leaders	Sharm el Sheik territory and Jordanian Jerusalem	strategic value	positive	Appreciation: valuation (social)	inscribed	With the exception of Sharm el Sheik, which has	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge/	Israel's present leaders/ Author: journalist			

The New York Times, Middle East, August 8, 2014	attitude						engagement			graduation		
text	Appraiser/Emoter	Appraised	item	type of polarity	type of attitude	explicitness	item	type of engagement	source of voice	item	type of graduation	type of infusion
<b>A Boy at Play in Gaza, a Renewal of Warfare, a Family in Mourning</b>	Author: journalist	the situation in Gaza	warfare, mourning	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	A Boy at Play in Gaza	monogloss	Author: journalist	mourning	force (raise): intensification: quality	infused
By JODI RUDOREN and FARES AKRAM AUG. 8, 2014												
GAZA CITY —												
Sabah Dawawsa was in the kitchen Friday morning, frying the chicken livers her 10-year-old son, Ibrahim, had requested for the after-prayer meal.							Sabah Dawawsa was	monogloss	Author: journalist			
With Palestinian rockets having resumed at the 8 a.m. expiration of a 72-hour cease-fire, followed by Israeli airstrikes, Ms. Dawawsa said she had told Ibrahim to stay inside, in their house in Gaza City's Sheikh Radwan neighborhood.							With Palestinian rockets having resumed at the 8 a.m. expiration of a 72-hour cease-fire, followed by Israeli airstrikes, Ms. Dawawsa said	monogloss, heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Ms. Dawawsa	72-hour	force (raise): quantification: extent	isolated
Around 11 a.m., right as she realized that he had nonetheless gone to play at the mosque under construction down the street, Ms. Dawawsa heard the drone drop the missile.	Author: journalist	Israeli attack	drone, missile	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	Around 11 a.m., right as she realized that he had nonetheless gone to play at the mosque under construction down the street, Ms. Dawawsa heard	monogloss	Author: journalist			
It killed Ibrahim, leaving a pool of blood from his skull next to a crushed SuperCola can and an abandoned flip-flop.	Author: journalist	the killing of children/innocent people	a pool of blood, crushed SuperCola can, an abandoned flip-flop	negative	Affect: insecurity/ unhappiness	invoked	It killed	monogloss	Author: journalist	pool of blood; crushed, abandoned	force (raise): intensification: quality; force (raise): intensification: process; force (raise): intensification: process	infused; infused; infused
Two other boys were wounded.	Author: journalist	the wounding of children/innocent people	boys, wounded	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	Two other boys were	monogloss	Author: journalist	two; other	force (raise): quantification: number; focus (soften): thing: specificity	isolated; isolated
What shall I say? It was only a few minutes after he went out," Ms. Dawawsa, 37, wailed as she clutched a picture of her son at 5 years old in a camouflage outfit.	Author: journalist	the killing of children/innocent people	wailed, clutched a picture of her son at 5 years old	negative	Affect: unhappiness	invoked	What shall I say? It was only a few minutes after he went out," Ms. Dawawsa, 37, wailed	monogloss, heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Author: journalist/Ms. Dawawsa	wailed	force (raise): intensification: process	infused
"It was only minutes, only minutes."							Direct speech (continuation from previous clause)	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Ms. Dawawsa			
Hundreds of mourners gathered at another nearby mosque to pray over the body of the first casualty in the latest chapter of the monthlong battle that has claimed the lives of nearly 1,900 Palestinians, including more than 300 children.	Author: journalist	Israeli-Hamas battle	mourners, body, casualty, monthlong battle	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)/ Affect: unhappiness	invoked	Hundreds of mourners gathered	monogloss	Author: journalist	hundreds; monthlong; nearly 1,900; more than 300	force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: extent; force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: number	isolated; isolated; isolated; isolated
and, on the Israeli side, 64 soldiers and three civilians.	Author: journalist	Israeli-Hamas battle	64 soldiers, three civilians	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	Continuation from the previous clause	monogloss	Author: journalist	64; three	force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: number	isolated; isolated
The renewed violence came as an Israeli delegation left Cairo, where talks toward a more durable truce had made dubious progress.	Author: journalist	truce	violence, dubious progress	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	The renewed violence came	monogloss	Author: journalist	dubious	force (lower): intensification: quality	infused
<b>Leaders of Hamas</b> , the Islamist faction that dominates Gaza, had warned on Thursday that they would resume the battle if their demands to open border crossings, remove Israeli restrictions on trade and, especially, build their own seaport on the Mediterranean were not met.	Hamas	Israel	open border crossings, Israeli restrictions on trade	negative	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	Leaders of Hamas, the Islamist faction that dominates Gaza, had warned	heterogloss: expand: attribute	Hamas	warned	force (raise): intensification: process	infused
	Author: journalist	Hamas	Islamist faction, dominates	negative	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	inscribed						
Israel had promised to return fire with fire.	Author: journalist	Israel	fire with fire	negative	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	Israel had promised	monogloss	Author (journalist)	fire with fire	force (raise): intensification: quality	infused

Both kept their word.	Author: journalist	Israel and Hamas	kept their word	negative	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	Both kept	monogloss	Author: journalist			
Gaza militants launched a rocket toward southern Israel exactly at 8 a.m.	Author: journalist	Hamas	militants	negative	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	inscribed	Gaza militants launched	monogloss	Author: journalist	militants	force (raise): intensification: quality	infused
— it was intercepted over Ashkelon —	Author: journalist	Israeli military	intercepted	positive	Judgment: social esteem: capacity	invoked	it was intercepted	monogloss	Author: journalist			
and followed with about 40 others by midday, according to the Israeli military.	Author: journalist	Hamas	about 40 others by midday	negative	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	according to the Israeli military	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Israeli military	40; midday	force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: extent	isolated; isolated
Israel, in turn, fired artillery shells at Gaza's already destroyed northern towns of Beit Lahiya and Beit Hanoun, dropped at least one bomb from an F-16, and struck a home in Gaza City belonging to a Hamas leader, Mahmoud al-Zahar, and hit other targets in Gaza City, Jabaliya, Rafah and Khan Younis, killing four people in addition to Ibrahim before 8 p.m., <b>Palestinian health officials</b> and witnesses said.	Author: journalist	Israel	already destroyed, hit other targets, killing, Ibrahim	negative	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	Israel, in turn, fired/ Palestinian health officials and witnesses said	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	A Palestinian health officials	already; four; in addition to	force (raise): quantification: extent; force: quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: number	isolated; isolated; isolated
I was happy for the last three days	Amal al-Masri	her state/the situation in Gaza	happy	positive	Affect: happiness	inscribed	said Amal al-Masri	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Amal al-Masri	for the last three days	force (raise): quantification: extent	isolated
— today I felt sick because the cease-fire ended," said Amal al-Masri, 45,	Amal al-Masri	her state/the situation in Gaza	sick	negative	Affect: unhappiness	inscribed	said Amal al-Masri	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Amal al-Masri			
who bought a small bag of green grapes at the Jabaliya refugee camp to share among 30 relatives whose home in Beit Hanoun had been flattened.	Author: journalist	Amal al-Masri	who bought a small bag of green grapes at the Jabaliya refugee camp to share among 30 relatives	positive	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	who bought	monogloss	Author: journalist	30; flattened	force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): intensification: process	isolated; infused
"We lost everything.	Amal al-Masri	Israeli attack	lost everything	negative	Judgment: social sanction: propriety/ Affect: unhappiness	invoked	she added	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Amal al-Masri	everything	force (raise): quantification: mass	infused
If an earthquake happened here, it would be better.							she added	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Amal al-Masri			
"I don't want the war to resume," she added	Amal al-Masri	the war	don't want the war to resume	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	she added	Heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Amal al-Masri			
"but who's going to bring back our rights?"	Amal al-Masri	the war	rights	positive	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	but	heterogloss: contract: disclaim: counter	Amal al-Masri	rights	force (raise): intensification: quality	infused
"This is the only way."	Amal al-Masri	the war	the only way	positive	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	This is	Heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Amal al-Masri	only	focus (sharpen): thing: specificity	isolated
As news spread that the cease-fire was over, many shops remained open, and cars and people were on the streets of Gaza City.							As news spread that the cease-fire was over, many shops remained	monogloss	Author: journalist	for weeks	force (raise): quantification: extent	isolated
Groups of teenagers roamed and men sat smoking on the sidewalks.	Author: journalist	Palestinians	roamed	negative	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	Groups of teenagers roamed	monogloss	Author: journalist	roamed	force (raise): intensification: process	infused
In the Jabaliya camp, a man exercised seven camels on a leash, and young boys toted cartons of supplies on their heads back to the school where their families have been sheltering for weeks.	Author: journalist	the situation for refugees	families sheltering	negative	Affect: insecurity	invoked	In the Jabaliya camp, a man exercised	monogloss	Author: journalist			
Heading north, it grew quieter.	Author: journalist	Beit Hanoun	quieter	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	Heading north, it grew	monogloss	Author: journalist			
In Beit Hanoun, a ghost town of felled concrete buildings, Anas Kafema, 25, and his sister and brother were tying thin mattresses and blankets atop a fading silver sedan.	Author: journalist	Beit Hanoun	ghost town, thin mattresses, fading silver sedan	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	In Beit Hanoun, a ghost town of felled concrete buildings, Anas Kafema, 25, and his sister and brother were tying	monogloss	Author: journalist	ghost town	force (raise): intensification: quality	infused
"I don't want to be the last one in the town," he said.							he said	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Anas Kafema			



Since the first attack on Beit Hanoun weeks ago, Mr. Kafema said they had been staying at the maternity hospital where he worked as a security guard, though it was also pocked by shelling.	Author: journalist	Israeli attack	maternity hospital, pocked by shelling	negative	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	Since the first attack on Beit Hanoun weeks ago, Mr. Kafema said	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Anas Kafema	pocked	force (raise): intensification: quality/process	infused
Now they were bound for Gaza City, though uncertain where they would stay.	Author: journalist	the war	uncertain where they would stay	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	Now they were bound	monogloss	Author: journalist			
"It seems the situation will get harder," he said.	Anas Kafema	the situation in Gaza	harder	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	he said	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge, heterogloss: expand: entertain	Anas Kafema			
"Maybe yes and maybe no. I don't understand politics."							he said	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Anas Kafema			
Back at the Jabaliya market, Amir el-Fassis, 17, and Muhammad Bahtini, 21, said they were awoken by a drone strike the Israelis refer to as a "knock on the door," warning of a larger bombing to follow.	Amir el-Fassis and Muhammed Bahtini	Israeli attack	awoken by a drone strike, "knock on the door", warning, larger bombing to follow	negative	Affect: insecurity/Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	Back at the Jabaliya market, Amir el-Fassis, 17, and Muhammad Bahtini, 21, said	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Amir el-Fassis and Muhammed Bahtini	larger	force (raise): intensification: quality	isolated
It hit a six-story apartment building under construction next to their home, they said.							they said	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Amir el-Fassis and Muhammed Bahtini			
They evacuated.							They evacuated	monogloss	Author: journalist			
but waited in a growing crowd nearby to see what would happen next.							but	heterogloss: contract: disclaim: counter	Author: journalist			
They are peaceful people, they sell tomatoes in the market," Mr. Bahtini said of the Sherafi family, who own the apartment building and live on its ground floor.	Mr. Bahtini	Sherafi family (Palestinians)	peaceful, sell tomatoes in the market	positive	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	Mr. Bahtini said	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Mr. Bahtini	peaceful	force (raise): intensification: quality	infused
"When it is down, we will say, 'May God get us revenge.'	Mr. Bahtini	Israel	'May God get us revenge.'	negative	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	Mr. Bahtini said	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Mr. Bahtini	revenge	force (raise): intensification: quality	infused
"We have suffered,	Mr. Bahtini	the war	suffered	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social), Affect: unhappiness	invoked, inscribed	he added	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Mr. Bahtini	suffered	force (raise): intensification: process	infused
but we can endure for the sake of having a rest forever after that," he added,	Mr. Bahtini	Palestinians	endure for the sake of having a rest forever after that	positive	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	but	heterogloss: contract: disclaim: counter	Mr. Bahtini			
invoking an Egyptian proverb, heard frequently around Gaza this week, that means, "Either we live in happiness or all of us die."	Author: journalist	Palestinians	"Either we live in happiness or all of us die."	positive	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	he added	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Mr. Bahtini			
Zuheir Dawawsa, 19, one of Ibrahim's brothers, said he, too, was awoken by the too-familiar sound of a drone.	Zuheir Dawawsa	Israeli attack	too-familiar sound of a drone	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)/ Affect: insecurity	invoked	Zuheir Dawawsa, 19, one of Ibrahim's brothers, said he	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Zuheir Dawawsa	too-familiar	force (raise): intensification: quality	infused
He ran to the construction site where, three months ago, work began on a 13,000-square-foot mosque, called Al Nour, to replace the one destroyed by an Israeli strike during Operation Cast Lead in 2008-9.	Author: journalist	Israeli attack	mosque, destroyed, strike	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	He ran	monogloss	Author: journalist	destroyed; 13,000 square foot	force (raise): intensification: quality; force (raise): quantification: mass	infused; isolated
Neighborhood children told him that his brother had been among the boys playing there when it was hit.	Author: journalist	Israeli attack	boys, playing, hit	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	Neighborhood children told	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	neighborhood children			
Then a youth approached with Ibrahim in his arms.	Author: journalist	Israeli attack	youth, Ibrahim in his arms	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	Then a youth approached	monogloss	Author: journalist	in his arms	force (raise): intensification: quality	isolated
His skull was open," said Mr. Dawawsa, who was wearing a T-shirt that said, "Nothing Is Impossible," and could hardly speak.	Mr. Dawawsa	Israeli attack	skull open, could hardly speak, "nothing is impossible"	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	said Mr. Dawawsa	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Mr. Dawawsa	skull open; "nothing is impossible"	force (raise): intensification: quality; force (raise): intensification: quality	infused; infused
"He was already dead."	Mr. Dawawsa	Israeli attack	dead	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	said Mr. Dawawsa	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Mr. Dawawsa	already	force (raise): quantification: extent	isolated
Family members and neighbors said Ibrahim was an energetic boy, nicknamed Barhoum, who loved his PlayStation and soccer, like so many others.	Family members and neighbors	Ibrahim	energetic, loved his PlayStation and soccer, like so many others	positive	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	inscribed	Family members and neighbors said	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Family members and neighbors	energetic; loved; many others	force (raise): intensification: quality; force (raise): intensification: process; force (raise): quantification: number	isolated; infused; isolated

He was the second-youngest of eight children from his father's two wives, and slept on a mattress in the spacious second-floor salon where his mother sat mourning on Friday.	Author: journalist	Israeli attack	second-youngest of eight children, slept on a mattress, mourning	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	He was	monogloss	Author: journalist	second-youngest; two	force (raise): intensification: quality; force (raise): quantification: number	infused; isolated
	Author: journalist	Palestinians	his father's two wives	negative	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked						
"He was a good heart," said a sister, Raghda, cradling her own 7-month-old daughter.	Raghda	Ibrahim	good heart	positive	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	inscribed	said a sister, Raghda	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Raghda	good heart	force (raise): intensification: quality	infused
"He was always giving what was in his hand to others."	Raghda	Ibrahim	giving what was in his hand to others	positive	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	said a sister, Raghda	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Raghda	always	force (raise): quantification: extent	isolated
Photographs of <b>President Mahmoud Abbas of the Palestinian Authority</b> and his predecessor, <b>Yasir Arafat</b> , hung above the women's heads.							Photographs of President Mahmoud Abbas of the Palestinian Authority and his predecessor, Yasir Arafat, hung	monogloss	Author: journalist			
In the next room was a map of British Mandate Palestine, with cities and villages labeled in Arabic.	Author: journalist	the situation for Palestinians	map of British Mandate Palestine, cities and villages labeled in Arabic	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	In the next room was	monogloss	Author: journalist			
Outside, the house's stone wall bore a painted mural of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem's Old City.							Outside, the house's stone wall bore	monogloss	Author: journalist			
At the construction site, men and boys pointed up at the place where the missile had shaved off a concrete pylon and sundered the wooden scaffold before, apparently, hitting Ibrahim in the head.	Author: journalist	Israeli missile	missile shaved off a concrete pylon, sundered the wooden scaffold, hitting Ibrahim in the head	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	At the construction site, men and boys pointed up at	monogloss	Author: journalist	shaved off; sundered	force (raise): intensification: process; force (raise): intensification: process	infused; infused
They had found several pieces of jagged-edge metal shrapnel.							They had found	monogloss	Author: journalist			
<b>The neighborhood leader, Nasser Abu Raid al-Ghoul, 60, said he was among about 30 men in the temporary mosque next to the site, reading the Quran in preparation for the midday prayer, when the missile hit.</b>	Nasser Abu Raid al-Ghoul, neighborhood leader	Israeli missile	reading the Quran, midday prayer, missile hit	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	The neighborhood leader, Nasser Abu Raid al-Ghoul, 60, said	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Nasser Abu Raid al-Ghoul, neighborhood leader			
They first saw the two wounded boys, and 10 minutes later found Ibrahim's bloodied body under the debris, said a scowling neighbor, Mahmoud el-Amoudi, 31, pointing to two-by-fours from the scaffold.	Mahmoud el-Amoudi	Israeli attack	wounded, Ibrahim's bloodied body, debris, scowling	negative	Appreciation: valuation (social)	invoked	said a scowling neighbor, Mahmoud el-Amoudi,	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Author: journalist	two; 10 minutes later; bloodied; debris	force (raise): quantification: number; force (raise): quantification: extent; force (raise): intensification: quality; force (raise): intensification: quality	isolated; isolated; infused; infused
"I'm sure Israel will say he killed himself.	Mahmoud el-Amoudi	Israel	killed himself	negative	Judgment: social sanction: propriety/veracity	invoked	"I'm sure (...) " said a scowling neighbor, Mahmoud el-Amoudi,	heterogloss: contract: proclaim: pronounce; heterogloss: expand: attribute: distance	Mahmoud el-Amoudi			
Where is <b>Barack Obama</b> ? Where is <b>Human Rights Watch</b> ? Where is the free world, just crying on TV?"	Mahmoud el-Amoudi	The world watching	Where is Barack Obama? Where is Human Rights Watch? Where is the free world, just crying on TV?"	negative	Judgment: social sanction: propriety	invoked	Direct speech: rhetorical questions	heterogloss: expand: attribute: acknowledge	Mahmoud el-Amoudi			