تحليل نقدي لخطاب التغطية الانتخابية في الصحافة الدولية

" انتخاب نتنياهو رئيساً للوزراء في الحكومة الإسرائيلية لعام2009"

د. فتحية السنوسي منصور

قسم اللغة الانجليزية، كلية الآداب، جامعة الجفرة، هون، ليبيا.

fatheh.mansor@ju.edu.ly

Critical Discourse Analysis of election reporting in the international press: the case of an online article about the election of Netanyahu as Prime Minister in the Israeli government (2009).

Dr. Fatheh Alsenoussi Mansor

Department of English Language, College of Arts, Al-Jufra University, Hon, Libya.

الملخص:

تركز هذه الورقة على موضوع تحليل الخطاب النقدي متعدد التخصصات يمثل هذا المصطلح محاولة لتوضيح العلاقات الخفية التي يمكن أن يقال انها موجودة بين مستويات الخطاب المحددة كنص والتفاعلات والممارسات اجتماعية (Fairclough, 2001). تقدم المقالة التالية تحليلا نقديا للخطاب المقالي حول انتخاب نتنياهو رئيسا للوزراء في الحكومة الإسرائيلية باستخدام نموذج(Fairclough, 2001). تهدف هذه الورقة إلى فحص الاستراتيجيات اللغوية المستخدمة في نص لاكتشاف علاقات القوة داخل خطاب في سياق اجتماعي معين. كما أنه يهدف إلى فحص هذه السمات اللغوية التي توظف في النص لإقناع القارئ بإشكالية اختيار نتنياهو رئيسا للوزراء للحكومة الإسرائيلية. وتشير نتائج هذه الدراسة إلى أن التقرير الإخباري عن الانتخابات الإسرائيلية 2009 يتأثر بالتوجهات السياسية لصحيفة هيئة الإذاعة البريطانية (بي بي سي) وكذلك بمواقفها الأيديولوجية الليبرالية والمحافظة.

الكلمات الدالة: استراتيجيات اللغة، التحليل النقدي، السمات اللغوية، السياق الاجتماعي، علاقات القوة.

Abstract

This paper provides a critical discourse analysis of UK press coverage of the election in the Israeli government (2009). It examines the relationships which may be said to exist between the levels of discourse identified as text, interactions and social practices, (Fairclough, 2001). Using Fairclough's model (2001), this paper aims to examine the linguistic strategies employed in the text to discover the power relations within a discourse in a particular social context. Also it aims to examine these linguistic

features that are employed in the text to convince the reader of the problematic selection of Netanyahu as PM of the Israeli government. The findings of this study suggest that news report on the Israeli elections 2009 are influenced by the political orientations of the BBC newspaper and also their liberal and conservative ideological stances.

Introduction:

This paper provides a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of UK press coverage of election reporting of Netanyahu as Prime Minister in the Israeli government (2009). The paper particularly try to find a- definition of the discursive practices and linguistic features that are accountable for drawing a precise representation of the social players.

My incentive for conducting the present article includes several scopes:

CDA has clearly political agenda (Kress, 1990) which is very appropriate to examine election reporting coverage. CDA aims eventually to make a change of *'the existing social reality in which discourse is related in particular ways to other social elements such as power relations,*

ideologies, economic and political strategies and policies' (Fairclough, 2014). This is one of the crucial aims of the paper in analysing election reporting in the international press. The paper aims to show factors influencing the reporting of the Israeli government election 2008-2009.

Among CDA frameworks, the paper employs the socio-semantic inventory proposed by Fairclough (2001), this framework will allow for a systematic analysis of the language of the data-set and the discourses contained it together . This framework provides principles and accurate representation choices. In addition, KhosraviNik (2008, p 14) suggests that the socio-semantic inventory 'certainly lays the ground for an explanatory framework for CDA studies' (KhosraviNik, 2010). It examines language in the context that "reveals specific attitudes, ideologies and worldviews which are encoded through language" (Adampa, 1999, p 3).

As far as I am concerned, a few CDA studies have examined the media coverage of the Israeli elections. Nevertheless, this paper is dissimilar from other CDA or else media studies on Israeli-Palestinian conflict in several points: **Firstly** This study examines not only the linguistic features, discursive strategies and representational categories, but

also, the specific images and patterns of representations in media coverage (see Kandil, 2009; Shreim, 2012; Kaposi, 2014; Almeida, 2011). **Secondly,** in investigating the Israeli election of 2009, this study targets to donate to critical understanding and discourse analysis of the international press on Middle East conflicts and mostly the case of Palestinian-Israeli in the BBC British newspaper.

Further this paper aims to Show specifically the ideologies underlying the different practices in the portrayal of social players and examines their reflections on the image of Israeli and Palestinian players internationally in the press.

To accomplish the earlier mentioned goals, the paper employs the study's principal approach CDA as we will show in the next section.

Review of the Relevant Literature:

Critical Discourse Analysis

The theory of Critical Discourse Analysis conquers an interdisciplinary position within academia. It encompasses a number of general tenets and uses a large range of techniques. It aims primarily to identify socio-political inequalities that exist in society. Fairclough (1995) provides us with a useful definition that encapsulates most other definitions of CDA:

'CDA is the study of often opaque relationships of causality and determination between discursive practices, events and texts, and wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; it aims to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of, and are ideologically shaped by, relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power.' (Fairclough 1995: 132-3) .

CDA differs from other forms of Discourse Analysis in so much as it is 'critical'.

'Critical' implies showing connections and causes which are hidden. It is essential to define the term "discourse". Such a term has come to mean different things, even among discourse analysts, thus it can prove difficult to allocate a fixed and specific meaning to the term.

For the purpose of this research, however, the researcher uses the term 'discourse' to refer to a particular way of using language to negotiate power in a social and political

context. A discourse may reflect a certain opinion on a given topic resulting from a-certain stance within a social domain (i.e. politics).

It has been argued by Fairclough (2001) that the theory of CDA is now positioned to identify the existence of relationships that may involve, for example, power and privilege, and which, 'may often be hidden behind language, and this is true of written language.' Mass Media discourse is interesting because the nature of the power relations enacted in it is often not clear, and there are reasons for seeing it 'as involving hidden relation of power' (Fairclough 2001: 41).

A further concept which has influence upon the development of a CDA framework that will be discussed further within this paper is the concept of inter-textuality. It can be defined as the relationship between one text and other texts. This is a significant element in analysing a discourse as Foucault mentioned (2002:98) *'There can be no statement that in one way or another does not reactualize others'*. In other words the texts draw upon other texts. In this news report and from an inter-textuality perspective the researcher found that the reporter focusing upon reporting speech, i.e. the presence of others' words in the text.

Methodology:

As the researcher have mentioned within the introductory section of this paper, by adoption of a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective, the study is focusing on how reader and subject position are determined by the operation of discourses within the texts.

In particular, the paper will focus in the analysis upon the aspects of discourse which may be considered to function to achieve reader/ subject position. To the best of my knowledge, a few CDA studies have examined the media coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The data-set which investigator have chosen for this specific research is a reporting news article from BBC News Online. The subject positions include the elected Prime Minister Netanyahu, the leader of the Right Wing party on which the article reports, and the addressees of the article are its readership. The scope of this critical discourse analysis involves the discussion of particular data-set with regard to subject and reader positions.

This paper applies Fairclough model $(2001:110-2)$ due to its appropriateness in relation to the content of the data-set. In other words, this framework will allow for a systematic analysis of both the language of the data-set and the discourses contained it. The study will begin by listing below the questions and sub-questions which will be used. This should explain how the first part of a CDA that is concerned with the description of texts may be carried out, according to Fairclough (2001). However, within a CDA framework, this paper takes up only the aspects of the framework that facilitate most appropriately my research interest of subject/reader position. This is not a comprehensive or all-encompassing list, but it is a suggested list of possible directions that can be investigated. The ten questions which form the description stage of the framework are divided into three main groups: vocabulary, grammar and textual structures, as suggested by Fairclough, but not all ten are dealt with here:

Fairclough's Framework

A.   Vocabulary

$1.$ What experiential values do words have?

What classification schemes are drawn upon?

Are there words which are ideologically contested?

Is there rewording or overworking?

What ideologically-significant meaning-relations are there between words?

$2.$ What relational values do words have?

Are there euphemistic expressions?

Are there markedly formal or informal words?

$3.$ What expressive values do words have?

$4.$ What metaphors are used?

B.   Grammar

$5.$ What experiential values do grammatical features have?

What types of process and participants predominate?

Is agency unclear?

Are processes what they seem?

Are nominalisations used?

Are sentences active or passive?

Are sentences positive or negative?

6.   What relational values do grammatical features have?

What modes are used?

Are there important features of relational modality?

Are the pronouns we and you used and if so, how?

7.   What expressive values do grammatical features have?

Are there important features of expressive modality?

8.   How are (simple) sentences linked together?

What logical connectors are used?

Are complex sentences characterised by coordination or subordination?

What means are used for referring inside and outside the text?

C.   Textual Structures

9.   What interactional conventions are used?

Are there ways in which one participant controls the turns of others?

10.   What larger–scale structures does the text have?

(Fairclough 2001: 110-2)

These are the questions which are intended to form the textual description aspect of the framework, which will facilitate most appropriately the discussion of reader and subject positions.

A– Definition of Terms

It is necessary to briefly provide an explanation of three main terms (dimensions), which are essential to this framework, these being: **experiential, relational and expressive.** Their definitions are of great significance to understand Furlough's framework. By looking at *experiential* values, CDA attempts to show how 'the text producer's experience of the natural or social world' (Fairclough 2001:93) affects, and is exposed in, a text. A person's views of the world can be identified by assessing formal features with *experiential* value. *Relational* values may identify the perceived social relationship between the producer of the text and its recipient. The third dimension, *expressive* value, provides an insight into 'the producer's evaluation (in the widest sense) of the bit of the reality it relates to.' (Fairclough, 2001:93). This should identify the relevant parties to the text's social identities. In addition and as Fairclough (2001: 93) goes on

to identify another value that any formal feature may possess, *connective* value, as its function may be to connect together parts of a text. He also stresses that 'any given formal feature may simultaneously have two or three of these values' (Fairclough 2001:93).

A copy of the full text which comprises the data-set in use will now be provided, then the cultural context, followed by an explanation of what I understand to be the situational context of the data set. The purpose of this is to ensure that my research may be viewed in the correct context in which it has developed.

Critical Discourse Analysis:

Cultural Context:

The researcher believes that it is important for the readers of this paper to know some information about the Israeli political system that will be helpful as they read the article and the analysis of data-text. This article is dated 20th Feb, 2009. At that time in Israel, Kadima, the centrist party, had recently won 28 seats to the right wing party Likud's 27, but nationalist and religious parties, natural allies of Likud, also did well in the election.

With the support of Lieberman, the leader of Yisrael Beiteinu party, Likud could count on the support of 65 of the Israeli parliament's 120 members, putting Likud in a stronger position to form a government.

Israel's political system is based on proportional representation which allows for a multi-party system. Although there are three major parties, a single party usually has no chance of gaining power by itself, forcing the parties to co-operate and form a coalition government.

The three main parties in Israel are: Likud, a nationalist, right-wing party led by Natenyahu; Kadima, a centrist party headed by Tzipi Livni; and Yisrael Beiteinu which is a religious party commanded by Avigor Lieberman.

Situational Context:

The context of the data to be analysed is a newspaper article published by the BBC, a public-financed broadcaster with an audience of millions at home and around the world. The 'news' content of the story is its reporting on the selection of Natenyahu, the leader of the Israeli Likud party, as PM and his attempts to form a coalition by appealing to the

other parties to join him to build a government. The essentiality of such a coalition is to keep the peace process with Palestinians going and to avoid the collision with the Obama administration. The immediate discourses recognized in the text are a political discourse due to its news content, and also a media reporting discourse due to the medium of its delivery.

CDA Analysis – Description:

A.   Vocabulary:

There is an expression in the text which is immediately noticeable as being ideologically contested: '***Jewish State***'. This expression is ideologically contestable. On the one hand, it would have been used by the religious and nationalist parties who have the ideological belief that Israel means 'Jewish State'. In other words, it is only for the Jewish race, and the Palestinians race should not have the same citizenship rights as Jewish. On the other hand, it would not have been used by the Arab United Party or Centrist Party who believe that there are two states and two nations in Israel as Livni, the leader of centrist party, stated in the text when she refused to join Netanyahu's government .

The researcher supposes that the text reporter's selection of an expression such as '***Jewish state***' instead of '**Israel state**', and the attribution to Lieberman's party has experiential value in terms of a racially prejudiced representation of this particular racial grouping. But its use also has relational value, since it assumes that racist belief is basis of mutual interest for the Lieberman's party and their Israeli nation. Accordingly, this racist ideology is implicitly used by the text-producer to convey to the reader both the idea of the race-struggle in Israel between the Israelis and Palestinians, (where the text talks of the Yisrael Beiteinu coalition): '*Which grounded its campaign on calling for Israel's Arab citizens to be loyal to the Jewish state or fail to get their citizenship*') and also the power of such racist ideology that gained Lieberman such a powerful position to determine whether Netanyahu or Livni is the next PM.

We can recognise in fact that the text-wording as an over-wording where the text is preoccupied with the fear of the nationalists and their alliance that the religious parties will dominate the next ruling coalition in Israel. The evidence in the vocabulary for this

meaning includes the verbs: '*derailing*' Mideast peace talks, *'opposed'* to peace process, *'bring down'* the government, *'to collide'* with the Obama administration.

Moreover, vocabulary has an ideological significance in the text. Vocabulary items, for instance *nationalist* and *moderate,* belong respectively to right and centrist ideological frameworks, giving an ideologically-specific scheme for classifying political behaviour and attitude. In other cases, words co- occur or collocate, thus in the text, the name of the right wing leader is collocated: *Netanyahu government, reluctant Netanyahu, and Netanyahu's Likud.* The classification-scheme present within the text includes the oppositional presentation of the ideological attitude of Likud as opposed to Kadima. For example, the text presents the following terms, all identifiable as forming a discourse of 'attraction' in opposition to each other:

Likud: *Nationalist, unstable coalition, Narrow coalition, trouble for US. Israel relation, hard line government, right winger,*

Kadima: *Centrist: Reverse Stance, Moderate*

This antinomy in the text is relative to two different ideologies, the Likud ideology and the centrist one, which is being creatively generated in the text as shown. In addition, the terms associated with both political parties have expressive values which can be classified in two main ways. Firstly, the writer's positive evaluation of the Kadima party which he may embodied deliberately in the text is seen in the vocabulary shown above and in the reported speech of Livni, the leader of the Kadima party as well, when she said that she want to guide Israel as she believe in, where the peace process initiated on two states for both Israeli and Palestine people. Also, there is an implicit negative evaluation of the opposing Likud party in Livni's speech, when she described their political attitude as *a lack of direction*. She gave a motive why she is refusing to join the ruling coalition by saying: *I will not be able to serve as a cover for a lack of direction*.

On the other hand, there is a positive evaluation for the Kadima party's political direction which is obvious when Livni said that she want guide Israel in a way she have faith in, to progress a peace.

The reporter embodied indirect speech in the text and gives an implicit negative evaluation for Likud's leader: Livni described Netanyahu's government as a hard-line

government: '*Livni said she will not join a hard-line government*' , and is ready to sit opposing this government.

In relation to that, and from an inter-textuality perspective, as Van Dijk(1991) states, that the function of this quote may serve the purpose of being newsworthy in their own right, and it allows interpretation of news events as we have seen. In addition to that, the writer represents what newsworthy people have said. Such 'discourse representation' is obviously 'a major part of the news' (Fairclough 1992:107).

The direct and indirect discourse representation in this text identifies different and opposed political attitudes for both Centrist and Likud parties.

For example: '*I call on the members of all factions....to set politics aside and put the good of the nation at the centre*' Netanyahu said. This is an example of direct speech where' the words represented are those of the original' (Fairclough 1992: 107). In the other hand, the reporter used indirect discourse by using his own words rather than those of the reported person, maybe to indicate a particular point or to orient the reader's focusing on another. For instance, in the second sentence the writer represents indirect speech for the centrist Livni with an introduction that may convince the reader that Livni is not willing to join the new coalition: '*Tzipi Livni, in a seeming about face……….. a Netanyahu government*'.

The researcher finds the reporter's selection of these extracts or sentences from Livni's speech worthy of comment in consideration of its relational value. It is obvious that the vocabulary that the producer of the text has used is implicitly intended to establish a affiliation of camaraderie with the reader. This could then arguably call into question the new PM's ability, as a subject position, to maintain the position of authority which is attributed to such a position. Nevertheless, the analysis of the text succeeds in its implicit aim of presenting the subject position of Netanyahu in the precarious place to form a coalition with nationalist and religious parties opposed to peace making with the Palestinians and Israel's other Arab neighbours hence, worsening the critical situation in the Middle East.

In relation to this, and from an inter-textuality perspective, the identification of the text is also drawing on further discourse within its production, hence mixing the associated genres of each discourse. For example, whilst a clear discourse concerning political

and ideological contradiction has been discussed, it is also possible to identify what the researcher shall term a discourse of business, due to the article reporting on the possibility of Livni sharing the prime minister's job. The discourse of business can be inferred by the following lexical items:

Discourse of Business: *Exact high price, sharing, gain, agreement*

The text and its vocabulary are targeted at the crisis of the selection of Netanyahu as PM.

It makes many assumptions about what will be perceived as a problematic and will have negative consequences for Israel and its international relationship as a whole. For example:

'An coalition that would weak the impact of nationalist focused on derailing Middle-east peace discussions'.

'The religious and Nationalist parties against making peace with Palestinians and their other Arab neighbours'.

'Unsteady party of right wingers unquestionable will collide with the administration of Obama'.

Accordingly, the expression *religious and national parties* in Israel could be regarded in this text as ideologically-different formulations of precisely the same opposed political attitude. This mutual attitude is against *peace-making*, the idea of *a centrist government* and *the ambitious plans of the Obama administration for finishing sixty years of war between the Palestinians and Israel*. Here, expressive values are involved as well. The writer presumably assumes that religious and nationalist parties would connote a negative evaluation for the reader.

It is noticeable that there are less formal words used in the text. The writer, I assume, used such informal words to suggest for example un respectability as in the phrasal verb *bring down.*

Also, the elimination of arrangement is expressed as in the phrasal verb *ruled out.*

These two phrasal verbs have a negative evaluation.

The writer expresses beating Likud in the election using the phrasal verb *edge out.* Fairclough (2001:99) says that metaphor is a way of signifying one side of knowledge in terms of another aspect. So the journalist of the text represents metaphorically the

'*concession*' for peace as a humane, where Netanyahu's allies may possibly bring down the government in him. At this point, expressive values are involved and the journalist assumes that such a metaphorical representation would constitute a negative evaluation for readers and implicitly shows a lack of respectability. In addition, It seems that such a metaphorical representation has a power attachment, and the writer implicitly shows the ideology of power where such a narrow coalition with rightist views could stand against the concessions for peace between their nation and Palestinians and Arab neighbors.

Grammar :

The headline *'Netanyahu tapped to form Israeli Government* ' is introduced to the reader in the form of a passive construction, in order to orient the story to be around Netanyahu rather than the formation of an Israeli Government. The passive construction deleted the agent, leaving responsibility unspecified so that, Netanyahu's victory to become PM can be fore-grounded.

The article is introduced to the reader in a form of cohesion defined by Fairclough as' subordination' (2001:109). This is an instance of a complex sentence, where there is a main clause and one or more subordinate clauses, for example as can be seen in this sentence from the report:

'*The selection of Netanyahu was paved on Thursday, once Avigdor Lieberman, who leads the hawkish Yisrael Beiteinu Party, recommended him.* Here one subordinate clause is *when Avigdor Lieberman…. endorsed him'.* A second subordinate clause is embedded in this, i.e. *who heads the hawkish Yisrael Beiteinu Party.*

There are generally formal connections between sentences in the text which are collectively referred to as cohesion. Cohesion can involve vocabulary links between sentences, for instance the repetition of words:

To put together, ruling coalition, Hamas, an alliance, a hard line

Reference words: Netanyahu which the article reports upon, is introduced at the start of the first sentence, and is referred to in total within the article a further fifteen times. Most of the references named him personally. The other references include the professional title and adjectives which refer to him or his party: *the prime minister, Netanyahu*

government, reluctant Netanyahu, hard line leader, Netanyahu's hold in power, Bibi Netanyahu.

Action-process Sentences: The writer starts the text with action-process sentences. At the beginning of the article, the producer of the text represents the urgent need to establish Israel's next presiding alliance with responsible agents, see the next statement:

'Benjamin Netanyahu appealed to his moderate rivals...'

'Netanyahu urged Livni of the governing Kadima'

'I call on the members of all faction'

It can be assumed that the writer represented the opposed action-process sentences in order to represent the ideological struggle between the new PM and his alliance from one side, and moderate and labor parties from the other side, as in the statement above (page 10, last line):

'Livni, in a seeming about-face'.

'she would certainly exact a high value: by involving in the prime minister' job.'

In the next action-process sentence, the journalist represented how Netanyahu was selected as a PM. As in the next statement:

'Friday's decision by Israel's ceremonial president, Shimon Peres, to tap Netanyahu ended days of speculation.'

'The selection of Netanyahu was cemented on Thursday after Avigdor Lieberman, who leads the hawkish Yisrael Beiteinu party, endorsed him.'

The reason why Netanyahu and not Livni appears in another action-process sentence, which results in two other action process sentences where the writer represented the opposition action of the centrist Livni. See these statement:

'after Likud and Kadima Lieberman's party came in third position,. That basically permitted him to decide whether Livni or Netanyahu could be able to muster the support of a majority in government.'

'Kadima won against Likud in the voting process, taking twenty eight seats to Likud's twenty seven. Nonetheless, Likud is in a better place to put together an alliance'.

The reporter represented textually some real action and he chooses the grammatical process type.

Attribution–process: The writer intends to represent textually an attribution process following the action–process sentences and such selection has ideological significance. It shows the consequences of being Netanyahu, a Prime Minister with a narrow coalition of right–wingers. See the statement in the text:

'Without Livni, Netanyahu might have little choice ……… opposed to peace–making.'

'Netanyahu's hold on power …………. in a narrow coalition of right–wingers.'

'As the political have a long, complicated argument in Israel increased momentum, unpredictable violence sustained in Palestine.'

Assumptions present within the text include that joining moderate parties to form the Israeli coalition and forming a government would weaken the power of the nationalists.

The Kadima party's refusal to join the new coalition to form a government would result in an unstable coalition of rightists, hence causing trouble for U.S./Israeli relations and for the peace–making process with the Palestinians and their Arab neighbours. The Israeli election is national, which means the Palestinians are not involved, even though they are also citizens in Israel.

Fairclough (2001), identified modality as being a significant intersection between reality and social relations. It played an important role in the structure of this text and the producer of the text presented it in a number of forms. For example, the text producer's use of the modal auxiliary verb *might* marks expressive modality. '*Might'* is associated with the meaning of possibility: '*Livni reverses stance and says she might come aboard'*.

 Again in these sentences: '*In a seeming about face she might be willing to come on board'*; *'without Livni, he might have little choice…..*' The producer of the text seems to use modality in these sentences with less degree of possibility, and he preceded the auxiliary modal verbs by phrases (which are underlined) within the sentences in an assertion of a low degree of possibility.

 Modality used by the producer of the text and the participants, expressed by modal auxiliary verbs like *would* is used in predictive statements, with future meaning. For example:*' a party that would dilute the power of nationalists…'*, *'Livni , would definitely exact ….'*, *'his alternative would be an unstable …'*, *'…as he decide which applicant*

would be given the mission..', 'These statements are given strong modal force as they are intended to be perceived as having a very high probability of occurrence.

In the next examples, relational modality is expressed with absolute confidence in the degree of certainty by the participant:

'I *will not* be able to serve as ....'

'Livni has said she *will not* join .... a government...'

Finaly obligation is expressed by the modal auxiliary verb ' *must'* see next sentence:

'Netanyahu said that Israel *must* knock down the Hamas government.'

Textual structure:

The article is made up of predictable elements in a predictable order. The sub-heading sentence is almost an outline of an important Israeli issue, which is that the hard-line leader needs the moderate rivals to join him in a coalition to form a government, when the moderate parties are prepared to sit in the opposition. The first five sentences describe how the new PM is struggling in his attempt to involve the other moderate parties in the new coalition. The writer in these sentences describes the unwillingness of the centrist party to join the coalition.

The next five sentences say how Netanyahu was tapped to form a government and explain who had the power to change the places of Livni and Netanyahu as winners in the election.

In the following two sentences there is an assertion of the centrist opposing stance. Then the writer embodied a direct speech which illustrates to the reader Livni's different ideological and political attitude.

The rest of the article sets out the consequences of the selection of Netanyahu and a government with such a narrow coalition of rightists.

The writer presents an Israeli political analyst's view about the selection of Netanyahu.

'Israeli analyst Gadi Wolfsfield reports CBS News correspondent Robert Berger says ' *the selection of Netanyahu means trouble for U.S.-Israel relation',* and he added that: 'The United States is moving in one direction with Barack Obama and Israel's moving in the opposite direction with Bibi Netanyahu,'.

This discourse representation or inter−textual representation, is considered as "the most common and pervasive form of inter−textuality" i.e. the most usual way of incorporating others' speech into one's text.

In this respect, The journalist implicitly uses of quotations to serve his purpose to convince the reader with evidence, that Netanyahu was not the right selection to form a government in an attempt to build a relationship of solidarity with the reader.

Again in the next two sentences the writer shows that there is a possible solution by Livni joining him and becoming an equivalent partner through the type of rotation agreement as has happened before. But Netanyahu would not accept this and ruled out such an agreement.

In the last three sentences, The journalist moves the reader from the political wrangling in Israel to the critical situation in Gaza and the difficulty of mediating a truce between the Hamas government and the Israelis.

Power Relations within the Text: From a critical perspective the type of discourse within this text and the power behind have conventions embodying particular power relations. For example, the journalists covering the elections implicitly presented Lieberman (the leader of the Yisrael Beiteinu party) as a participant exercising power in taking the essential decision of determining who would be the new Prime Minister of Israel. Also in the national election he could determine which of the parties would be able to gather the backing of a majority in parliament.

Moreover, the subject position, Netanyahu was also exercising power on the Hamas government, this obvious in the reporter's statement '*Netanyahu said Israel must knock over the Hamas government in west bank and Gaza.He says Israel ceased the Gaza attacking too soon'.* Here unequal influence of social groupings is highly significant in terms of whose perspective is adopted in the report as a result and as we have seen in the text Netanyahu and his allies have the powerful influence.

Discussion:

Overall the representation, in this context, discursive differences are negotiated; they are governed by differences in power which is in part encoded in and determined by discourse and genre. Therefore the text the analysis shows a dominance of different Israeli ideological perspective, all struggling for dominance. For instance, there is the

struggle between centrist and nationalist ideology in their discourse. Also there is the representation of Israel as a nation which has its own rights of national election and is named as the J*ewish State*. When representing Palestinians as *Arab citizens* ignoring them as Palestinian citizens or nation. It also represents Netanyahu saying that *Israel must topple the Hamas government* as a discourse shows the struggle for dominance and exercising power on Hamas government which ruling Gaza a small part of Israel.

In this context, power is about the relationship between different political parties, and particularly about the effects of differences between groups within a social structure.

The researcher assumes that the power relationship has a great influence on the reader's evaluation of a particular discourse. For example, the writer represented implicitly Lieberman as an ultra-national and essential personality in the political and social context, when his campaign was based on calling for Israel's Arab residents to show constancy to the Jewish Government as being shown in the journalist's statement: *'calling for Israel's Arab residents to show loyalty to the Jewish Government'.* Moreover, when he exercising power in the national election determining the winner. As we can see from the analysis, **inter-textuality** plays an important role within this text and can therefore be a reporter's powerful strategy to make news reports more persuasive. (Van Dijk1991), I believe that the presences of others' voices in this context whether direct or indirect could strongly serve the writer's purposes which is representing Netanyahu as the wrong selection for the new elected government as it has been discussed in the analysis of data set.

Conclusion:

The researcher finds that Fairclough (2001) method is useful and can prove valuable analysis in identifying implicit aspects of texts and it has contributed in the identification of the aspects that an analysis based upon. The social context of the report is quite complex and is not easy to understand, and the reader needs to have background on the historical and social context of the two races involved, Israeli or Jewish and Palestinians. They have a long complicated history of struggle for dominance over each-other, which politically and economically, affects the whole Middle East as well as the relationship between either the countries in the Middle East or their international relationships. The linguistic features are substantially ideological in reproducing a

general discourse that bring into line the Israeli message that they only target Hamas rather than all Palestinians. The communication of election proceedings cannot claim to be objective; in other words, BBC newspaper in this paper, with their own philosophies, attitudes and linguistic terminologies. Generally, the analysis of the representation of the Israeli elections of 2009, points to the assumption that the BBC audiences readers did not have an satisfactory opportunity or sufficient information to learn about all sides of (Islaeli- Palestine) nations. The paper does not claim that it has tackled all the linguistic structures but it is confined to examining the representation of social actors in reporting the Israeli election news of 2009.

Within this constraint, this study is not concerned in highlighting who is right or wrong in their ideological stances, but in enlightening how connotations are reproduced and how social players are characterised. The study's contributions can be seen as addition to critical discourse analysis CDA studies on reporting in the Israeli elections of 2009 particularly. It donates to the investigation absenteeism and the disorientation of social representatives by CDA studies on mass media discourse and reporting of elections in areas of conflict.

It would be useful to analyse further contexts particularly the newspapers which deal specifically with the issue of Israeli and Palestinians and Middle East conflicts. This would be a rich ground for the CDA to provide the readers with an explicit picture of the situation in the Middle East from different reporters' presentations of the events.

References

Ackerman, S. (2001). Al-aqsa intifada and the U.S. media. Journal of Palestine Studies, 30(2), 61-74. doi:10.1525/jps.2001.30.2.61.

Allen, P. (2013) CDA approach to analysing BBC Television's Newsnight reports on the Israel/Palestine conflict. MA TESOL and Applied Linguistics, University of Leicester, Leicester, MA.

Blommaert J. (2005) Discourse: A critical introduction. Cambridge University Press, New York, NY

Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power.* Harlow, Longman.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Social change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical study of Language.*

London, Longman.

Fairclough, N (1995). *Media and Discourse.* London, Edward Arnold.

Fairclough, N. (2008). The language of critical discourse analysis. Discourse & Society, 19(6).

Heroux, E. (2001). Power. volume 3 of essential works of foucault: 1954 – 1984 University of Wisconsin Press. doi:10.2307/3685769.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1991). Racism and the press. london: Routledge.

van Leeuwen, T. (2008). Discourse and practice new tools for critical discourse analysis. Oxford; Oxford University Press.

Internet websites

Amer M (2016) War reporting in the international press: A critical discourse analysis of the Gaza war of 2008–2009. PhD thesis, Department of language, literature and media, University of Hamburg. http://ediss.sub.uni–hamburg.de/volltexte/2016/7899/

BBC (2009). Netanyahu Tapped To Form Israeli Gov't. [online]. BBC, 20 Feb. Last accessed 20 December 2023 at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/