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**RESEARCH ARTICLE**

## When Yesterday's Enemy Becomes Today's Friend: A Corpus-assisted Critical Discourse Analysis of the Representation of Arabs in the Israeli 'Jerusalem Post'

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**ABSTRACT**

Media is considered a reflection of society and at the same time, it uses language as a power. The present study investigates the representation of Arabs in the Israeli newspaper, 'The Jerusalem Post', which is published in English. In other words, this study seeks to show how the Israeli press represents Arabs to the world, especially the West. Accordingly, we chose the Jerusalem Post since it is one of the most popular Israeli newspapers. Moreover, this study focuses on the articles that contain the word 'Arab\*' and its variants from January 2017 to December 2021; this period represents the time span before and after the recent official normalization of relations between some Arab governments and Israel in order to shed light on the change of Israeli representation of Arabs during this period, if any. We draw upon a corpus of over 22 million words to conduct this study. Both corpus linguistic and critical discourse analysis are used to achieve the study goal. The analysis has shown that Arabs are negatively represented in pre-normalization period, and although the second period (2020-2021) witnessed the official normalization of relations between some Arab governments and Israel, Arabs are still represented negatively in the newspaper.

**KEYWORDS**

Arabs, Corpus linguistics, Critical Discourse analysis, Jerusalem Post, Israel.

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**1. Introduction**

Media uses language as a powerful tool to deliver, support, and reflect ideologies and views on a certain issue. The following quotes illustrate this:

"this is not a place, with all due respect, you know, like Iraq or Afghanistan.... this is a relatively civilized relatively Europeans." CBS reporter

"it's really emotional maybe because I see European people with blue eyes and blond hair are killed." Ukrainian politician through BBC

At the heights of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, the Western media and the international community show a huge contradiction in representing Ukrainians and other groups of people. On the one hand, Ukrainians are represented as civilized, white, and educated. Additionally, they are described as heroes who fend for their land. On the other hand, for example, Arabs are often represented negatively in Western media, as violent and un-civilized (e.g. Ridouani, 2011). Similarly, the Israeli authors tend to do the same. An example of this is illustrated by First (1998), who shows how Arabs are represented in Israeli children's books as uneducated and savages. In this regard First (1998, pp. 242-243) noted that

[i]n children's book, for example, the Arab character (regardless of the group he or she belongs to) is usually portrayed negatively and the narration includes adverbs and adjectives that emphasize the distance between Israeli-Jewish society and Arab societies [...] in Israeli literature, the Arab is portrayed as a professional warrior-cruel, savage and arrogant.

Such representation of the Arabs by the Israeli children's books, is more or less expected since each side of the conflict considers the other as an enemy. However, after Donald Trump had been elected as the US president, he declared Jerusalem as the Capital of Israel and moved the US embassy to Jerusalem (in 2017). Then Trump started his campaign to convince some of the Arab countries to create friendly relations with Israel for the sake of establishing, according to him, a peaceful environment in the Middle East. As a matter of fact, Israel welcomed the countries (e.g. Emirate, Morocco, Sudan, and Bahrain) that rallied to establish political and economic ties with it – what is widely known as Normalization of relations with Israel.

Normalization of relations with Israel can be seen as building relations with Israel politically, economically, and socially for the sake of ending what so-called the Arab-Israeli conflict. Normalization with Israel practically started in December 2017, as mentioned earlier, when Trump, the former president of the United States, recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. Two years later, at the 2019 Warsaw conference, the coordination between Israel and some Arab governments led by Saudi Arabia took place. In February 2020, Sudan normalized its relations with Israel officially. The United Arab Emirates, Morocco, and Bahrain took the same track and followed Sudan in normalizing relations officially with Israeli. After that, the relations between these Arab governments and Israel improved politically and economically to the extent that both parties showed pride in their friendly ties.

Against this backdrop, the questions of whether the representation of Arabs by Israeli media has changed and how the Israeli media represents Arabs (after the normalization of relations with some Arab countries) have come to the fore. This is the main motivation for investigating how Arabs are represented in the Israeli press after the normalization of relations with Israel.

### **1.1 Statement of the Problem**

Press is meant to be 'transparent and credible' to inform the audience of the truth about serious events around the world regardless of ethnicity, religion, color, or race. In other words, regardless of the ideologies held or the political stance being taken. A good account of research shows that although press institution claims 'transparency and credibility' in their news, they are actually biased toward a specific party in order to serve their own advantages. The malpractice is often expressed through language. Using language as a powerful tool resulted in misinformation and disinformation in tandem with shaping the way people perceive social, economic, political and legal events. Accordingly, the influence of the press plays such a significant role in understanding the serious issues around the world. Thus, this study examines how the Israeli press represents Arabs before and after the recent normalization of relations with Israel.

### **1.2 Objectives and Questions of the Study**

The study aims to explore whether there are any changes in representing Arabs before and after normalizing ties between some Arab governments and Israel. In order to achieve the purpose of the study, the following research questions were posed:

Are there changes in representing Arabs in the Israeli 'Jerusalem Post' before and after the normalization of some Arab governments with Israel?

### **1.3 Significance of the Study**

Much research has investigated the representation of Arabs in some fields, few of which examined the Israeli representation of Arabs, none of which explored the representation of Arabs in an Israeli newspaper that is published in English during the periods before and after the normalization of some Arab governments with Israeli. Moreover, the current study contributes to the existing line of research which incorporates critical discourse analysis (CDA) with corpus linguistics (CL) by exploring the patterns of representation of the Arabs in an Israeli newspaper published in two languages; English and French. Examining how Israelis depict and present Arabs to the world, especially the West, is very significant in order to shed light on how the Israeli media influences the attitudes and ideologies of its international readers. The significance of the present study is thus three-fold. Firstly, the method used which is actually a combination of CDA and CL, corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis, is not frequently used, which in turn fills a gap in literature. Secondly, researchers have examined the representation of Arabs in the US and European media with a special focus on major incidents like 9/11 (Arti 2007). Yet, we know little about how Arabs are presented by the Israeli media. Thirdly, the period being studied (2017-2021) is a critical one since it witnessed establishing of political, social and economic ties between some Arab governments and Israel. Additionally, this period, to the best of my knowledge, has not been studied so far.

## **2. Literature Review**

### **2.1 Arabs and Muslims in the Eye of Israeli and Western Media**

Van Dijk (2006) examined the way that Arabs and Jews are represented on postcards in Israel. The researcher conducted a comparative method to achieve the objective of the study. Consequently, the results showed that Arabs are portrayed as old-fashioned and as the people of the past. However, Jews are represented as modern people, describing them as the people of the future.

First (1998) investigated the representation of Arabs in Israeli media during the beginning of the Palestinian Intifada. The researcher conducts a quantitative content analysis for the investigation. The results show the negative representation of Arabs in Israeli media that they are described as savages and uneducated.

Podeh (2000) investigated the representation of Arabs in Israeli history textbooks from 1948 to 2000. The researcher conducts a comparative analysis of Jewish history textbooks that present the Palestinian refugee problem. The results showed that Arabs were presented negatively in Israel society.

Lalehparvaran (1981) examined the representation of the Arab-Israeli conflict in The New York Times and St. Louis Post-Dispatch. The main reason for conducting this research is to investigate whether the coverage was balanced for both parties in the conflict, Arabs and Israelis or not. To achieve the objective of the study, the researcher used content analysis to investigate the news reports of the two newspapers from June 6, 1982 to February 11, 1983; during and the Beirut Massacre. Consequently, the analysis showed that when the Massacre happened, the New York Times and St. Louis Post-Disptach showed more favorable news symbols about Arabs, but for Israelis, more favorable symbols were presented in the New York Times. "The St. Louis Post-Disptach carried 11 equally positive and negative symbols relevant to Israelis". Additionally, the period after the Massacre, the two newspapers presented Arabs in a positive way; however, they represented Israelis in a negative context.

Baker et al. (2013) investigated the representation of 'Muslim' in the British newspapers from 1998 to 2009. For achieving this, the researcher conducted a combination of the corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis. As a result, the analysis showed that the most frequent words collocate with 'Muslim' are *world* and *community* and for further analysis, the researcher analyzes the contexts of the 'Muslim community' and 'Muslim world' and it is shown that they are portrayed as offended, alienated, and in conflict with the west.

Li and Zhang (2022) examined the portrayal of Islam and Muslims in The New York Times reports from 2000-2016. Moreover, it examined whether Muslims and Islam are presented negatively or not. For achieving the objectives of the research, the researcher conducted corpus-based and for analyzing the corpus they apply critical discourse strategies such as, selection and silence, generalization, and binary opposition; additionally, the researcher conducted corpus some linguistic techniques such as keywords, collocates, and clusters. After analyzing and examining the corpus, results showed that Islam and Muslims were portrayed in a negative way.

### **2.2 Studies Related to the Representation of Other Groups**

Bang (2003) explored the ways that South Korean press represents foreign countries, specifically, North Korea and United States. Data are collected from three Korean newspapers, and then the researcher conducted corpus investigation techniques using Wordsmith tools for the analysis. Frequency of words and collocates play the biggest role in analyzing the data. So the analysis showed that US is represented as more powerful than other countries in the same time, it is represented as a threat. On the other hand, North Korea is portrayed negatively as an uncooperative country for talks and an initiator of military activities.

Jaworska and Krishnamurthy (2012) examined how feminism is portrayed in both British and German press. For achieving the aim of the research, the researcher conducted corpus linguistic techniques on large British and German newspaper data to end up with two corpora, both of which show the negative representation of feminism. Feminism is described as outdated, and no longer relevant.

Baker and Vessey (2018) compared English and French extremist texts in order to examine how different languages deliver messages with the same and distinct discursive themes. For achieving the objective of the study, the researcher conducted corpus linguistics and qualitative discourse analysis. The researcher compiled two corpora; one for English texts and one for French texts. As a result, the two corpora "focus on religion and rewards (i.e. for faith) and strongly rely on othering strategies." Although the English version was focused on world events but, the French texts concentrate on issues related to France. Additionally, however the English texts use Arabic code-switching as a form of legitimation, while the French version uses a formal register and quotation from scripture in discussions of permissions, rights, obligations and laws.

Haider and Olimy (2019) investigated the representation of refugees and migrants in the headlines of Jordan news agency (PETRA) from 2012 to 2016. The study also investigated the changing in representation refugees and migrants during the period (2012-2016). For achieving the objectives of the research, the researcher conducted the corpus linguistic technique of concordance and analyzed only the headlines that contain the words refugees and migrants. As a result, the analysis showed the interest of Jordan in refugee issues in 2012 and highlights the support for refugees. On the other hand, in 2013, the analysis showed that the headlines "Alerting the international community of the negative consequences and burdens incurred due to refugee". In 2014, the main focus was on providing the fund and donations to refugees. However, calling for solution began in 2015 with limiting the assistance and services for refugees consisting on the illegal migration of refugees to Europe and the negative response to the refugees; this attitude towards refugees continued in 2016. Moving to the results of analyzing the representation of 'migrants' in the headlines from 2012 to 2016, the study shows that in 2012 and 2013, the headlines highlighted the significant number of illegal migrants that Europe receiving. In 2014, the focus was on The United Nations and migrants' right. In 2015, the headlines showed how the migrant crisis becoming more serious on the hosting countries and the inhumane treatment of migrants by the European countries. Last but not least, in 2016, the main focus was on the different reactions towards migrants by the European countries.

Alanazi (2020) investigated the representation of Saudis on twitter during two tragic events at Mecca in 2015. This study focuses mainly on the tweets in English from Australia, Canada, Britain, and the United States. In order to achieve the objective of the study, the researcher conducted critical discourse analysis, specifically, discourse historical analysis, and corpus linguistic techniques. Such as keywords, collocations, concordance. As a result, the five corpora analyses show the negative representation of Saudis during two tragic events at Mecca in 2015. This study is considered such a rich one since all the corpus linguistic techniques were used.

### 3. Methodology

#### 3.1 The Corpus

The researchers used a combination of CL and CDA to achieve the objectives of the study. The researchers have drawn upon a corpus of over 22 million words to conduct the study.

**Table 1: Summary of Corpus Size**

Period	Year	Number of articles	Word count
Before	2017	5429	4511037
	2018	4646	3944953
	2019	5595	4515074
After	2020	4896	4711360
	2021	4474	4544540
	<b>Total</b>	25040	22226964

Data were extracted the data from Factiva database which is an international database that contains more than 30,000 sources. These sources come from 200 countries in 28 languages. Users can search for information in newspapers, newswires, industry publications, websites, and company reports. Extracting the data was not random; the researcher gathered articles in English that contain the terms 'Arab\*' from January 2017 to December 2021, specifically from the Israeli newspaper 'the Jerusalem Post'.

#### 3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

For making the analysis of the data more informative, the researchers used the three approaches of critical discourse analysis; namely, Van Dijk's approach, Wodak's approach (discourse Historical Approach), and Fairclough's three-dimensional model.

In order to analyze Jerusalem Post articles, the researchers need to be aware of their historical context. In other words, the researchers should have a background knowledge about the Arab-Israeli conflict. Accordingly, the researchers used Wodak's approach since historical background about the conflict is offered. In addition to that, conducting Fairclough's three-dimensional model in this study is significant to investigate and analyze how Jerusalem Post uses language as a powerful tool in its articles to deliver information according to its interests. Furthermore, the researchers used Van Dijk's Approach in order to analyze the ideology of Jerusalem Post and examine how its ideology reflects and affects its news.

### 4. Analysis

#### 4.1 Word Lists for the Two Investigated Periods

Making frequency list is essential in this research to examine the interest of the newspaper and to see the saliency of terms (Baker, 2010; Nofal, 2023) that the newspaper intends to focus on. Furthermore, creating word lists helps move further in the analysis to

conducting cluster analysis and then concordance analysis to investigate the context in which words of interest are used. In other words, frequency lists are considered the foundation of this study that opens doors for further analyses.

Table 2 shows the most frequent words in the two investigated periods. We chose the most frequent 25 words because they showed promising results that seemed to meet the objectives of the study. Table 2 includes the frequent words in two period (before and after the normalization of relations with Israel), raw frequencies (i.e. how many times it occurs in the corpus), and normalized frequencies (i.e. occurrences per million words) which is very essential to take it into account in this study because of the different size of the two sub-corpora. As mentioned earlier, we pay more attention to the normalized frequency than the raw frequency, because the number of frequency does not give fair results based on sub-corpora of different size.

**Table 2: The first 50 most frequent words in the two investigated periods**

2017-2019			2020-2021		
Type	Freq	N. Freq	Type	Freq	N. Freq
jewish	45671	3559	israeli	29920	3265
israeli	40196	3132	jewish	28098	3066
Arab	38584	3007	arab	21975	2398
State	37591	2929	people	17489	1908
palestinian	37851	2949	palestinian	26500	2892
people	23914	1863	iran	16378	1787
Iran	23223	1810	state	15162	1654
trump	19492	1519	minister	14573	1590
president	18578	1448	government	13910	1518
minister	18016	1404	netanyahu	13817	1508
world	17949	1399	world	12450	1358
saudi	16728	1303	peace	11936	1302
government	16490	1285	president	10790	1177
netanyahu	16164	1259	country	19877	2169
peace	14925	1163	trump	9188	1003
country	24097	1877	prime	8780	958
security	13257	1033	political	8329	909
War	12649	986	security	8157	890
syria	12557	978	uae	7696	840
political	11743	915	east	7508	819
east	11086	864	united	7412	809

Table 2 shows that most of the frequent words appeared in both periods indicate that the interest and the focus of the Israeli newspaper in presenting certain topics or groups have not changed. For instance, 'Arab\*' and its variants (e.g. Arabs, Arabian,...etc.) occur among the most frequent words in the two investigated period since it is a query term that has been used to build the corpus. Moreover, words like 'Israeli, Jewish, and Netanyahu are expected to appear among the frequently used words because the newspaper is published and located in Jerusalem. Thus, these words reflect the interest of discussing the internal affairs of the state. There are some frequent words like 'state, government, and country' that need to be investigated further to see which government, state, and country the newspaper meant to mention and to focus on. Additionally, the presence of the United Arab Emirates (UAE) in the second period may be connected to the then newly-established relations between UAE and Israel. Table 2

shows that new words appear in the two period. This leads us to look at the similarities and differences in the two periods as shown in the subsequent sections.

#### 4.2 The Similarities in the Frequent Lexical Words in the Two Periods

After examining the most frequent 50 words in the two investigated periods, we created a list of the common words across the two frequency lists to compare and examine the reason and the way of using these words. The occurrence of a word in the two periods does not necessarily mean it is used in the two periods similarly. Thus, cluster analysis is considered a quick way to find out how the word is used in the two periods.

**Table 3: Common frequent words across the two periods**

israeli	jewish	arab	state	palestinian	people	iran	trump	president	minister	world	government
netanyahu	peace	country	security	war	political	east	prime	united			

Table 3 shows the common words across the two periods. In order to examine the context in which some common words appeared, we carried out cluster analysis of the words *Arab*, *east*, *Palestinians*, *war*, *country*, and *government* followed by concordance analysis of some clusters to see how the meanings of these words were cemented across multi-part expressions (Baker & Vessey, 2018).

#### 4.3 Cluster analysis of the word Arab in the two periods

Conducting cluster analysis of some common words paves the way to the concordance analysis which offers more depth to the analysis. In other words, since the corpus is very large, we decided to conduct the cluster analysis as the foundation for the concordance analysis. In order to examine the way in which Arabs were presented and whether there were any differences in presenting them in the two periods (before and after the normalization of relations with Israel), we carried out cluster analysis of the common word 'Arab\*' in the two periods.

Table 4 shows the cluster analysis of the word 'Arab\*' in the two periods. The table contains two lists that present the two periods and each list consists of the resultant clusters, their raw and normalized frequencies.

**Table 4: Cluster list of the word Arab in the two investigated periods**

2017-2019			2020-2021		
Cluster	Freq	N. Freq	Cluster	Freq	N. Freq
saudi arabia	9904	0.099	saudi arabia	4141	0.062
arab world	1805	0.018	united arab	2984	0.045
united arab	1710	0.017	arab emirates	2687	0.04
arab emirates	1624	0.016	arab world	1184	0.018
arab state	1861	0.019	arab country	1349	0.02
arab country	1380	0.014	arab states	1076	0.016
arab Israeli	1380	0.014	arab sector	838	0.013
israeli arab	1543	0.015	arab Israeli	1252	0.019
arab league	748	0.007	israeli arab	1114	0.017
arab citizens	709	0.007	arab citizens	551	0.008

As shown in Table 4 the newspaper has shown a remarkable interest in presenting Arabs in its news in both periods as illustrated in the normalized frequency. In other words, the frequent occurrence of some clusters like 'Arab world, Arab countries, and Arab states' are almost the same in both periods. The table can be classified, in terms of the interest of the newspaper, into two categories; regional affairs such as Arab world, Arab countries, Arab state,...etc., and internal affairs such as Arab Israeli, Israeli Arab, Jewish Arab, Arab parties,...etc. For examining the way that the newspaper has presented the cluster 'Arab world', we conducted concordance analysis of the cluster 'Arab world'. The reason of selecting the cluster 'Arab world', but not other clusters like 'Arab states' or 'Arab countries', to conduct the concordance analysis on is that because the cluster 'Arab World' is more general and covers Arab states, Arab countries and all Arab people (along with Turkey and Iran).

#### **4.3.1 Concordance analysis of the cluster 'Arab world' in the first period (2017-2019)**

Results revealed that Arab are presented negatively even in the period after normalization. The following lines that are extracted as examples from the first period (2017-2019) illustrate this:

1. The weakness of the Arab world that is fighting each other, and the split among the Palestinians, which weakens them.
2. Such acts only weaken the Arab world and empower Israel,
3. The first is that the Arab world is politically ill.
4. The Arab world is also backtracking
5. In Israel's view, the Sunni Arab world is nothing but a temporary ally
6. the Arab world is in a state of hesitation" following President Donald Trump's changes to US policy on Jerusalem.
7. much of the Arab world is in the throes of a deep socio-political crisis, particularly since the mistermred Arab Spring
8. The Arab world is in a state of violent chaos which requires effective and complete Israeli control
9. The Arab world is passing through great despair and uncertainty and is virtually dismembered.
10. The Arab world is passing through a difficult phase of survival. Death, desolation, self-defeating destruction and deprivation have become **its** hallmarks.
11. The Arab world is a dangerous proposition
12. The climate in the Arab world] is becoming very hostile
13. Israel is national entity while the Arab world is an imperial one
14. The Arab world is nothing but violence – war, suicide bombings, stabbings, car-rammings.

In the first period (2017-2019), Arabs whether as states or as people are presented as weak, ununited, arrogant, terrorist, and inferior world. Arabs are presented as weak politically (line 3, 7). The Arab world is portrayed as ununited and "fighting each other" (line 1). Additionally, Arab world is presented as an inferior community comparing with Israel as the newspaper view Israel as the superior community (line 2, 5, 8, 13). Furthermore, the Arab world is described as a terrorist world as it is illustrated in (lines 8, 12, 13, 14). Moreover, Arab World is described as dangerous place that is replete with violence, murder and wars (lines 11, 12, 14).

#### **4.3.2 Concordance analysis of the cluster 'Arab world' in the second period (2020-2021)**

Similarly, in the second period (2020-2021), Arabs are shown as weak, ununited, and betrayers of Palestinians and the Palestinian issue. The concordance lines below illustrate this.

1. "The weakness of the Arab world"
2. "Morocco have put the Palestinians on notice that their "veto" over the relations between states in the Arab world and Israel has expired, and that the Arab world is not waiting anymore for them to get their act together — to determine who represents them and begin negotiations with Israel — before moving forward with the Jewish state."
3. "The Arab world barely reacted and the Palestinians didn't launch another intifada."
4. Rather than being portrayed in the Arab world as betraying the Palestinian cause
5. the Palestinian national movement is at one of its low points, as countries in the Arab world are turning their backs on it

In line 1, in September 2020, the newspaper described the Arab world as a weak community politically, economically and even socially. Moreover, lines 2 and 3 show Arabs as they are not united. In line 2, Morocco is presented as an Arab country that does not stand by the Palestinian cause anymore, and although Morocco normalized ties with Israel in December 2020, the mentioned example was published three months prior to the announcement of the normalization of relation between Morocco and Israel (i.e. September, 2020). Line 3 shows the reaction of the Arab world when trump announced moved the American embassy to Jerusalem as if they accept Trump's decision. However, when trump moved the American embassy to Jerusalem, most of the Arab countries condemned this and protests started in different Arab countries. Furthermore, in lines 4 and 5 Arabs are presented as if they do not pay attention to the Palestinian cause anymore "the Arab world as betraying the Palestinian cause" "the Arab world are turning their backs on it". In so doing, the newspaper is foregrounding the state of disunity among Arabs over the Palestinian cause.

#### **4.4 Cluster analysis of the word 'East' in the two periods**

Since 'East' may refer to the Arabs as 'Middle East', we decided to conduct cluster analysis on the word 'east' to provide further details to the analysis.

Table 5: Cluster list of the word 'EAST' in the two investigated periods

2017-2019			2020-2021		
Cluster	Freq	N. Freq	Cluster	Freq	N. Freq
middle east	7574	0.268	middle east	5236	0.286
eastern Syria	789	0.028	middle eastern	439	0.024
middle eastern	648	0.023	eastern Syria	359	0.02
east peace	370	0.013	east peace	230	0.013
east policy	200	0.007	eastern mediterranean	212	0.012
eastern europe	155	0.005	east policy	111	0.006
eastern mediterranean	129	0.005	eastern countries	76	0.004
eastern ghouta	106	0.004	eastern Europe	73	0.004
east forum	82	0.003	eastern studies	61	0.003
eastern countries	77	0.003	east side	55	0.003

Not unexpectedly, the cluster 'middle east' occurred in both periods as the most frequent cluster which led me to carry out concordance analysis of the cluster in both periods to examine the context and to see whether 'Arabs' are the ones who were meant to be mentioned in the cluster 'middle east' as it may present other groups such as Iran and Turkey. Furthermore, the newspaper seems to have an interest in foregrounding Syrian war as the clusters 'east syria', 'eastern syria', 'eastern ghouta' appeared frequently in the two periods.

#### 4.4.1 Concordance analysis of the cluster 'Middle East' in the first period (2017-2019)

1. He believes that the great hope for maintaining a moderate Arab presence in the Middle East is a strong Israel.
2. the Western world might now recognize the Middle East is a hostile and violent region
3. The Middle East is a more dangerous place after eight years of the Obama presidency than it was before
4. Predicting what's next in the Middle East is a slippery slope.
5. In contrast to peaceful Europe, the Middle East is a conflict-ridden region.
6. Gulf states face a common enemy in Iran and said that the key to maintaining a moderate Arab presence in the Middle East is a strong Israel.
7. the problem in the Middle East is not Israel but, rather, radical Islam
8. The Middle East is in turmoil.
9. and said that the Middle East is in crisis
10. the Middle East is in a state of utter instability.
11. The Middle East is in the most unstable situation since the beginning of Islam.
12. Today the Middle East is full of dangers

In the first period (2017-2019), the Middle East is presented as violent (line 2), dangerous (lines 3, 12) and unstable place (lines 8, 9, 10). Arabs were described as a community that cannot stand alone and the presence of Arabs is linked with the presence of 'a strong Israel' (lines 1, 6). Furthermore, the environment and the situation in the Middle East are described as 'slippery slope'; in other words, the Middle East is described as a dangerous not stable place (line 4). Moreover, the comparison between Europe and the Middle East took place through describing the Middle East as 'a conflict-ridden region'; however, Europe as 'peaceful europe' (line 5). Additionally, (lines 7, 11) show that the problem and the unstable situation in the Middle East are because of Islam.

#### 4.4.2 Concordance analysis of the cluster 'Middle East' in the second period (2020-2021)

1. Jews can travel most places in the world and feel free to be Jewish. Only in the Middle East is it considered controversial.
2. THE REAL conflict today in the Middle East is no longer between Israel and a pan-Arab front led by Egypt, and it is certainly not between Israel and the UAE. It is between Israelis and Palestinians
3. The Middle East is considered to be one of the world's most dangerous regions to cover for journalists, while freedom of the press is widely curtailed and often violated in many places. dangerous
4. the tourism sector in all of the Middle East is bleeding.
5. The Middle East is up to its neck in problems,
6. The Middle East is the world's most war-torn region, and the warring won't be ending so soon.
7. NO OTHER area in the world has so many complex conflicts than the Middle East
8. The Middle East is still yet to recover from the effects of the first nuclear deal
9. The Middle East is watching – and waiting – as Americans go to the polls to decide who will lead them through the next four years.



10. charging that the Middle East "is still struggling with a chronic lack of arms control norms and principles.
11. The Middle East is a region where nothing stays the same for long. And a place where an adept diplomatic hand is required.

Likewise, in the second period (2020-2021), the Middle East is presented in the Jerusalem Post as dangerous (line 3), not stable (lines 5, 6, 7). Also, it is shown as weak "...the Middle East is bleeding" (line 4). Furthermore, the Middle East is portrayed as not independent and should be under control (lines 9, 10, 11). Additionally, the Jerusalem Post presents the Middle East as a not safe place (line 1). The Middle East also was show as ununited as if Palestinians are separated of the Middle East; in other words, it is illustrated that the Middle East does not have any problem with Israel and it is all about Palestinians and Israelis (line 2).

#### 4.5 Keyword Analysis

Keyword analysis is very essential to compare between the two sub-corpora (i.e. the two investigated periods), that is, to examine whether there are any differences in presenting Arabs before and after normalizing ties with Israel. Thus, we examined the most important 50 lexical keywords as shown in Table 6 below.

**Table 6: Keyword list of the two investigated periods**

<b>Keyword analysis of the two periods</b>				
<b>Keywords</b>	<b>2017-2019</b>		<b>2020-2021</b>	
	<b>N. Freq</b>	<b>Freq</b>	<b>N. Freq</b>	<b>Freq</b>
Arab	2220.686	28500	2397.795	21975
Government	1284.881	16490	1517.785	13910
Minister	1403.785	18016	1590.128	14573
Netanyahu	1259.479	16164	1507.637	13817
Peace	1162.938	14925	1302.393	11936
Countries	830.225	10655	1020.55	9353
Country	1047.384	13442	1148.323	10524
Prime	842.38	10811	958.027	8780
Uae	204.849	2629	839.747	7696
Abraham	47.219	606	284.462	2607
Accords	47.063	604	306.503	2809
administration	426.839	5478	576.125	5280
Agreement	307.701	3949	444.206	4071
August	208.978	2682	281.952	2584
Bahrain	138.462	1777	351.895	3225
Bank	456.682	5861	512.621	4698
Bennett	104.489	1341	440.496	4037
Biden	7.636	98	598.603	5486
Cases	113.138	1452	256.856	2354
console	0.39	5	329.635	3021
cooperation	219.186	2813	288.063	2640
<b>coronavirus</b>	0	0	660.908	6057
<b>Covid</b>	0	0	369.135	3383
Crisis	184.979	2374	333.564	3057
current	240.302	3084	280.097	2567

Days	336.375	4317	408.525	3744
Deal	570.132	7317	713.392	6538
election	348.998	4479	420.855	3857
elections	277.391	3560	369.026	3382
emirates	144.072	1849	362.697	3324
Gulf	282.066	3620	395.213	3622
Head	297.65	3820	355.496	3258
Health	143.059	1836	487.743	4470
Hope	213.809	2744	276.169	2531
important	392.711	5040	462.21	4236
Israelis	610.572	7836	707.827	6487
Issue	338.401	4343	392.595	3598
normalization	41.141	528	287.626	2636

Table 6 shows that almost all words appear in the two period except two. The only words that occur in one period and do not occur in the other are 'covid' and 'coronavirus'. These words appear in the second period only (2020-2021) because the global impact of the Coronavirus pandemic took place in 2020. Also, there are keyword countries like UAE, Emirati, Sudan, and Bahrain which are more frequent in the second period (2020-2021) because of their announcement of normalizing ties with Israel in 2020. The keywords 'Abraham' and 'accords' are shown in the same numbers because they are considered as a collocation 'Abraham accords', which is a joint statement between some Arab governments and Israel declared in September 2020, and thus, it is expected to occur in the second period which is the period of the normalization and as they presenting some Arabs as allies. The keyword 'normalization' is barely occurred in the first period when compared with its occurrences in the second period.

Furthermore, the keyword 'Biden' appears in the second period more frequently than it does in the first period for the reason that Biden was a presidential candidate in 2017 (Trump's opponent and the US vice president). Some keywords like government, administration, country, countries, head, and minister are highly expected to appear in any political newspaper for the reason they are considered political discourse.

Having presented the similarities and differences the two sub-corpora have, now we turn to looking at the collocates that the word 'Arab' and its variants have in the two periods.

#### **4.6 Collocation Analysis**

Being aware of the surrounding words of the query term is important for understanding the context it is used in. This can be achieved by carrying out collocation analysis of the query term 'Arab\*'. Collocation analysis is the core of this research. Thus, the research questions of the current study can be answered and the aim of the research can be achieved by carrying out concordance analysis of some collocates to see the context in which the collocates have appeared.

**Table 7: Collocation list of the query term 'Arab\*' in the first period 2017-2019**

Collocate	FreqLR	FreqL	FreqR	Collocate	FreqLR	FreqL	FreqR
Saudi	11570	11018	552	news	409	174	235
Israeli	3634	2076	1558	islamic	398	82	316
united	2675	1978	697	oil	375	119	256
States	2459	442	2017	arabs	374	187	187
World	2385	255	2130	neighbors	371	58	313
emirates	2173	99	2074	ties	364	225	139
countries	2065	324	1741	syria	362	175	187
Arab	1987	817	1170	joint	362	215	147
jewish	1866	1148	718	communities	350	67	283
Jews	1821	1137	684	led	348	179	169
palestinian	1317	842	475	turkey	346	161	185
Egypt	1215	505	710	netanyahu	342	154	188
Iran	1185	501	684	reported	333	110	223
arabia	1051	711	340	president	329	142	187
citizens	986	124	862	yemen	325	137	188
Gulf	914	504	410	coalition	320	136	184
leaders	906	181	725	initiative	317	69	248
muslim	846	288	558	mks	304	24	280
league	827	53	774	minority	303	50	253
palestinians	783	446	337	orthodox	301	164	137
Israelis	742	210	532	<b>violence</b>	298	183	115
including	736	456	280	regional	296	179	117
Sunni	733	624	109	prince	292	82	210
Peace	704	288	416	political	290	132	158
Qatar	703	290	413	riyadh	290	187	103
bahrain	697	168	529	students	284	62	222
women	681	168	513	king	280	84	196
Uae	618	142	476	local	269	206	63
hebrew	611	400	211	music	269	51	218
jordan	600	311	289	ultra	268	140	128
language	593	223	370	official	267	104	163
East	588	276	312	palestine	261	122	139
sector	586	49	537	<b>attacks</b>	257	165	92
spring	576	19	557	crown	253	60	193
parties	569	69	500	muslims	252	59	193
relations	546	347	199	living	252	70	182
population	541	135	406	neighborhoods	251	16	235
region	521	312	209	bin	249	48	201
conflict	521	118	403	day	248	146	102

people	493	253	240	security	244	126	118
trump	485	223	262	international	243	107	136
society	482	75	407	speaking	242	87	155
government	464	273	191	american	241	103	138
List	460	110	350	found	241	186	55
called	459	289	170	salman	240	80	160
residents	439	82	357	christian	240	152	88
community	425	107	318	live	237	46	191
Allies	412	107	305	moderate	235	197	38
nations	412	86	326	majority	220	118	102
minister	410	161	249	press	218	30	188

Table 8 Collocation list of the query term 'Arab\*' in the second period 2020-2021

Collocate	FreqLR	FreqL	FreqR	Collocate	FreqLR	FreqL	FreqR
Saudi	4687	4445	242	<b>crime</b>	300	250	50
United	3364	3116	248	government	298	159	139
emirates	2903	88	2815	news	290	89	201
Israeli	2621	1511	1110	arabs	285	133	152
countries	1557	211	1346	joint	280	137	143
States	1546	216	1330	city	267	105	162
Jewish	1511	952	559	initiative	260	56	204
World	1463	104	1359	ultra	242	148	94
Jews	1373	883	490	called	240	146	94
Arab	1185	584	601	morocco	239	66	173
Bahrain	968	237	731	cities	235	43	192
Sector	944	60	884	abbas	233	70	163
Peace	923	445	478	sudan	233	43	190
palestinian	839	507	332	towns	232	20	212
Israelis	821	181	640	students	231	49	182
citizens	803	102	701	number	225	179	46
relations	637	354	283	nations	223	30	193
Uae	620	223	397	orthodox	221	142	79
List	584	124	460	sunni	220	190	30
Society	573	80	493	agreements	206	180	26
Egypt	557	250	307	neighbors	206	25	181
Gulf	555	238	317	haredi	194	132	62
including	532	316	216	trump	190	94	96
normalization	514	337	177	coalition	189	97	92
country	512	161	351	reported	186	47	139
Muslim	497	137	360	yemen	186	83	103
League	493	20	473	led	180	80	100
<b>violence</b>	492	334	158	<b>attacks</b>	177	133	44

palestinians	489	254	235	<b>attack</b>	175	144	31
community	466	85	381	oman	172	72	100
Parties	449	70	379	islamic	171	34	137
Hebrew	428	277	151	majority	171	104	67
population	415	90	325	mixed	166	114	52
Party	412	58	354	accords	165	132	33
residents	380	66	314	minority	165	21	144
Leaders	377	94	283	president	159	77	82
Ties	372	220	152	neighborhoods	157	19	138
communities	371	51	320	palestine	156	63	93
Arabia	359	203	156	found	153	112	41
language	349	117	232	voters	152	15	137
People	348	172	176	abraham	151	98	53
conflict	324	76	248	young	148	114	34
minister	319	99	220	speaking	148	48	100
support	316	157	159	international	147	76	71
Region	312	189	123	living	146	51	95
Jordan	310	139	171	local	145	88	57
Women	309	100	209	day	143	94	49
Spring	308	12	296	deals	141	108	33
netanyahu	303	152	151	killed	139	45	94
Qatar	302	132	170	vote	136	34	102

Tables 7 and 8 show the collocation lists of the query term 'Arab\*' in both periods. Each table consists of 100 collocates and the number of frequency of them from the left, the right, the left and the right together. Some collocates are expected to appear frequently such as 'palestine', 'jordan', 'Bahrain'...etc because these countries are Arab countries. Similarly, other collocates are expected as they are considered political discourse such as 'countries', 'agreements', 'minister', 'reported',...etc.

Furthermore, some collocates appear frequently in the second period such as 'abraham', 'deals', 'ties', 'peace' etc. which is expected since it is the period when some Arab governments normalized ties with Israel. Moreover, it can be realized that the countries that normalized ties with Israel started to appear frequently in the second period like 'sudan', 'morocco'. The tables also show an emerging theme is the depiction of Arabs as trouble makers as the occurrence of 'attack', 'violence', 'crime' suggests negative representation of Arabs which leads me to conduct concordance analysis of these collocates.

#### **4.6.1 Arabs as trouble makers in the two periods**

The Jerusalem Post presented Arabs negatively in its news showing them as trouble makers. This can be curtailed by the following examples of the collocates crime, attack, and violence.

#### **4.6.2 Concordance analysis of the collocate 'crime' in the second period 2020-2021**

1. the scourge of crime is flowing from Arab localities
2. want to solve the problem of crime in the Arab sector
3. they are not serious about fighting crime among Arabs
4. How the Israel Police are fighting Arab sector crime
5. to fight crime, particularly in the Arab community
6. failed to rein in crime gangs in the Arab and Bedouin communities.
7. The crime that is increasing in Arab society

The collocate 'crime' is linked with the query term 'Arab\*' negatively in the second period. The reason of not conducting concordance analysis of the collocate 'crime' in the first period is that the collocate does not appear in the first period. Accordingly, as illustrated in the second period, Arabs are described as the source of crimes (line 1). Moreover, Arab sector (lines 2 and 4), communities (lines 5 and 6), and society (line 7) are shown as nonstable places that are filled with crimes. Furthermore, Arabs are portrayed as ununited and separate people who fight each other "crime among Arabs" (line 3).

#### **4.6.3 Concordance analysis of the collocate 'attack' in the two periods 2017-2019**

1. as well as daily attacks by Arabs against Jews
2. economic difficulties and attacks by Arab tribes
3. Attacks by Bedouin and local Arabs
4. attacks by Palestinians and Arab Israelis on Jews
5. Israeli civilians have been subjected to indiscriminate attacks from Arab terrorists since 1948
6. Most of our terrorist attacks are carried out by Palestinians.

#### **2020-2021**

7. attack on Israel by seven Arab armies
8. the Arab attack against a Jewish
9. a deadly attack by an Arab mob on a Jew

After carrying out concordance analysis of the collocate 'attack' in both periods, results show that the collocate is linked with 'Arabs' negatively. In other words, Arabs in Palestine are shown as savages and violent who have committed several attacks against Jews (lines 1, 4). Palestinians (line 4, 6), Bedouin and local Arabs (line 3), and Arab tribes in Palestine (line 2) are accused of carrying attacks against the Israelis.

Moreover, Arabs were portrayed as terrorists and Israelis are the victim of this terrorist since Al-Nakba in 1948 (line 5). Although in 1948, Israeli occupation committed several crimes against Palestinians besides occupying some Palestinian cities such as Haifa. Similarly, in the second period, as illustrated in lines 7, 8, and 9, Arabs are shown as violent and the Israelis and Jewish people are depicted as victims who are always under attack by the Arabs "the arab attack against a jewish" 'attack on Israel by...arab...'

#### **4.6.4 Concordance of the collocate 'violence' in the two periods**

In order to make the analysis richer and to investigate why the word 'violence' is considered one of the collocates in both periods, we carried out concordance analysis of the collocate 'violence' in both periods.

#### **2017-2019**

1. to mollify Arab violence against Jews.
2. ongoing Arab violence against the Jewish community
3. a well-known euphemism for Palestinian-Arab violence and terrorism.
4. the threats of violence from Arab and Muslim countries
5. reasons for violence in Arab society
6. how to plan to tackle violence in Arab sector
7. Violence in Arab communities is acquiring the dimensions of a social disaster
8. The ongoing violence in Arab villages,
9. educational programs to combat violence in Arab schools,

#### **2020-2021**

10. There was the Balfour Declaration of 1917, which was met by a complete refusal from the Arab world, who used severe violence and rioting against Jews
11. violence and murder within the Arab sector
12. need to act against the violence and lawlessness in the Arab society.
13. maintain the status quo enabling Arab-against-Arab violence
14. Palestinian violence against Jewish Israelis

Arabs are described as people who use violence continuously against Jews 'ongoing Arab violence' (lines 1, 2). Palestinian-Arabs are also described as people who use violence and perform terrorism acts (line 3). Moreover, Arab and Muslim countries in line 4 are shown as a threat for the other. Even the Arab society (line 5), sector (line 6), communities (line 7), villages (line 8), and schools (line 9) are portrayed as places that are strongholds of violence. Likewise, in the second period, Arabs are also described as violent people especially against Jews (lines 10, 14). Arabs are shown as desperate and disunited as illustrated in line 13 "Arab against

Arab violence". Violence in Arab schools is also mentioned in line 9. Also, Arab society is described as a lawlessness society that is filled with violence (line 12). Thus, even in the period after normalization, Arabs are shown as violent and the Arab world is full of violence in all levels within the society.

## **5. Discussion**

The second research question is related to the first question. In other words, the second question cannot be answered unless the first question is answered; we cannot examine whether there are any changes in presenting Arabs before and after normalization unless we investigate how Arabs are presented in both periods. The discussion of the first question shows that Arabs are presented negatively in both periods. Accordingly, there are no changes in presenting Arabs in both periods. Additionally, after examining and creating a frequency list and keyword list of the corpus, the results show that most of the words appear in both periods except some words related to Covid-19. This is an indication that the interest of the newspaper in presenting Arabs has not changed. However, whether there are any changes in the way Arabs are represented can be answered by the analyses of clusters, collocations, and concordance. Collocates such as *attack* and *violence* appear frequently in both periods with Arabs which associate negatively with Arabs, this reminds us of Van Dijk's lexicalization that uses lexical items (attack, violence) to create an overall ideological strategy for negative representation for the others (Arabs).

Similarly, Baker et al. (2013) who investigated the representation of Muslims in the British Press, found that the collocate '*conflict*' appeared frequently with Muslims, and thus indicated negative representation. Moreover, Concordance analysis of the cluster 'Arab World' in the second period lines 4,5, and 6 reminds us of Van Dijk's polarization of out-of-group practices which assigns good attributes to Us and bad attributes to Them (Arab World) as the newspaper is foregrounding the state of disunity among Arabs over the Palestinian cause. Additionally, concordance analysis of the cluster 'Middle East' in the first period lines 1,6 also reminds us of Van Dijk's polarization as the presence of Arabs is linked with the presence of 'a strong Israel' (good attributes to Us). Besides, concordance analysis of the cluster 'Middle East' in the second period is an evident example of Van Dijk's lexicalization that uses words that indicate negative representation such as 'middle east is **bleeding**' 'middle east is **dangerous**' 'middle east is **struggling**'.

Furthermore, categorization took place by classifying people into different groups and attributing them positive or negative characteristics which is meant to prove the bad situation of the Arabs and proves Arab's inferiority and Europe's superiority in line 5, the newspaper compares Middle East with Europe; Middle East as 'a conflict-ridden region' and Europe as a 'peaceful europe'. Similarly, the comparison among groups appears in Bang (2003), that investigates how foreign countries are represented in the South Korean media the results show that the US is compared with other countries as more powerful.

Referring back to Fairclough's theory that deals with discourse and the press. Fairclough (1992) argues that the press, by showing a specific issue in a specific way, presenting social identities and social relations, creates social and cultural change, which again might cause misinformation and misconception, that might have effects on the knowledge and issues of an institution or society (Fairclough, 1992). Cluster analysis of 'war' shows that the cluster 'Gaza war' is a frequent cluster in the list which is a label for what they consider a military operation in Gaza. Doing this, the label suggests a cognitive link between Gaza and war.

In the second period, concordance analysis of the collocate 'violence' line 10, reminds us of Van Dijk's victimization that emphasizes the 'bad' nature of out-group by telling negative stories about them (Arabs). In other words, the newspaper describes Arabs as committing violence against Jews by showing and presenting the Balfour Declaration of 1917 "which was met by a complete refusal from the Arab world who used violence against Jews".

## **6. Conclusion**

This study aimed to investigate the way that The Jerusalem Post portrayed Arab, and whether there are any differences in presenting Arabs before and after normalization or not. Drawing upon a 22-million-word corpus of articles extracted from the Jerusalem Post between 2017 and 2021, the study concluded that Arabs were presented negatively in the Jerusalem Post even after some Arab governments normalized relations with Israel. Arabs were as weak in all aspects, terrorists, and inferior community, and they were described as people who fight each other.

Seemingly, such a negative representation is meant to be delivered to the whole world since the language used in the newspaper is English. In other words, the Israeli media is manipulating language to deliver its ideology to the world. Accordingly, Palestine and the Palestinian cause which has always been the Arab cause even after some Arab 'governments' and only governments normalized relations with Israel, are presented negatively in the so called 'Israeli' media even though they presented the 'Palestinian cause' as 'Palestinian issue' as if the problems and the cause of the Palestinians problems is the Palestinians themselves not Israel.

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