

## **Chapter One**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.1 Background:**

The Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a new branch of modern linguistic research rose during the last few years. Among various studies of(CDA) researchers focus was put on not only languages as CDA aims to reveal the influence of ideology on discourse, the counteractive influence of discourse on the ideology, and how the two elements derive from and serve for social structure and power relation. In other words it aims to reveal the relationship between language ideology and power.

CDA takes systematic functional linguistics (SFL) which has been proposed by Halliday(1982) as its main theoretical foundation. Besides, it also absorbs the research achievement in other subjects such as psychology, sociology, ethnology, math media, etc, and combines them with the study of linguistics which attracts the attention of more and more scholars of different fields.

It has been always very difficult to discern the role of culture values in shaping political stances or rather position when it comes to Arab central issues like the issues of the “occupied territories” in Palestine or the position of Jerusalem as opposed to Jewish stance, this is apparent in any T.V. political talk show hence any T.V. viewers who are keen to follow either CNN or Al-Jazzier many not recognize some aspects of the cultural values that can shape the political stances of T.V. participants or the host of talk show.

Sometimes the two participants are drawn from two distinct positions to discuss topics that are central to Arabs. Then the two participants who are

engaged in a face to face discussion tend to disagree over any central issue related to the Arab world.

Van Dijk (1998:64) claimed that ideology refers to mentally representation of the basic social characteristics of a group, such as their identity, task, goals, norms, values, position and resources .

Adwan (2004) stated that language can be used by the oppressed group as a mean of empowerment of rebalancing a relationship. It is an example of how discourse intervention contribute to social transformation through politics of representation. Discourse can be the focus of struggle in the representation of uses related to the achievement of culture of peace rather than under war on a global scale.

Television has evolved as government institution in the Arab world hence political news was bound to top news agenda. That media agendas put political news and political talk – show on the top expense of culture and human interest news. This claim has promoted by the researcher to investigate the role of culture values in shaping political stances of the participants’ political views with regards to the to the Arabs central issue (Palestinian problem).

This study focuses on political discourse produced by two participants who differ greatly over central Arabs’ issues on TV channels, that is, Aljazeera and CNN. The researcher analyzes discourses produced by two participants in terms of the use of some linguistic features that are significant in political speeches.

This study also highlights the relationship between cultural values on one hand and the political stance on the other as it aims to investigate how can cultural values shape political stance linguistically in any talk show whether it is conducted by Arab or non-Arab participants .

## **1.2 Statement of the problem:**

The researcher has noticed that many T.V. viewers who are keen to follow either CNN or Al-Jazzier may not recognize some aspects of the cultural values that can shape the political stances of T.V. participants or the host of talk show, this is especially obvious when they listen to Arab or non-Arab participants .

This study investigates to what extent culture norms shape political stance of the Arab participants linguistically, the researcher investigates some linguistic features in T.V show talk produced by two participants who represent two distinct ideological stances with regard to the contentious issues tackled by the international channels like Aljazeera and CNN.

This issue was also noticed by other researchers such as Wenzky(2004) who claimed that culture norms provide important social and enhance political stances as it develops our quality of life and increases overall well-being for both individuals and communities . Moreover, Klaus(1992) remarked that among the cultural norms that shape political stances are linguistic features such as choice of vocabulary, use of metonymy and metaphors, pasivization and nominalization.

So, the researcher finds it important to explore these hurdles with the intention of suggesting the appropriate rectifications.

## **1.3 Objectives of the study:**

This study sets out to achieve the following objectives:

1. To find out how culture values or norms shape political stances of the Arab participants.
2. To reveal how culture values shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V. show talk linguistically.

3. To highlight the conflicting ideological expressions embedded in a face –to face discourses of the two participants on T.V. show talk .

#### **1.4 Question of the study:**

This study sets out to answers the following questions:

1. To what extent can the cultural values shape the political stance of the Arab participants on T.V. show talk linguistically?
2. How can culture values shape the political stance of non-Arab participants on T.V. show talk linguistically?
3. What are the conflicting ideological expressions embedded in a face – to face discourses of the two participants on T.V. show talk?

#### **1.5Hypotheses of the study:**

This study sets out to test the following hypotheses:

1. Cultural values can linguistically shape the political stance of the Arab participants in T.V. show talk.
2. Culture values can linguistically shape political stances of non-Arab participants (pro West) on T.V. show talk.
3. There are conflicting ideological expressions embedded in a face-to face discourse between two different participants on T.V. show talk.

#### **1.6 Significance of the study:**

The importance of this study stems from the fact that the researcher has adopted critical discourse analysis to reveal culture values or norms that are capable of shaping our political stance which in turn may empower the participants to engage in a political struggle against their enemies.

The study will also benefit educators in the field of CDA.

Researchers who are interested in investigating political discourses to use the findings of the study as a basis for further studies in the area under

investigation as the current study paves the way for other researchers to conduct further studies on the area of the study.

The study will also contribute to the existing literature in the field of CDA.

### **1.7 Limits of the study:**

This study is limited to investigating the role of cultural values in shaping the political stances in Central Arabs issue from CDA perspective. The study also depends on the analysis of some linguistic features of T.V show talk on CNN and Aljazeera.

### **1.8 Methodology of the study:**

There are many methods that can be used by researchers according to the objectives of the study, the required data and the investigated population, since the main objective of the present study is to focus on political discourse produced by two participants who differ greatly over central Arabs' issues on TV channels, that is, Aljazeera and CNN, a questionnaire was used to collect the data of the study; it was administered to 30 TV viewers . The researcher also analyzes some political discourses produced by two participants in terms of the use of some linguistic features that are significant in political discourses .

This study adopts the descriptive analytical method as well as qualitative methods; a variety of critical discourse analysis (CDA) is used Van DIjk and Fairdough's method is adopted to highlight the linguistic features regarding contention issues between the two conflicting groups; the researcher uses some texts produced by CNN and Aljazeera channels covering Arabs' central issue such as the Palestinian .

The study goes around some political dialogues from Aljazeera channel the researcher chooses Mahdi Hassan ( live socio-political take show), Head to head, that is aired on Tuesday at 12:00 KSA for 50 minutes.

From CNN news channel, the researcher chooses Larry king live talk-show, the show feature guests form across the gamut of business, entertainment and politics. It is telecasted each weeknights at 9 p.m. ET, by Larry King.

## **1.9 Structure of the Study:**

This study consists of the following chapters:

Chapter One is an introductory chapter ; it presents an introduction, research problem, objectives, questions of the study , hypotheses, significance , research limits , the methodology of the study and structure of the study.

Chapter Two deals with the review of the related literature to the study which includes the literature related to the questions of the study, in addition to some previous studies which in a way or another contribute to the present study.

Chapter Three discusses the methodology followed by the researcher in order to collect data for this study.

Chapter Four shows the statistical analysis of the data collected by the questionnaire and the analysis of the political discourses adopted from CNN & Aljazeera and discusses the hypotheses of the study.

Chapter Five gives the conclusion which the study came up with, the discussion of the results of the study that was analyzed in Chapter Four , summarizes the overall results , gives recommendations on the basis of the findings of the study and concludes the paper.

### **Chapter Summary:**

To sum up, this chapter has provided the description of the theoretical framework of the study. It focuses mainly on the research problem and methodology.

Chapter Two will be devoted to the literature review related to the present study.

## **Chapter Two**

### **The Theoretical Framework**

#### **2.1 Theoretical Background**

##### **2.1.1 Overview:**

The aim of this chapter is to review some literature related to the role of culture values in shaping the political stances in the Arab's Central issues from CDA perspective. In addition, the chapter reviews some previous studies related to the study at hand.

##### **2.1.2. Definitions of Discourse:**

The concept "discourse" is a catching phrase that has been defined differently in different contexts. For example, Blommaert (2005:2) refers to the concept in semiotic terms as " Any form of action with a meaningful symbolic behavior such is found in literature and arts" Other scholar refer to the term discourse as language in sequence beyond a sentence (Came 2001 : Tannen, 1984), or as language in use for communication ( Yule, 1983: Cook, 1989). In other cases, they refer to "discourse" as language in use as social practice (Foucault, 1971), such as discourses on poverty, war, human rights, education Africa or languages of instructions. Others refer to it as an extended organized body of communicative units among members of parts of discourse community with similar ideas (Young, 2008).

In an explicit manner, Cook (1989:6) defines discourse in terms of language units larger than sentences that are coherent, thus unified and meaningful and distinguishes two kinds of language as potential objects for study, namely, spoken and written forms of language.

As McCarthy (1991) remarked that the term discourse is applied to both spoken and written language, in fact it refers to any sample of language used for any purpose. Any series of speech events or any combination of sentences in written form wherein successive sentences or utterances hang together is a discourse. Discourse cannot be confined to sentential boundaries. It is something that goes beyond the limits of sentences. In

another words discourse means any coherent succession of sentence, spoken or written. The links between clauses in a sentence linguistic theory methods are for studying language, and the nature of data and empirical evidence. These differences in paradigm also have influenced the definitions of discourse.

Chomsky (1965) has stated that sentences that people produce are not limited. However, stringing grammatically correct sentences together does not necessarily produce along similar lines, Halliday(1967) and Matthiessen (2004) put forward the claim that it is misleading to define discourse in terms of a sentence or a phrase, as language elements when they are put together in use to constitute discourse. (McCarthy, 1991: P.7).

According to Levinsohn (2001:3 – 15), discourses differ according to the means of production ( the number of speakers), the type of content ( the text genre), the manner of production (style and register) and the medium of production ( oral versus written).

Keller (2005:228) regards "discourse" a theoretical assumption for starting research of this kind occurring at different instances in time and social as well as geographical space .

Kahargl (2013) argued that it suffices to say that discourse is a form – function couple but it is more satisfying, according to them, to define discourse as an instance of spoken or written language that has a describable internal relationship of form and meaning (e.g. word, structures, cohesion) that relates coherently to an external communicative function or purpose and a given audience/ interlocutor.

On the other hand, Discourse analysis (DA) is a broad term for the study of the ways in which language is used in texts and contexts, it is sometimes referred to as discourse studies developed in the 1970s.

Discourse analysis is concerned with the use of language in running discourse, continued over a number of sentences, and involving the interaction of speaker (or writer) and auditor (or reader) in a specific situational context, and within a framework of social and cultured conventions" (Abrams and Harpham, A Glossary of Literary Terms, 2005).

Discourse analysis has been described as interdisciplinary study of discourse within linguistics, though it has also been adopted by researchers in numerous other fields in the social sciences.



Wood and Kroger (2000) stated that discourse analysis is not only about method, it is also a persuasive on the nature of language and its relationship to the central issue of the social sciences. More specifically, we see discourse analysis as a related collection of approaches to discourse approaches that entail not only practices of data collection and analysis, but also a set of theoretical assumptions and a body of research claims and studies.

This first linguist to refer to discourse analysis was Harris. In 1952, he investigated the connectedness of sentences, naming his study "discourse analysis". Harris claimed explicitly that discourse is the next level in a hierarchy of morphemes, clauses and sentences. He viewed discourse analysis procedurally as formal methodology that could break a text down into relationships (such as equivalence, substitution) among its lower-level constituents. Structure was so central to Harris's view of discourse that he also argued that what opposes discourse to a random sequence of sentences is precisely the fact that it has a structure: a pattern by which segments of the discourse occur.

Michael(1992:131) argued that any study which is not dealing with (a) single sentences, (b) contrived by the linguist, (c) out of the context, may be called discourse analysis. In other words, there is a shift of focus from sentences in isolation to utterances in context: to study language in use is to study a discourse. This is a fact that "knowledge of a language is more than knowledge of individual sentences. (Leech 1991:76) stated that: The true meaning of a sentence cannot be assigned by its only linguistic construction but it largely depends on reference (meaning in relation to exterior word), sense (meaning in relation to linguistic system) and force (meaning in relation to situational context).

As Chomsky (2002: 103 – 04) states: "To understand sentences we must know more than the analysis of this sentence on each linguistic level. We must also know the reference and meaning of the morphemes or words of which it is composed: naturally, grammar cannot be expected to be much help here"

Wood(2000) also criticized the well familiar definition of discourse analysis that discourse is " the study of language patterns above the sentence and states that " if discourse analysis is defined as the study of language patterns

above the sentence, this would seem to imply that discourse is quantitatively different but quantitatively the same phenomenon. It would follow that you cannot have discourse below the sentence.

Smith (2007 : 455) also argued " The existence of arbitrary and language-specific syntactic and referential options for conveying a proposition requires a level of linguistic competence beyond sentential syntax and semantics". Similarly, Merriam (1998) claimed that sentential grammars alone are not capable of constraining the use of definite and indefinite NPs .

Discourse analysis deals with formalist paradigm, functionalist paradigm and formalist and functionalist. Formalist or structural analysis of discourse describe discourse at several levels or dimensions of analysis and in terms of many different units, categories, schematic patterns or relations. Structural analysis focuses on the way different units function in relation to each other but they disregard " the functional relations with the context of which discourse is a part of (VanDijk 1998:4).

Discourse analysis is necessarily the analysis of language in use. The functionalist view of discourse analysis asserted that the study of discourse is the study of any aspect of language use (Fancault 1971).

Discourse analysis cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes and functions which these forms perform.

Function analysis of discourse rely less upon the strictly grammatical characteristics of utterances as sentences than upon the way utterance are situated in contexts.

### **2.1.3 Historical Background of Discourse Analysis:**

A brief historical overview to the study of discourse analysis shows that it grew out of work in different discipline in the 1960s and 1970s, including linguistics semiotics, psychology, anthropology and sociology.

Discourse analysts study language in use: written texts of all kinds and spoken data from conversation to highly institutionalized form of talk.

At a time when linguistics was largely concerned with the analysis of single sentences, Harris(1952) published a paper with the title "Discourse analysis Harries was interested in the distribution of linguistic elements in extended texts and the links between the text and its social situation, though his paper is far from the discourse analysis which is used nowadays. Also important in the early years was the emergence of semiotics and the French

structuralized approach to the study of narratives. In the 1960s Dell Hymes provided a sociological perspective with the study of speech in its social setting (e.g. Hymes 1964). The linguistic philosophers such as Austin (1962), Searle (1969) and Grice (1975) were also influential in the study of language as social action, reflected in speech-act theory and the formulation of conversational maxims, alongside the emergence of pragmatics, which is the study of meaning in context.

Michel (1975) has developed a heavily theorized account of discourse as a tool for ideological struggle. He stated that the need to provide "The basis for a scientific analysis of discursive processes by articulating through historical materialism is by the study of ideological superstructures, psychoanalytical theory and linguistic research". As part of this design and drawing on Althusser's work on the theory of ideology, he has reformulated the Saussurian dichotomy *langue-parole* as '*langue/ process discursive*'.

This shift foreshadowed in the work of Volosinov and Bakhtin (Bennett 1979 : 75 – 82) and their critique of Saussurian, taking into account the distinct systems of linguistic value that exist in a single language community (Pecheux 1975). In other words, it focuses on the different meanings that words and expressions (signifiers) can have according to the ideological position of the users and determining effects of the socio-historical conditions (or 'ideological formation') in which the utterance are produced and that are themselves constitutive of meaning. Discursive processes are thus seen as part of ideological class relation.

Discourse analysis has grown into a wide-ranging and heterogeneous discipline, which finds its unity in the description of language above the sentence and an interest in the contexts and cultural influences which affects language in use. It is also now, increasingly, the forming of a backdrop to the research in applied linguistics and second language learning and teaching in particular.

#### **2.1.4 Discourse in Linguistics:**

In linguistics, discourse usually refers to the study of speech patterns and the use of language etc. to understand the speech patterns one need to be clear

about the term 'discourse' and 'texts' discourse simply it is structured collections of meaningful texts (Paker, 1992).

A text is a part of the process of discourse. It is the product of any communication of any writer/speaker. As Fairclough (1989) said this process includes in addition to the text the process of production, of which the text is a product, and the process of interpreter, the text consists of lexicon-grammatical realizations of three kinds of meaning relating to three basic grammatical realizations of three kinds of meaning relating to three basic language functions (the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions of systemic linguistics).

These lexicon – grammatical cues to ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings are interpreted with the help of other resources beyond the text.

In using the term text, we refer not just to the written transcriptions but also "to" any kind of symbolic expressions requiring a physical medium and permitting of permanent storage (Taylor & Van Every, 1993. 109).

For a text to be generated, it must be spoken, written, or depicted in some way. Only when such an activity happens a text takes a shape, Taylor (1996:7) said that when such an activity happens text takes on material form and becomes accessible to others.

Therefore, talk is also a kind of text. Fairclough (1995) and Van Dijk (1997) remarked that in fact the texts that make up discourses may take a variety of forms, including written documents, verbal reports, artwork, spoken words, pictures, symbols, buildings, and other artifacts .

According to Fairclough, (1995) discourses cannot be studied directly they can only be explored by examining the texts that constitute them hence the term discourse analysis has come to be used with wide range of meanings which cover a wide range of activities. It is used to describe activities at the interaction of disciplines such as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, philosophy linguistics and computational linguistics.

One major division is between approaches which include detailed analysis of texts, and approaches, which do not. Fairclough (1992) used the term 'textually oriented discourse analysis' to distinguish the former from the

latter. Discourse analysis in social sciences is often strongly influenced by the work of Foucault (Foucault 1972 and Fairclough 1992).

Social scientists working in this aspect generally pay less attention to the linguistic features of texts. Fairclough's approach to discourse analysis (a version of critical discourse analysis) is based upon the assumption that language is an irreducible part of social life, dialectically interconnected with other elements of social life, so that social analysis and research always has to take account of language. This suggests that one productive way of doing social research is through focus on language, using some form of discourse analysis. Fairclough's approach to discourse analysis has been transcended from the division between work inspired by social theory which tends not to analyze texts and contexts and focuses upon the language of texts but does not engage with social theoretical issues.

Therefore, text analysis is an essential part of discourse analysis, but discourse analysis is not merely the linguistic analysis of texts.

Fairclough (1992:2) sees discourse analysis as "Oscillating between a focus on specific texts and a focus on the order of discourse, the relatively durable structuring and networking of social practices ". However, there are different views of discourse analysis by different linguists. The focus of discourse analysis, as Jaworski and Coupland (1999:7) argued is usually the study of particular texts" (e.g. conversations, interviews, speeches, etc. or various written documents) although discourses are sometimes held to be abstract value system which will never serve directly as texts.

Van Dijk (1985: 2) said "What we can do with discourse analysis is more than providing adequate descriptions of text and context. That is, we expect more from discourse analysis than the study of real language use by real speakers in real situations, than we expect from the study of abstract syntax or formal semantics. Together with psycho-and sociolinguistics, discourse analysis has definitely brought linguistics to the realm of the social sciences".

Taking a primarily linguistic approach to the analysis of discourse, Brown and Yule (1983) examined how humans use language to communicate and, in particular, how addressers construct linguistic messages for addressees and how addressees work on linguistic messages in order to interpret them. They remarked "The analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language

in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which those forms are designed to serve in human affairs".

Stubbers (1983:1) used the term discourse analysis to refer mainly to the linguistic analysis of naturally occurring connected spoken or written discourse: " Roughly speaking, discourse analysis refers to attempts to study the organization of language above the sentences or above the clause and therefore to study large linguistic units, such as conversational exchanges as written text or spoken text. It follows that discourse analysis is also concerned with language in use in social contexts and in particular with interaction or dialogue between speakers". Hatch (1992:1) defined discourse analysis as the study of the language of communication spoken or written".

For Gee(1999:92) discourse analysis essentially involves asking questions about how language at a given time and place, is use to construe the aspects of the situation network as realized at the time and place and how the aspects of the situation network simultaneously give meaning to that language.

A discourse analysis involves asking questions about the six building tasks. The tasks though which one uses language to construct the situation network at a given time and place in certain ways are:

1. **Semiotic building:** using cues or clues to assemble situated meaning about what semiotic (communicative) system. Systems of knowledge and ways of knowing, are here and know relevant and activated.
- 2.**World building:** using cues or clues to assemble situated meanings about what is here and now (taken as) reality, what is here and now (taken as )present and absent, concrete and abstract ,“real” and ”unreal” probable, possible and impossible.
- 3.**Activity building:** using cues or clues to assemble situated meanings about what activity or activities are going on, composed of specific actions.
4. **Socio -culturally situated identity and relationship building :** using clues to assemble stated meanings about what identities and relationship are relevant to the interaction, with their attitudes, values, ways of feelings, ways of knowing and believing, as well as ways of acting and interacting.
5. **Political building:** using the cues or clues to construct the nature and relevance of various 'social goods' such as status and power and anything

else taken as a ' social goods' here and now (e.g. beauty, humor, specialist knowledge, etc.).

**6 Connection building** : using the cues or clues to make assumptions about how the past and future of interaction, verbally and non-verbally, are connected to the present moment and to each other after all, interactions always have some degree of continuous coherence.

Van Dijk (1998) argued that discourse analysis is essentially a contribution to the study of language in use. “Besides or instead of an explication of the abstracts structures of texts or conversations, we witness a concerted interest for the cognitive and the social processes, strategies and contextualization of discourse taken as a mode of interaction in highly complex socio-cultural situations”.

These different views show that discourse analysis has now emerged as a diverse area of study, with a variety of approaches in a number of disciplines, and scholars working in different disciplines tend to concentrate on different aspects of discourse.

### **2.1.5 Discourse Analysis:**

From communicative perspective languages can be divided in to two kinds. One perspective, the artificially constructed kind which refers to as how the rules of the language work, and the other one has been used to communicate something that felt to be coherent. This language in use for communication is called discourse.

Discourse treats the rules of language and grammar hence it is a source of conforming them when it needs to, but departing from them when it does not. Discourse may be composed of one or more well - formed grammatical sentences and indeed it often is – but it does not have to be as it can have grammatical mistakes and often does . What matters is not its conformity to rules, but the fact that it communicates and is recognized by its receivers as coherent.

It is impossible to assume the unity of discourse without looking to the situation in which the discourse is raised. Discourse refers to anything from a grunt or single expletive through short conversation and scribed notes to

long novels. The matters of discourse are not its conformity to rules but the fact that it communicates and is recognized by its receiver as coherent.

Cohesion has been neglected in language teaching, where sentences have been created, manipulated, and assessed in isolation and the difficulties which the students may face does not necessarily to arise from the lack of vocabulary but can easily arise from the problems with cohesion. Halliday and Hassan(1967) take the view that the primary determinant of whether a set of sentences do or do not constitute a text depends on cohesive relationship within and between the sentence ,which create texture . They outline a taxonomy of types of cohesive relationship in texts is indicated by formal markers which relate what is about to be said to what has been said before . Formal links between sentences and between clauses are known as cohesive devices such as verb form (that the form of the verb one sentence can limit the choice of the verb form in the next ) , parallelism (a device which suggests connection , simply because the form of one sentence or clause repeats the form of another ) referring expression which are called references ( are words whose meaning can only be discovered by referring to other words or to elements of the context which are clear to both the sender and the receiver and said to be exospheric and endophoric ), repetition and lexical chains (repetition of words can create the same sort of chain of pronounce , but it is preferred to used elegant repetition , that use synonymous than repeating the same word ) substitution ( is a formal link between sentences which indicated the substitution of word like do or so for a word or a group of words which have appeared in an earlier sentence) , ellipsis (can be used when we do not need to provide a substitution for a word or phrase which has already been said , we can simply omit it and conjunction which are used to add or elaborate or exemplify an idea.

Cook (1989:5) divided discourse into two major categories spoken and the written. Spoken discourse is often considered to be less planned and orderly more open to intervention by the receivers. There are some kinds of spoken discourse such like lessons, lectures, interviews, and trails- which have significant features in common with typical written discourse. These types of spoken discourse are also planned. And the possibilities for subordinate participants can be severely limited. It is clear that in reading a novel one cannot influence its development but it is almost equally hard for a criminal



to influence the direction of a trial , or for a primary school pupil to prevent the lesson progressing as the teacher intends. Conversely, there are times when readers do have right to affect written discourse that some writers respond to .

The traditional division of language into the spoken and the written discourse is clearly and sensibly based on a difference in production and reception: we use our mouths and ears for one and our hands and eyes for the other. Yet as far as discourse structure is concerned , a more fundamental distinction seems to be between formal , planned discourse which may be either written or spoken , and less formal , unplanned discourse which may also be either written or spoken is usually associated with speech . Discourse is also distinguished by two fundamental types: reciprocal and non - reciprocal .It is reciprocal when there is at least a potential for interaction, when the sender can monitor reception and adjust to it or , to put it another way , where the receiver can influence the development of what is being said . In non- reciprocal discourse, the sender and the receiver may have no opportunity for interaction. The prototype of reciprocal discourse is face – to – face conversation. The prototype of non- reciprocal discourse is a book by a dead author.

Dialogue discourse which is created by two persons or more, is one of the fundamental structuring principles of all discourse, written and spoken alike. Developmentally it comes first, both for the human species and for the human individuals. It seems reasonable to assume that dialogue precedes the discourse which is created by one person, which is known as monologue. Then dialogue is a reciprocal conversation between two or more entities. Increasingly some of the earliest written texts of Western European culture, the Socratic dialogues presented as conversations, what modern writers would present as monologue. Perhaps some of this preferences remain in modern practices which favor face-to- face interaction such as lectures, jobs interviews and news interviews.

As have been stated earlier there are two approaches to language analysis sentence linguistics and discourse analysis. Sentence linguistics is largely concerned with single sentences. It is data in isolation without a context and grammatically well -formed which have been invented or idealized. Unlike

Discourse Analysis which concerned with the study of the relationship between language and the context in which it is used .

Gillian & Yule George (1983:5) claimed that the analysis of discourse is the analysis of language in use. It cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which those forms are designed to serve in human affairs. Discourse Analysis is concerned with the study of the relationship between language and the context in which it is used. It has come to be used with a wide range of meanings which cover a wide range of activities. It is used to describe activities at the intersection of disciplines as diverse as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, philosophical linguistics and computational linguistics.

Discourse Analysis examines how stretches of language, written texts or spoken data, considered in their full textual, social, and psychological context become meaningful and unified for their users. Then Discourse Analysis is the study of units of language larger than the clause or sentence. The units may include paragraphs, sections, and sections in written texts or the unit's appropriate for spine texts.

### **2.1.6 Critical discourse analysis:**

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) stems from a critical theory of language which sees the use of language as a form of social practice. All social practices are tied to specific historical contexts and are the means by which existing social relations are reproduced or contested and different interests are served. It is the questions pertaining to interests - How is the text positioned or positioning? Whose interests are served by this positioning? Whose interests are negated? What are the consequences of this positioning? - That relates discourse to relations of power.

Where analyst seeks to understand how discourse is implicated in relations of power, it is called critical discourse analysis.

Furlough's (1989, 1995) model for CDA consists of three inter-related processes of analysis tied to three inter-related dimensions of discourse. These three dimensions are:

1. The object of analysis (including verbal, visual or verbal and visual texts).

2. The processes by means of which the object is produced and received (writing/speaking/designing and reading/listening/viewing) by human subjects.
3. The socio-historical conditions which govern these processes.

According to Furlough(1989) each of these dimensions requires a different kind of analysis:

1. Text analysis (description).
2. Processing analysis (interpretation).
3. Social analyses (explanation).

What is useful about this approach is that it enables us to focus on the signifiers that make up the text, the specific linguistic selections, their juxtapositioning, their sequencing, and their layout and so on. However, it also requires us to recognize the historical determination of these selections and to understand that these choices are tied to the conditions of possibility of the utterance. This is another way of saying that texts are instantiations of socially regulated discourses and that the processes of production and reception are socially constrained. Why Furlough's approach to CDA is so useful it is because it provides multiple points of analytical entry. It does not matter which kind of analysis one begins with, as long as in the end they are all included and are shown to be mutually explanatory. It is in the interconnections that the analyst finds the interesting patterns and disjunctions that need to be described, interpreted and explained.

### **2.1.7 What is Culture?**

According to Anderson and Michel (1989:1) culture is the total of social transmitted behavior pattern, arts, beliefs, institution and all other products of human work and thought, the culture framework must be viewed as a set of tendencies of possibilities from which we choose speech.

Language acquisition does not occur in vacuum but is mediated by the culture from which the child come. This environment includes but is not limited to, parents , siblings , extended family members , peers , teachers and so on . There is a strong relationship between the culture we produce and the language and the discursive practices by which we produce it.

Culture and language (discourse) are connected together and the analysis of discourse leads to the analysis of culture in which it is raised. James Clifford (1988 :66 ) defines culture as:

“While there are many times when we still need to be able to speak holistically of a specific culture in confidence, we are designating something real and differentially coherent. It is increasingly clear that the concrete activity of representing a culture, subculture, or indeed only coherent domain of collective activity is always strategic and selective, the world`s societies are too systematically interconnected to permit any easy isolation of separate or independently functioning system. The increased pace of historical change forces a new self-consciousness about the way culture wholes and boundaries are constructed and translated”

Any analysis of any discourse follows the original culture aspects in which it arises. The specific coherent principles of any culture affect all the coherence and the meaningful aspects of that discourse .Discourses cannot be separated form it as it represents hosting real relation that controls the social ties of any society.

Hall (1983:54 ) has the following special view of discourse :

“Reality exists outside language but it is constantly mediated by and through language ; what we know and say has to be produced in and through discourse discursive knowledge is the product not of the transparent representation of the real language but of the articulation of language in real relations and conditions . Thus there is no intelligible discourse without the operation of a code. Iconic signs are therefore coded signs even if the codes work differently from those of other signs.

There is no degree zero in language. Naturalism and realism – the apparent fidelity of the representation to the thing or concept represented is the result of the effect of a certain specific articulation of language on the real as it is the result of discursive practice.

Certain codes maybe so widely distributed in a specific language community or culture , and is learned at an early age , that they appear not to be constructed ,the effect of an articulation between sign and reference –but to be naturally given.. However, this does not mean that codes havenot

intervened; rather codes have been profoundly naturalized. This has the (ideological) effect of concealing the practices of coding which are present.

In the above quotation, Hall gives a quick overview of the relationship between culture, language and discourse. Hall wants to say that language is the result of the reality of the culture in which it emerges i.e. culture transfers norms through language, then language plays as a host of the social culture. Therefore, the discourse of any society can be in coded in relation to its cultural reality which is the real norms in that society hence discourse is the only way to encode the signs of language which is the deterministic result and the only interpreter of the cultural reality.

Because of the economic and army factors, the American culture is the most prominent culture in what is being called “the globalization era” any observer of the globe culture may expect the Americans effect in all cultures of the world including Arab culture. Nowadays, there seems to be an existing culture and political conflict between Arabs and Americans unlike the previous few years because of the politics of American in Middle East and the effects of the Islamic groups which speak Arabic and emerge from the Arab culture.

It seems also that American think that Arabs is a group of people who are in need for more change and progress in almost all aspects of life especially political freedom and democracy. And since the Americans are more progressed than Arabs in almost all aspects of life; and since the Arab television has progressed during these few previous years.

Brett (1995:55) says “The social and historical origins of television discourse, in any culture are indeed complex. Attempts, however, can be made to integrate diverse disciplines, concepts and traditions in order to expose the taken for grantedness of language and the way in which it is used Wodak(1998) expresses the problem quite clearly she says they are too complex to be dealt with adequately in only one field “The scholar must investigate language behavior in natural speech situations of social relevance while analyzing data from natural speech situations.

The Arab television discourse has progressed during these few previous years which has been reflected in the real change in the Arab culture, politics and society.

### **2.1.8 Role of Culture in Enhancing the Political Stances:**

The concept of stance refers to a significant and complex area of language use in which we express our own personal thoughts and feelings about any given entity or proposition and engaging in various ways with others are the overarching themes. This concept cannot be seen simply as “a matter of private opinion or attitude” (Du Bois, 2007: 171); rather, it is a phenomenon of considerable importance vis-à-vis everyday communication, on the one hand, and as an area of interest in social sciences, on the other.

Hyland (2012:1) stated that ‘stance’ alongside ‘voice’ is one of “the most significant concepts in applied linguistics today”.

Bednarek( 2006) remarked an important part of human cognitive development involves making sense of the world and sharing that sense with others. This inevitably involves evaluating either positively or negatively other people, entities, propositions or anything we may encounter. Moreover, stance has a key role in giving readers/listeners a derived sense of the authorial subjective voice in any piece of communication and in tracing that voice hence stance taking is one of the most prevalent aspects of language production, as no text or talk is entirely free from subjective voice. Culture should be considered as a set of distinctive features inherent to society or to a social group spiritual and material, intellectual and emotional ones. Apart from art and literature it comprises the way of life, the ability to coexist systems of values, traditions and beliefs.

There is a strong relationship between the culture we produce and the language (discourse) are connected together and the analysis of discourse to analysis of culture in which it raised. James Clifford (1988) defines culture as:"While there are many times when we still need to be able to speak holistically something real and differentially coherent. It is increasingly clear that the concrete activity of representing a culture, subculture, or indeed only coherent domain of collective activity is always strategic and selective. The world's societies are too systematically interconnected to permit any easy isolation of separate or independently functioning system. The increased pace of historical change forces anew self- consciousness about the way culture wholes and boundaries are constructed and translated".

### **2.1.9 Language and Culture:**

Culture is not only understood as the advanced intellectual development of mankind as reflected in the arts, but it refers to all socially conditioned aspects of human life . A society's culture consists of whatever one's has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members, and do so in any role that they accept for any one of themselves.

Culture, being what people have to learn as distinct from their biological heritage, must consist of the end product of learning : knowledge, in a most general sense. By this definition. We should note that culture is not material phenomenon: it does not consist of things, people, behavior, or emotions. It is rather an organization of these things. It is the forms of things that people have in mind, their models of perceiving and dealing with their circumstances. To one who knows their culture, these things and events are also signs signifying the cultural forms or models of which they are material representations.

### **2.1.10 Culture and Society:**

Culture and society are not the same thing. While cultures are complexes of learned behavior patterns and perceptions, societies are groups of interacting organisms. People are not the only animals that have societies. Schools of fish, flocks of birds, and hives of bees are societies. In the case of humans, however, societies are groups of people who directly or indirectly interact with each other. People in human societies also generally perceive that their society is distinct from other societies in terms of sharing traditions and expectation. While human societies and cultures are not the same thing they are inextricably connected because culture is created and transmitted to others .

Cultures are not the product of lone individuals. They are the continuous evolving products of people interacting with each other. Cultural patterns such as language and politics make no sense except in terms of the interaction of people who were the only human on earth.

### **2.1.11 Material of Culture:**

The idea that culture is a matter of taste with degrees of appreciation that can be structured by aesthetical judgments, has been lost long ago. But what culture does in fact mean is not always clear. We can approach the subject in a roundabout way by using a concept that is often placed alongside culture nature. This will allow us to see how complex the concept of culture is. An example of this nature-culture dichotomy is the gazebo bird that lives in New Guinea and Australia. For years, the bird will work on building its domed nest on the ground. With great precision, this nest will be decorated with flowers, seeds, leaves, and feathers. Everything that the bird collects is sorted by colours and shape, and none of the nests are similar. Not only does each nest have a recognizable style of decoration and colors ; one bird uses blue colors, the other red berries and flowers, and a third makes use of a variety of yellow hues , but we also see how the different shades of colors are coordinated with the finesse of a highly paid interior designer. Those who have seen this bird in a nature documentary or perhaps with their own eyes may ask themselves what is left of that intuitive boundary we believe. we can identify nature and culture. If this problem already applies to a tropical bird, then certainly would it apply to humans? One answer may be that humans, unlike animals, make things: pots and teacups, mirrors and combs, Coca-Cola bottles and shoes, paintings and sculptures. On this lists are isolated objects that can only be understood through context, so that we can highlight the difference between culture and nature. But these objects, which themselves impart an experience without having any need for language, not only represent what people make, use, and throw away; they allow us to understand that objects are an integral part of the human experience and therefore understanding these ‘things’ is in itself a complex undertaking. William (1999) who first developed a system on the basis of materiality described the complexity of ‘reading things’ as follows:

“No one denies the importance of things, but learning from them requires rather more attention than reading texts. Artifacts are tools as well as signals, signs and symbols. Their use and functions are multiple and intertwined. Much of their meaning is subliminal and unconscious. Some authors have



talked about reading objects as texts, but objects must also be read as myths and as poetry”.

The above quote illustrates how important it is to have a multifaceted interpretation of culture when it is compressed into an object. Indeed, the boundary between object and culture is blurred, as the interpretation of an object coincides with the culture that produced it. This recognition of complexity has meant that since 2010.

Academics also refer to a material turn in the humanities, a movement that is closely related to a broader cultural turn which focused on language as the basis of all human experience. However, the exercise becomes more difficult when we want to add to the subjects we are dealing with such as abstract concepts as the renaissance, the industrial revolution, or decolonization. Yet both aspects — subjects and concepts — are interlinked. For example, if we associate the round Coca-Cola bottle as a result of the industrial revolution, we see the red and white bottle as an icon of a particular period in history. However, there is also a way to connect subjects and concepts to each other by placing them outside of history. Disciplines such as sociology, archaeology, or anthropology have developed methods by which objects, buildings, and other material objects are studied independently and as stand-alone objects. This quest to immediately understand a cultural object and to develop methods for doing so referred to as cultural relativism and it is perhaps one of the trickiest puzzles in the field. A good example of cultural relativism was in the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris at the Fabrique des images exhibition between 2010 and 2011. In the text that accompanied the exhibition, it was explained that “The aim of the exhibition is to show what it cannot directly show in a picture: namely, what effects those who have made the image wanted to achieve for those whom the images were intended. In some cases, these effects are still visible beyond the centuries and the cultural differences. Provided that the images are recognizable, very old or distant images can evoke longing, fear, revulsion, empathy, amusement, or even quite simply our curiosity. However, these effects are not noticed because the conventions that led to the image taking shape remain unclear to visitors of a 21st-century museum who are chiefly used to the tradition of Western art.

Studying objects of culture directly as they reveal themselves to us in the world today and without any historical context leads to new ways of interpretation and new structures. Examples of such new structures are the naturalistic depiction of objects (e.g. the humanist ideal of the renaissance) or the animalistic depiction of the cosmos in which humans, animals, and plants belong to a whole (e.g. in African art or in totem poles). When these structures are placed next to each other in the form of objects, we can obtain interesting insights into the underlying culture. By restructuring objects, researchers have the immediate possibility of making contact with other worlds and other eras.

### **2.1.12 Cultural Criticism:**

The question remains why should we concern ourselves with a ‘critique’ of ‘culture’. Is it really worth it? Will all these abstract concepts really add anything to what we already observe around us in a natural way in literature, art, or reality? This underlying doubt also reveals the dual problem behind ‘cultural studies’. First, there is the fact that we initially might not completely understand certain abstract concepts, although with a little perseverance (for example, by looking up specific words or names), that obstacle can be overcome. The second problem is by far the most intractable: the hesitation to study a theory of culture can be based on the fear that we will lose a form of intimacy with our own world whenever we read, observe, or listen. It is as though after reading a book or obtaining a degree in cultural studies or cultural history, we will never again be able to enjoy a book, music, or movies in a relaxing manner but will always hear that voice of cultural criticism. And let’s be honest: this fear is not entirely unfounded. Because cultural criticism is still such a young addition to the family of academia, one that has only recently started growing.

When the ‘death of the author’ was proclaimed in literature studies in the 1980s, what was meant by this was that there is a significant even insurmountable distance between the writer as the author of a story and the text that is to be interpreted. In this view, it is strictly the text itself that should be studied the contextualization of the author or the period in which the work was created is not necessary. This view is directly opposed to the

way in which literature, painting, and music were considered in the early twentieth century. Back then, the most important goal was to situate the created work in the life of the artist. This would allow us to understand the message of the work or the ‘moral intention’ of the creator, or so it was thought. Incidentally, this traditional approach lives in the form of a strong interest in the genre of biography.

In later years, more and more emphasis came to be placed on the interpreter; the reader, the viewer, the listener and the author became a side issue. Today, we are in a phase in which a middle position is sought, with research primarily focused on concepts that are often derived from postcolonial theory formation or gender studies such as hybridists, diversity, and imitation (mimicry). That fact and fiction in history need not be opposites became clear in the most traumatic way in the course of the twentieth century. The Holocaust and the global political upheavals as a result of the traumatic events during the colonization and Western imperialism made more and more scholars realize that sometimes reality can surpass our worst collective nightmares. The unthinkable — genocide — had become reality. The blurring of the division between fact and fiction also holds true in a positive sense, of course: a trip to the moon is no longer a fairy tale. As a result of these profound experiences, what has emerged is a collective realization that history is less a linear path of progress and more like a roller coaster; that we can plummet in humanitarian terms to below the level of the ape man and that, twenty years later, we can make our greatest dreams come true.

So once again the question arises: why do humans need a ‘critique’ of culture? Is it because we still believe we can be distinguished from a tropical bird, one that just like us likes to keep himself busy decorating his house with knickknacks? Studying culture may be in fashion, but often we don’t know what it is all about. This is partly because culture has become a catching term that encompasses all forms of art, music, or literature. But what is also part of cultural studies is the study of certain social groups — high culture versus low culture, for example or the disadvantaged position of women compared to men in history gender studies and the LGBT movement queer studies.

Another component of cultural studies is the examination of Western hegemony versus the history of the East (Orientalism). And what about media studies and communication studies? These two disciplines are significantly influencing cultural theory and cultural history with their focus on visual culture or the changes in social behavior in the history of communication — from the quill to the mobile phone.

It may seem as though the terms ‘cultural history’, ‘cultural studies’, and ‘cultural theory’ can be used interchangeably. The various terms that are used to say a lot about the dichotomy that has arisen in the history of thought between the Anglo-saxon analytical tradition and the so-called ‘continental tradition’: the United States and the British Empire versus France and Germany — though the latter two countries have developed a very different philosophical approach that has spawned followers in other parts of the world.

Many of the misconceptions about ‘cultural theory’ rest on this dichotomy, because the Anglo-saxon and the continental tradition differ significantly from each other, in terms of the terminology they both use and the way they look at reality.

### **2.1.13 The Role of the Media:**

Contemporary politics forces us to ask what kind of a world and what kind of a society we want to live in, and in particular in what sense of democracy do we want this to be a democratic society? One conception of democracy is that a democratic society is one in which the public has the means to participate in some meaningful way in the management of their own affairs and the means of information are open and free. If you look up democracy in the dictionary we'll get a definition something like the following:

An alternative conception of democracy is that the public must be barred from managing of their own affairs and the means of information must be kept narrowly and rigidly controlled. That may sound like an odd conception of democracy, but it's important to understand that it is the prevailing conception. In fact, it has long been, not just in operation, but even in theory.

There's a long history that goes back to the earliest modern democratic revolutions in the seventeenth century England .

#### **2.1.14 Public Relation :**

The United States pioneered the public relations industry. Its commitment was to control the public's mind as its leaders put it. The public relations industry underwent a huge expansion at that time. It succeeded for some time in creating almost total subordination of the public to business rule through the 1920s. This was so extreme that congressional committees began to investigate it as we moved into the 1930s. That's where a lot of our information about it comes from. Public relations are a huge industry. They're spending by now something on the order of a billion dollars a year. All along its commitment was to control the public mind. In the 1930s, big problems arose again as they had during the First World War. There was a huge depression and substantial labor organizing. In fact, in 1935 labor won its first major legislative victory, namely, the right to organize with the Wagner Act. That raised two serious problems. For one thing, democracy was malfunctioning. The bewildered herd was actually winning legislative victories, and it's not supposed to work that way. The other problem was that it was becoming possible for people to organize. People had to be atomized, segregated and alone. They were not supposed to organize, because then there might be something beyond spectators of action. They might actually be participants if many people with limited resources could get together to enter the political area.

A major response was taken on the part of business to ensure that this would be the last legislative victory for labor and that it would be the beginning of the end of this democratic deviation of popular organization. It worked. That was the last legislative victory for labor. From that point on ; although the number of people in the unions increased for a while during the World War II, after which it started dropping ; the capacity to act through the unions began to steadily drop. It wasn't by accident.

The first trial was in 1937. There was a major strike, the steel strike in western Pennsylvania at Johnstown. Business tried out a new technique of

labor destruction, which worked very well. Not through goon squads and breaking knees as that wasn't working very well any more, but through the more subtle and effective means of propaganda. The idea was to figure out ways to turn the public against the strikers, to present the strikers as disruptive, harmful to the public and against the common interests.

The common interests are those of "us," the businessman, the worker and the housewife. That's all "us." We want to be together and have things like harmony and working together. Then there are those bad strikers out there who are disruptive and causing troubles and breaking harmony and violating Americanism. We've got to stop them so we can all live together. The corporate executive and the guy who cleans the floors all have the same interests. We can all work together and work for Americanism in harmony, liking each other.

That was essentially the message. A huge amount of effort was put into presenting it. This is, after all, the business community, so they control the media and have massive resources. And it worked very effectively. It was later called the "Mohawk Valley formula" and applied over and over again to break strikes. They were called "scientific methods of strike-breaking," and worked very effectively by mobilizing community opinion in favor of vapid, empty concepts like Americanism. Who can be against that? or harmony. Who can be against that? or, as in the Persian Gulf War, "Support our troops." Who can be against that? or yellow ribbons. Who can be against that? Anything that's totally vacuous. In fact, what does it mean if somebody asks you, do you support the people in Iowa? Can we say, Yes, I support them, or No, I don't support them? It's not even a question. It doesn't mean anything. That's the point. The point of public relations slogans like "Support our troops" is that they don't mean anything. They mean as much as whether you support the people in Iowa. Of course, there was an issue. The issue was, Do you support our policy? But we don't want people to think about that issue. That's the whole point of good propaganda.

You want to create a slogan that nobody's going to be against, and everybody's going to be for. Nobody knows what it means, because it doesn't mean anything. Its crucial value is that it diverts our attention from a

question that does mean something: Do you support our policy? That's the one you're not allowed to talk about. So we have people arguing about support for the troops? "of course I don't not support them." Then we've won. That's like Americanism and harmony. We're all together, empty slogans, let's join in, let's make sure we don't have these bad people around to disrupt our harmony with their talk about class struggle, rights and that sort of business. That's all very effective. It runs right up to today. And of course it is carefully thought out. The people in the public relations industry aren't there for the fun of it. They're doing work. They're trying to instill the right values. In fact, they have a conception of what democracy ought to be: It ought to be a system in which the specialized class is trained to work in the service of the masters, the people who own the society. The rest of the population ought to be deprived of any form of organization, because organization just causes troubles.

They ought to be sitting alone in front of the T.V and having drilled into their heads the message, which says, the only value in life is to have more commodities or live like that rich middle class family we're watching and to have nice values like harmony and Americanism. That's all there in life. We may think in our own head that there's got to be something more in life than this, but since we're watching the tube alone we assume, we must be crazy, because that's all that's going on over there. And since there is no organization permitted—that's absolutely crucial—we never have a way of finding out whether we are crazy, and you just assume it, because it's the natural thing to assume. So that's the ideal. Great efforts are made in trying to achieve that ideal. Obviously, there is a certain conception behind it. The conception of democracy is the one that I mentioned. The bewildered herd is a problem. We've got to prevent their roar and trampling. We've got to distract them. They should be watching the Super bowl or sitcoms or violent movies.

Scared and frightened of all kinds of devils that are going to destroy people from outside or inside or somewhere, they may start to think, which is very dangerous, because they're not competent to think. Therefore it's important to distract them and marginalize them. That's one conception of democracy. In fact, going back to the business community, the last legal victory for labor

really was 1935, the Wagner Act. After the war came, the unions declined as did a very rich working class culture that was associated with the unions. That was destroyed. We moved to a business-run society at a remarkable level. This is the only state-capitalist industrial society which doesn't have even the normal social contract that we find in comparable societies. Outside of South Africa, this is the only industrial society that doesn't have national health care. There's no general commitment to even minimal standards of survival for the parts of the population who can't follow those rules and gain things for themselves individually. Unions are virtually nonexistent. Other forms of popular structure are virtually nonexistent. There are no political parties or organizations. It's a long way toward the ideal, at least structurally. The media is a corporate monopoly.

They have the same point of view. The two parties are two factions of the business party. Most of the population doesn't even bother voting because it looks meaningless. They're marginalized and properly distracted. At least that's the goal. The leading figure in the public relations industry, Edward Bernays, actually came out of the Creel Commission. He was part of it, learned his lessons there and went on to develop what he called the "engineering of consent," which he described as "the essence of democracy."

### **2.1.15 Parade of Enemies:**

There is characteristic development going on in the United States now. It's not the first country in the world that's done this. There are growing domestic social and economic problems, in fact, maybe catastrophes. Nobody in power has any intention of doing anything about them. If you look at the domestic programs of the administrations of the past ten years—I include here the democratic opposition—there's really no serious proposal about what to do about the severe problems of health, education, homelessness, joblessness, crime, soaring criminal populations, jails and deterioration in the inner cities the whole raft of problems. Just in the two years that George Bush had been in office more three million children crossed the poverty line, the debt is zooming, educational standards are declining, real wages are now back to the level of about the late 1950s for much of the population. In such circumstances they start noticing this they



may not like it, since they're the ones suffering from it. Just having them watch the Super bowl and the sitcoms may not be enough.

In the 1930s Hitler whipped them into fear of the Jews and gypsies. Over the last ten years, every year or two, some major monster is constructed that they have to defend ourselves against. There used to be one that was always readily available: The Russians, but they're losing their attractiveness as an enemy, and it's getting harder and harder to use that one, so some new ones have to be conjured up. In fact, people have quite unfairly criticized George Bush for being unable to express or articulate what's really driving them then. That's very unfair. Prior to about the mid-1980s, when people were asleep they would just play the record: the Russians are coming. But he lost that one and he's got to make up new ones, just like the Reignite public relations apparatus did in the 1980s. So it was international terrorists and narco-traffickers and crazed Arabs and Saddam Hussein, the new Hitler, was going to conquer the world. They've got to keep coming up one after another. They frighten the population, terrorize them, intimidate them so that they're too afraid to travel and cower in fear. Then they have a magnificent victory over Grenada, Panama, or some other defenseless third world army that they can pulverize before they ever bother to look at them—which is just what happened. That gives relief. They were saved at the last minute. That's one of the ways in which they can keep the bewildered herd from paying attention to what's really going on around them, keep them diverted and controlled. The next one that's coming along, most likely, will be Cuba. That's going to require a continuation of the illegal economic warfare, possibly a revival of the extraordinary international terrorism. The most major international terrorism organized yet has been the Kennedy administration's Operation Mongoose, then the things that followed along, against Cuba. There's been nothing remotely comparable to it except perhaps the war against Nicaragua, if they call that terrorism. The World Court classified it as something more like aggression. There's always an ideological offensive that builds up a chimerical monster, then campaigns to have it crushed. They can't go in if they can fight back. That's much too dangerous. But if they are sure that they will be crushed, maybe they'll knock that one off and heave another sigh of relief.

### 2.1.16 CNN :

Over the past 100 years, American journalism has evolved around two central concepts of the communicator as an advocate player in events and issues and as an independent professional reported of news and information for economic and political reasons arising from purely historical American developments, the professional model of journalism dominated the American media scene. The American cable News Network (CNN) is known as “the world’s news leader “because of its dominance as Semati(2001:1) pointed out that it is dominant in the global news market surpassing European competitors such as Sky News and BBC world.

In this context, Hachten (1999) remarked

“It can be argued that CNN is primarily a technological innovation in international news by reason of its ability interconnect so many video sources newsrooms , and foreign ministries to so many televisions sets in so many remote places in the world.”

According to many observers, one of the most troubling aspect of the current international communication technologies in the service of news is the idea of “ real time “ journalism. Rolling –news channels tend to thrive on the fact that they can be “on the spot “ at a moment’s notice .”Going Live” as a distinct television advantage, because it is a guiding principle in journalism. As Mehdi Sematic considers CNN a “rolling –news “channel and the concept of "real time" Journalism .In this sense we may speak of global news as a new genre in television. Two aspects of this new genre “real time” reporting and talk /speculation “are particularly striking and deserve reflection .

Breitt (1995:43) assumed that one factor which makes CNN superior to the “media elite “ is that CNN relied more heavily on economists and business industry representatives, not on government sources. The problems of “sensationalism “ in news report and the idea of “balanced “coverage are items which are presented with absolutely no cross-culture references for comparison .

One of the most prominent aspects of the American journalism is that when American write news broadcast reports, the written language are modified to resemble speech by purposely using more fragmented sentences which mimic real speech that writers in the United State use for broadcasting news

where commercial broadcasting dominates have stratagems for creating speech registers which modify script so as model dialogue with additional help and guidance from a good news director , a talented anchor , good technical assistance , a video tap editor and proper music , a writer , by means of a written script can symbolically refer to the viewing audience to specific ideas ,emotions or even cultural stereotypes to convey meaning .

### **2.1.17 Arab World Television:**

The Arab television broadcasting history goes back to the mid-1950s when on-governmental broadcast operations were launched in Morocco, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia . In the early 1960s, taking notes of the medium's power in political mobilization and national development instituted television as a government monopoly.

In almost all Arab countries, television services were subordinated to ministries of information or other government bodies, thus turning into official cultural expression. In the 1970s , television systems in the Arab world were constrained by three major problems : insufficient local program production leading to external television import mainly from the United States and Western Europe ; close government scrutiny and control leading to prohibitive working environments , and shortages of human and financial resources leading to dull and low-quality programming output.

The observer of the Arab scene of satellite television, can observe that the huge progress in Arab world television in news journalism , techniques and style have come due to many factors which invaded the region from outside not by the free choice of Arabs , as Muhammed (2001:1) remarked ‘‘With the new political, social and technological developments that swept the Arab world since the late 1980s , a new version of television journalism has evolved as a distinctive programming genre on Arab world television . The political democratization and socio-economic liberalization of Arab societies, coupled with accelerating advancements in information and communication technologies seem to have created a new environment conducive to the utilization of television as a powerful force of public opinion formation . The rise of commercial satellite television alongside government controlled broadcasting has brought about a new public sphere marked by varied news agenda more than ever before previously suppressed

political perspectives and orientation have become more visible on Arab world television.

The development of the Arab world television has been pushed by numerous factors as pointed above, but the most outstanding actor as Muhammed (2001) pointed out “ The new generation of executives and practitioner with professional training in the United States and Western Europe who seem to believe in the potential role of Arab world television in the age of globalization and media competition as the new television journalism practices drawing on news work as a professional rather than a political domain , have also become more common with the rising popularity of live talk shows , panel discussions , and interviews that An American –style journalism drawing on exposure to global and national U.S Television news practices seems to be gaining new ground in Arab World television . in government broadcasting , competition from global television network such as CNN seems to have brought further pressures on government television organizations to modify their news programming contents and techniques’ ” . The commercial broadcaster with huge technical and financial resources have played a huge role in Arab television development. In September (1991) Arab audiences had their first taste of private satellite television when MBC went on the air from studio facilities in London with Western –styled programming. More private broadcaster followed (Aljazeera from Qatar in 1996). The launch of commercial television in the Arab world has not only widened viewers programming choices , but it has also given them access to new formats and styles used in government – monopolized television . professional rather than political consideration seem to be the driving force behind news work at private stations keen on establishing a foothold in a highly competitive media market. For them , what make news is a host of values that relates to the event or issues and its significance for the audience. Because most news staff had been either trained in Western countries or had worked in Western media organizations, their sense of news work draws on as a highly selective process .

To this end, private broadcasters have invested heavily in news development by introducing state of the art technologies and established far flung network of reporters and correspondents who often do their dispatches on live bases. The visual capabilities of television are highly utilized with rich graphics

and video materials as well as sleek delivery formats . A newscast is made up of a series of news introduction reports and news items. Rarely does a news item appear with no accompanying video where conversational and friendly news delivery methods are adopted.

According to Muhammed (2001:4) American –style journalism share two major features : sensationalism and technical formats . Sensationalism on the other hand is the use of television as a sensational medium of communication in the Arab world which has been evident in the extensive use of video and image about demonstrators. The video film about Palestinian, Iraqis, Afghans for the technical features, American television newscast have traditionally followed a structured format drawing on field reports as the basic unit of the news programmer . A studio –based anchorperson serves to introduce reports dispatched by correspondents and reports and to conduct in –studio and remote interviews. Professionally produced newscasts are those with rich visual and graphic materials, short fast –paced items, and timely or live delivery of news ,this format has dominated a growing number of Arab world television channels for numerous reasons. First , the conventional on – camera or voiceover formats has proved a failure as viewers began to turn to sleek and visually attractive news programs carried by international television serves like CNN , whose Western – style news layout seems to have had a notable impact on Arab world television news programs . second, a new generation of television Executives and practitioner with solid professional training in western media setting has pushed for the opening up of traditionally closed media systems, including news formats and delivery modes. This feature has been quite evident in the news programs of Al-jazeera and Al-Arabia.

The fact that the Middle East has been experiencing political development in the past 50 years seems to have created deep consciousness among people in the region of the centrality of politics in shaping their lives. The term “politics” here in this point , as Muhammed(2001) explains denotes the activities of national leaders and relations among countries because television has evolved as a government institution in the Arab world , political news was bound to top news agendas .

In the American journalism model , news is defined in terms of what is fit to print hence media agendas put political news and political talk – shows on

the top at the expense of cultural and human interest news . Objectivity or commitment to the issue is in lack in the Arab world news televisions, as Muhammed (2001) stated that another departure of Arab world television news programs from the American model relates to the western notion of objectivity; it has been noted in the analysis that TV broadcasters handling of events and issues seems to be contingent on the nature of the situation at hand, when it comes to issues enjoying pan-Arab consensus, objectivity in the sense of balanced reporting of conflicting views seems to be virtually non-existent.

This suggests that objectivity is one of the professional axioms which denote reporter's detachment from the information they report. Priority is given to sources statements to the exclusion of reporter's insights and firsthand observations.

#### **2.1.18 T.V Political Dialogue:**

Political dialogue or as it is sometimes called political talk show or political interview is one of the talk show genres which covers all T.V screens in the world . T.V Arab satellite channels are full of these political talk shows in news channels or even in some entertainment channel.

When Arabs talk about political talk show or political interviewer on TV, they refer to it as Dialogue which means in Arabic (Hiwar) . Most or all Arab interviewers, in their political talk shows open or conclude their interview with a sentence (in this dialogue (Hiwar), not in this interview). That means, they use the word dialogue more than using the word interview or talk show in their TV talk interactions.

Gomez (2005:4) stated that talk show or interview should be studied for some reasons : one of these reasons is that nobody can deny talk shows growing role in public discourse ,this claim is closely related to Faircloughs (1995:3) who defended of the analysis of media language as an important element within the research into the contemporary process of social and culture change . The second one is that talk-shows are a hybrid discourse genre which displays characteristics from conversation and from institutional discourse worthy of being analyses ,The third one is that talk-show can be generalized as conversational practice , that the talk-show is an invention of the twentieth century broadcasting which takes as very old form of communication ,i.e., conversation , and transforms it into a low-cost

highly popular form of information and entertainment through the institutions , practices and technologies of television .

### **2.1.19 Politics and language**

In spite of its ubiquity in “every aspect of human thought and activities to a greater or a lesser degree” (Newmark, 1991: 146), politics has no specific definition that is settled and agreed upon by all political scientists. The term ‘politics’ has been conceptualised in somewhat different way sat different times. In her introduction to Encyclopedia of Government and Politics. Hawkesworth (2004) talks of the significant transformations that have taken place in defining this term since the time of Aristotle. She points out that the term ‘politics’ has shifted from a ‘classical conception’ suggested by Aristotle, to the ‘institutional definition’ that dominated the field of political science throughout the first half of the twentieth century and then to the ‘struggle-for power definition’ that is now widely used. These three different conceptualisations of the term ‘politics’ are discussed below. Aristotle viewed politics as a relation among equal citizens in an atmosphere of freedom. In this atmosphere, citizens participate in “collective decision making concerning the content and direction of public life” (Hawkesworth, 2004: 20). In doing so, they can ultimately determine both what is useful to the community as a whole and how to attain that usefulness. He also emphasised the importance of sharing a common system of values among those citizens and having a common sense of the just and the unjust. According to Aristotle’s classical conception, there is no relationship between the activities of ruling and those of politics (ibid.).In the first half of the twentieth century, the ‘institutional definition’ of politics was largely adopted to refer to the “activities of the official institutions of state” (Hawkesworth, 2004: 22).These activities obtain power and governance from the constitution and tradition of a particular state. Politics here solely revolves around the state and the governmental system and would necessarily require a perception of law. In contrast to the Aristotelian conception, this definition does not involve any reference to values or ethically based practice (ibid.).

Hawkesworth (2004) points out that the ‘institutional definition’ has been criticised on a number of grounds by many political scientists. First,

questions have been raised about the existence of politics, as “activities of the official institutions of state” (ibid., p. 22), in societies where no state exists, in states which have no constitution and in the case of revolutionary movements. Second, this definition fails to account for political actors like, for example, “political bosses, political parties, and pressure groups operating behind the scenes to influence political outcomes” (ibid., p. 22). It needs to be noted here that the term political actors will be used in the current study to refer to any participant, individuals, groups or institutions, involved in “political environments to achieve political goals”, including writers of newspaper opinion articles (Wilson, 2001: 398). Third, the definition does not account for most forms of political violence. Fourth, it does not consider aspects of human freedom and justice in international relations (Hawkesworth, 2004:22). Thus, the ‘institutional definition’ has been rejected as not being adequate and comprehensive enough to “encompass the full range of politics” (ibid.). More recently, there has been a trend among political scientists towards viewing politics as a “struggle for power” (Hawkesworth, 2004: 23). Since this conception emerged, the notion of power has been used more widely within the realm of politics. It has now become more and more the locus of politics. Today, those in high positions, for instance, with the authority to govern are always described as they are ‘in power’. This view essentially entails an extension of politics beyond the boundaries of the state and governmental bodies to include every use of power by individuals or groups in order to attain desired outcomes. The struggle-for-power conception views politics as being more ubiquitous than do earlier conceptions of this term.

Most recent working definitions of politics sustain the view that politics can be understood in a more comprehensive way than has been previously employed, i.e., to encompass more broadly power relations beyond solely the level of government institutions. Bardes et. al. (2010: 5), for example, defines politics as “the struggle over power or influence within organizations or informal groups that can grant or withhold benefits or privileges”. Another broader definition is provided by Rosati and Scott (2011: 6), who state that politics is “competition between different individuals and groups



for control of the government, and for support of the public and influence throughout society, in order to promote certain ends”. In an earlier work, Redekop (1983, cited in Johnston, 2007: 18) offers a more functional definition that emphasises the different purposes of doing politics, but certainly within the frame of the notion of power. Politics for him refers to all activity whose main purpose is one or more of the following: to reshape or influence governmental structures or processes; to influence or replace governmental officeholders; to influence the formation of public policies; to influence the implementation of public policies; to generate public awareness of, and response to, governmental institutions, processes, personnel and policies; or to gain a place of influence or power within government. It is necessary here to point out that this third definition of politics will be adopted for the purposes of this study and also because it corresponds with most of the purposes for which political newspaper opinion articles are written. In the course of their discussion of how politics has been considered in both conventional studies of politics and discourse studies of politics, Chilton and Schäffner (2002: 5) observe that within different orientations to define politics there are two cross-cutting elements: (1) “micro-level behaviours”, and (2) “macro-level institutions”. The former pertains to any political act that involves an exercise of power by an actor over another for a purpose or involves co-operation between these actors. These behaviours include, *inter alia*, “conflicts of interest, struggles for dominance and efforts at co-operation between individuals, between genders, and between social groups of various kinds” (*ibid.*). While, the latter pertains to actors, be they individuals or groups, who are involved in a political activity. These include, *inter alia*, “the political institutions of the state”, “parties”, “professional politicians”, and “other social formations - interest groups, social movements” (*ibid.*). They go on to state that the micro-level behaviours are types of “linguistic action – that is, discourse”, whereas the macro-level institutions are considered to be “types of discourse – for example, parliamentary debates, broadcast interviews– with specific characteristics” (p. 5).

After having introduced the term ‘politics’ and identified how it has been conceptualised as well as how it is understood in the context of the present

study, the remainder of this section discusses the fundamental role of language in politics. It is generally agreed that conducting politics is impossible without the strategic use of language or as Chilton (2004: 14) puts it, “politics [*is*]very largely the use of language”. Language here is not deemed to be a mere means of communication like that in any other simple form of daily social interaction, but a powerful and sophisticated tool for organising, processing and conveying political views or messages. What distinguishes political communications from others is perhaps that messages are usually conveyed in formal settings (e.g., parliamentary debates, presidential speeches) by participants who are perceived to have high status or power (e.g., ministers, leaders of political parties). Also, the topics being addressed in these communications are of collective importance at the domestic level and sometimes at the international level as well. It is only through language that different political actors, including writers of newspaper opinion articles, put across their political views or messages, persuade their audience of the validity of those views or messages, express their own ideologies, legitimise their aims or actions, delegitimise their political opponents’ aims and actions, mobilise public support or exert power and influence over other actors. An illustrative example of the role of language in mobilizing public support for achieving a political goal is provided by Munday (2012). In this example, he highlights how language has been carefully chosen by UK Prime Minister Tony Blair’s inner circle of advisers for mobilising significant public support for the invasion of Iraq in 2003 and for persuading members of parliament, other decision-makers and opinion-formers of the necessity to that act. Blair’s problem before the invasion was that the majority of British public opinion including the parliament opposed the military act. In an attempt to achieve his goal and turn both the parliamentary and public opinion, Blair took a decision at that time to publish a dossier<sup>14</sup> designed to convincingly show the urgency of the Iraqi President Saddam Hussein’s weapons of mass destruction threat based on an intelligence assessment. For so doing, the evaluative language used to express degrees of certainty and truth in the dossier was manipulated to shift from opinions and less certain judgements in relation to the information provided by the intelligence agencies, towards this being presented as unqualified facts. A comparison between the first draft dossier written on 10

September 2002 and the final draft published on 24 September 2002 shows this manipulation of language. Munday (2012: 6) gives the following examples:

Within the last month intelligence has suggested that the Iraqi military would be able to use their chemical and biological weapons within 45 minutes of an order to do so. (draft dossier 10.9.2002)  
Intelligence indicates that the Iraqi military are able to deploy ... (draft dossier 19.9.2002 and published dossier 24.9.2002)  
The published dossier was subsequently “the source of much controversy, as the government of the time was accused of ‘sexing up’ the report, rewriting the intelligence to exaggerate the threat and thus to garner support for war” (ibid.). This example clearly shows language as a powerful tool that is subtly employed by political actors to serve their goals.

Political actors tend to employ, whether consciously or not, a wide range of linguistic strategies in their written or spoken language in order to achieve their political goals or their desired ends. These include, among others, intertextuality, repetition and parallelism, exaggeration, substitution, presupposition, implicature, metaphor, simile, euphemism, personification.

The way in which language is used in politics has been conspicuously neglected in conventional studies of politics “precisely because of its complexity” (Chilton and Schäffner, 2002b: 4), despite the fact that the analysis of political language can open up new insights and advance understanding of politics. In this regard, Chilton and Schäffner (2002b) criticise the ignorance of the significant role of the analysis of political language in both political science and political philosophy. They assert that “[W]hat is distinctive about the linguistic and discourse-based approach to politics ... is that it adduces a specific kind of empirical evidence, a kind so obvious that it is ignored in political science and even in political philosophy” (p. 4). In line with this, Van Dijk (2001: 360) points out that most of the work on the use of language and “the enactment, reproduction, and legitimization of power and domination” in written and verbal political communication has been so far “carried out by linguists and discourse analysts, because political science is among the few

social disciplines in which discourse analysis has remained virtually unknown”. Thus, the study of the language used in political communications has been chiefly addressed in the realm of political discourse. Within this realm, the focus is on linguistic analysis side by side with political analysis of any given written or verbal political communication.

### **2.1.20 Factors Affecting Shaping People’s Political Stances:**

According to Moore (1982) there are some factors that contribute to shaping political stances of participants, he suggested the following factors:

1. Differences among ethnic groups, cause difference in political stances.
2. Economic power as conflicting ideology cause difference in political stances.
3. Language typology among various cultures cause difference in political stance.

Politics , in broader terms, is strictly regulated by our worldviews and culture , which we reflected by the language we speak. The language we speak ,however, somehow imprison us in a certain way of thinking, resulting in the missing of realities happening around us.

4. The style of discourse used on T.V. show talk cause difference in political stance.
5. Everyday terms of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.
6. The use of technical terms of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.
7. Syntactic, lexical and semantic features of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.

In highly polarized moments, politicians tend to recycle the same word over and over again rather than have original thoughts, phrase like” Make America Great Again” and terms like ‘alt-right’ are representative of hand-me-down political terminology that serves on discursive purpose.

Different languages have different lexicons, but the important point here is that the lexicon of different languages may classify things in different ways. For example, the color lexicon of some languages segment the color spectrum at different places.

8. The use of proverbs, idioms and metaphors as cultural values shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.

Proverbs, idioms and metaphors are frequently used in the language of politics, they are only one aspect of political discourse but they are useful starting points for looking at some of the ways in which political language operates.

9. Figures of speech as cultural values, shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.

10. Nominalization as linguistic structures shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.

Nominalization is the most typical structure particularly in scientific, political discourses..etc..Halliday and Matthiessen(2004) pointed out that information density, and nominalization are the foremost lexico-grammatical features of academic and political language, they also stated that nominalization has been recognized as the sole most substantial resource for establishing political discourse.

11. Passivization as linguistic structures shape the political stances, of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.

The English language is extremely rich, it includes numerous modes, forms and linguistic features that have developed over many centuries of its evolution. Passive voice is one of such features, it is an important language tool, and refusing to use it only because fiction and political writing are without passive voice would be a hasty and reckless decision.

Passive voice has been a tool of political rhetoric for a long time. The most famous example of its utilization in modern politics is the United States declaration of independence, in the famous saying "all men are created

equal'' the passive form of the verb here was used for a great purpose , thus the founding fathers could have easily said ''God created all people equal'' but they preferred not to use such a formulation, as a result, did not turn a political statement into a religious proclamation.

12.Deities as linguistic structures shape the political stances , of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.

### 13. the grammatical category of pronouns

Pronouns are groups of words that are able to appear in the place of other words, most often nouns, other pronouns or noun phrases. They are used first and foremost as a way for the speaker or writer to avoid being repetitive, by not having to repeat the same words again and again (the Oxford Dictionaries [www]). There are several types of pronouns: personal, reflexive, possessive, indefinite, demonstrative, reciprocal, relative and interrogative (Collins1990:28) The personal pronouns are used to refer to people or things that the speaker is talking to,or talking about and they can be used as a way for him to refer to himself. There are two kinds of personal pronouns: subjective personal pronouns and objective personal pronouns. The subjective personal pronouns are used to refer to a subject complement or subject of a clause; they include I, we, you, he, she, it and they. Objective personal pronouns refer to the same people or things as the equivalent subject pronouns (Collins 1990:29). Object pronouns are used as either the object, subject complement or prepositional complement of a clause (Quirk et al. 1972:208). The objective personal pronouns are: me, us, you, him, her, it and them(Collins 1990:29).

<b>Function</b>	<b>Subjective case</b>	<b>Objective case</b>
<b>Subject</b>	<i>She</i> was there	
<b>Subject complement</b>	It was <i>she</i>	It was <i>her</i>
<b>Object</b>	I saw <i>her</i> in church	
<b>Prepositional complement</b>	We cannot make it without <i>her</i>	

Reflexive pronouns can be used when the speaker wants to show that the subject of a verb is the same thing or person as the object of a verb. The reflexive pronouns are: *myself, ourselves, yourself, yourselves, himself, herself, itself, and themselves*. Unlike the personal and possessive pronouns, there are two forms of reflexive pronouns to use for the second person; *yourself* when the speaker is talking about one person, and *yourselves* when he is talking to more than one person (Collins 1990:33). Examples of how reflexive pronouns are used are: “I was feeling good about myself that day” and “We all introduced ourselves to the new people in the group”. Reflexive pronouns are also used to stress that the object of a verb refers to the same thing or person as the subject of a verb; “she forced herself to go to the gym.” (Collins 1990:33).

The possessive pronouns are: mine, my, our(s), your(s), his, hers and their(s). They are used to talk about how things or people are connected to other things or people. By using a possessive pronoun, the speaker indicates that something is associated with or belongs to something or someone. Examples of how to indicate that something or someone belongs to something or someone are: “This is my car”, “Where is your house?” and “She is his daughter”. Possessive pronouns are often used when the speaker wants to show contrast. An example of this can be: “your pie tastes better than mine”. Possessive pronouns are also used in prepositional phrases that begin with *of, to* qualify a noun group. An example of this is: “she is a very good friend of mine” (Collins 1990:32).

Indefinite pronouns are used when the speaker wants to refer to things or people but you do not know exactly what or who they are, or their identity is not of importance. An indefinite pronoun indicates only whether you are talking about people or things, rather than referring to a specific person or thing. The indefinite pronouns are: anybody, anyone, anything, everybody, everyone, everything, nobody, no one, nothing, somebody, someone and something. Indefinite pronouns are used in several different ways. For example, it can be used as a way to refer to people: “what is everybody doing here?” and used with singular verbs: “Everything is here” (Collins 1990:35).

“That, this, those and these are all demonstrative pronouns. They can be used as subjects of the objects in a clause, or the object of a preposition. Demonstrative pronouns can be used as a way to refer to people and things, usually things” (Collins 1990: 35)

Examples of how to use demonstrative pronouns are: “This is a really good book, but I don’t like that one” and “I got these magazines at the store” (Collins 1990:35).

Each other and one another are examples of reciprocal pronouns. They are used to suggest that people feel the same way, do the same thing or have the same relationship. Reciprocal pronouns are used as indirect objects or objects of verbs. Examples of how reciprocal pronouns are used are: “They cannot stand each other” and “two people moving away from one another” (Collins 1990:38).

Who, whom, which or that are known as relative pronouns; they are used by the speaker when a sentence includes a main clause followed by a relative clause. Relative pronouns have two functions. They refer to something or someone that has already been mentioned, and they are conjunctions, because they join clauses together. Who and whom always refer to people. Examples of how who and whom are used are: “Guess who I met yesterday?” and “The boys whom we cannot talk to”. That can refer to both people and things: “The girl that plays tennis”, “it was the first movie that he had ever seen”. Which always refers to things, it can be used as the subject or object of a relative clause, as well as the object of a preposition. Which can be used as a relative pronoun in the following way: “The building in which I went to school” (Collins 1990:39f). Who, whose, whom, that which are interrogative pronouns; meaning that they can be used as objects or subjects of a clause, or objects of a preposition. Interrogative pronouns refer to the information the speaker is asking for. Examples of how to use interrogative pronouns are: “That is a nice painting, whose is it?” and “What is he doing?” (Collins1990:40).



## 2.2 Previous Studies:

This part of the chapter critically reviews some related previous studies concerning the analysis of “media text” to identify what others have said, and discovered about this area of investigation, the title of the former studies first are mentioned along with the author and the years of publication, then they are briefly reviewed and some remarks are stated to highlight their relation to the current study and what the present study may add to them.

Freterikkang(2017) conducted a study entitled” Language and Culture “

With the aim to explore the relationship between language and culture from the perspective of the writer. The writer commences his paper with acknowledging the centrality of language in human cognitive development, he adopted the position that language is not the only vehicle of thought but it plays a cognitive function, and a vital role in developing human mind. The relation between language and culture is described as indisputably symbiotic as language serves as an expression of culture without being synonymous with it, according to him, in the most case language forms a basis for ethnic regional national or international identity, it encodes the values and norms of a given society. He stresses that as a culture changes, so does the language whether it is influenced by a new religion or by modern thinking as language can render culture practice or value, on the other hand, he remarked any technological, political, economic and social innovation require language to enrich its lexicon in order to capture the new realities, according to him classical Greek and Latin language are today termed dead languages as opposite to modern Greek and Italian.

Kina (2017) made a study under the title” Peculiarities of British Paper Discourse” with the aim to examine the lexical semantic and grammatical feature of British newspaper discourse. Illustrative material were selected from the British online publication in 2015, the objectives of this study centered on defining the concept newspaper discourse according to lexical and grammatical characteristics of British newspaper discourse, the

communication information feature , and the specific features of writing the article by the authors, the descriptive method was used in carrying out the analysis .

The researcher concluded that the British newspaper discourse invoked out intellectual and emotional feeling of the readers as it made them change their thoughts , their reflection and make their own conclusion .

Dealing with British newspaper discourse analysis from the lexical , semantic and grammatical point of view the researcher stated that the main characteristics of British newspaper discourse were expressivity , brevity evaluative character of articles due to its' distinct grammar , composition of their articles as they were interesting and easy to read .

However , it did not trace and important feature that makes the discourse significant and meaningful such as cohesion which constitutes textual unit beyond the sentences level , this is what the current study try to do.

Mohamed(2010) investigated “ Obama as a Political Outer “ : a critical discourse analysis , the research has noticed that the expressions and structures which were used in Obama speeches influence different mental processes that is they would guide to kin about different ages and experiences . However , in the interpretation of the discourse the government official deliver , government issues are represented as a battle of force in place with certain political budgetary also social thoughts assumes under act , it seems that in this process language assumes its essential role as it is prepared accompanied and possesses a reference . The study adopted eclectic method , discipline analytical method , observation and quantities' method .

The researcher found out that the choice of expression in Obama`s inaugnialion speech is investigated regarding lexical classes, syntactic classification, figures of speech ,context and cohesion ,he , also finds out that adjectives are used both attributively and predicatively . Used attributively the adjective words are intended to encourage and indicate the significances as communicated by the headword , the researcher ,

recommended that students should observe gender differences in language use in a specific environment of T.V interviews .

Hawwar (2013) conducted a study entitled : ‘’Seeking The Nature of Idioms : Asocio –cultural study’’ .

The researcher commences his paper by stating idioms play a vital role in mastering many languages as they are a prominent natural part of our every day discourse , since they reflect cultural and linguistic boundaries enabling communication between different culture . The researcher explored the different types of idioms and focused on some Arab and English idioms . Bearing in mind these aims , some Arabic and English idioms were selected and then explained . The over all results showed that idioms can never be translated literally as contexts , equivalence and semantic relativism should by considered when dealing with idioms . As result it is strongly recommended by researcher that translators as well as learners should by full aware of translation techniques and the context of discourse they are dealing with .

Daffodll(2014) investigated’’ Representation of Islam in Western Media and Literature’’. The objective of this study was to understand the influence of media and literature in building the stereotyped perception of the Muslim world and to find the causes and issues for biased representation of Islam.

The researcher pointed out that the representation of Islam in Western media and literature has categorized Islam under few characteristics like ‘fundamentalist’, ‘terrorist’, ‘anti-Western’ etc. Moreover, the 9/11 attack in the USA, US invasion into Iraq and Afghanistan and the huge propaganda, analysis and opinion of those events afterwards in the media, is found stereotypically identifying the whole race of Muslims as terrorists. The declared ‘War on Terrorism’ by the USA and comments of many US scholars on made the situation worst because of the reductive meaning of the chosen words indirectly validates any type of US attacks on any Muslim nation. Beyond Belief by VS Naipaul, Satanic Verses by Salman Rusdie, Clash of Civilization by Huntington and some articles by other US scholars like Michael Ledeen, David Hanson and Robert D. Kaplan show some

stereotypical points of view of Islam. This paper revealed that representation of Islam in these writings and in the media is biased and stereotypical. To support this revelation Edward Said's *Covering Islam* and to clearly understand the politics of representation Stuart Hall's theory of representation has used. Stereotypical representation creates nothing but distance between the Westerns and the Muslims. To remove the distance we must clearly understand the politics of representation of Islam and the Muslims.

The findings of this study showed that differences among various cultures, ethnic groups and religions and their divergences create diversity. So, they should not be used to make a culture high and make another low. Whether Muslim or Christian, black or white, one group must know and represent another more elaborately, logically and respectfully. A balance of economic and political dominance must be built to create a sensible, co-operating and consolidated relationship between the powerful countries and the rest of the world. Scope for dialogue between cultures must be built. The main concern of this paper was to fill the gap is stretched between Western people and the Muslims by the contemporary stereotypical representation of Islam. Men have the capability to use meanings either to create peace, hatred or destruction. Any type of representation must be directed to impartiality, clarity and dignity to create a world free of confusion and hatred. Media news of violence must be presented in a way so that any more violence is discouraged and the real causes of violence can be mitigated. Media is the spokesman of the modern world, so it must be strong enough to focus on the reality. Islamic usage of different types of Arabic word must be clearly used and described in media and literature. Apart from the media coverage, the intellectual practices in the West must be careful enough not to stretch the gap between cultures. Naipaul, Huntington, Hanson, Kaplan, and other scholars of the West must embrace a liberal view of the world.

TalalAlshathry (2015) studied “ A comparative framing analysis of ISIL in the online coverage of CNN and Al-Jazeera “

This study is a content analysis of how CNN and Al-Jazeera framed ISIL in their online news coverage from June to October 2014. A total of 154 stories

were analyzed in order to determine the differences in the news framing and sourcing of ISIL (also known as ISIS). The websites' original languages were used, respectively English (CNN) and Arabic (Al-Jazeera). The study found that CNN and Al-Jazeera relied heavily on episodic coverage. Also, the conflict frame dominated CNN coverage while Al-Jazeera used more responsibility and economic-consequences framing. Regarding sources, the study found out that CNN cited more U.S. officials while Al-Jazeera relied more on other media. In order to test the hypotheses and answer the research questions, a content analysis was conducted of news stories published on the original websites of CNN (English) and Al-Jazeera (Arabic). These stories covered the time period from June 2014 until October 2014. The two websites cover international news stories; one based in the U.S. and the other in Qatar. The data were collected via two ways: first, CNN's stories were accessed through the Lexis-Nexis database. Second, Al-Jazeera's stories were drawn from its website's search engine (<http://www.aljazeera.net>). For CNN, the following term was searched: ISIS. For AlJazeera, the following term was searched: (الإسلاميةالدولةتنظيم) The Islamic State Organization).

The findings of the study revealed that there is no significant differences between Al-Jazeera and the western network in their heavy use of episodic coverage. This type of superficial coverage can affect readers' understanding of complex issues.

Tesewintz (2009) conducted " Understanding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict ". The researchers claimed that the key to discuss real prospects for peace is by understanding the other side, opinions, perspectives, and concerns without using volatile language, demonizing, adversary or unfairly dominating the debate. Keeping an open mind and open ear can be extremely difficult when it comes to controversial topic, such as the Israel and Palestinian conflicts, but no solution will ever succeed unless we all try to step outside of our comfort zones and listen to opinions and ideas we may not agree with. We might then discovered common ground we would not have found, one discussion and one acknowledgement.

Brown and Gilman's pioneering study (1960) showed that the choice of pronouns is affected by the relationship between the speaker and the listener. Addressing someone in the same way as they would address you shows solidarity and equality. Addressing someone with a 'higher status' in a different way than that person would address you shows inequality and social distance. Both power and solidarity are relationships between at least two people, and differences of power can be found in all societies (Brown & Gilman 1960:1ff).

Brown and Gilman (1960) claimed that the choice of form is controlled by the relationships of either power or solidarity between the speaker and the hearer, depending on culture of the speakers (Brown & Gilman 1960:1f). The traditional view on pronouns in political speeches is that there is a clear separation between us and them, which are related to the forms we and they of the same pronouns. In political contexts, us and we are usually used to highlight the good qualities of the speaker. They and them on the other hand, are often used in a negative context, as a way to make the opposition seem less suitable leaders than the person who makes the utterance. Political speeches tend to be delivered in a somewhat formal style, more so than ordinary conversation, although that is not always the case. (Proctor & I-Wen Su 2011:2).

Håkansson (2012) investigated "The Use of Personal Pronouns in Political Speeches" ' ' A comparative study of the pronominal choices of two American presidents. The study investigated the pronominal choices made by George W Bush and Barack Obama in their State of the Union speeches. The main focus of the study is on determining whom the two presidents refer to when they use the pronouns *I*, *you*, *we* and *they*, and to compare the differences in pronominal usage by the two presidents. The results suggest that the pronominal choices of the presidents do not differ significantly. The results also indicate that the pronoun *I* is used when the speaker wants to speak as an individual rather than as a representative of a group. *You* is used both as generic pronoun as well as a way for the President to speak to the Congress, without speaking on their behalf. The pronoun *we* is used to invoke a sense of collectivity and to share

responsibility, in most cases it refers to the President and the Congress. They are used to separate self from other; whom the speaker refers to while using they varied greatly between the speakers. The study also showed that the pronominal choices and whom the pronouns refer to vary greatly depending on the context of the speech. Since a great deal of studies on pronominal choices in political interviews and debates already exist, this study can be regarded as significant because it deals with prepared speeches rather than interviews and debates.

Ail (2010) conducted a study entitled “Persuasion Strategies in Religious Discourse with Reference to Deedat's, thevo, Choice: Islam and Christianity” this study aimed at exploring three faces of selected argumentative texts. The organization structure, the persuasive meta-discourse markers, and the textual devices were employed . The data of the study consisted of 30 argumentative texts derived from the first volume of Deedat's The Choice: Islam and Christianity. The model designed for the study is eclectic. It applies Connor and Lauer's (1985) model (for the structure) and Salmi Tolonen's (2005) and Dafouz- Milne's (2007) models (for the linguistic manifestation).The findings at the macro level proved the falsity of Fogelin and Armstrong's (1996) assumption of the emotional nature of persuasion.

The analysis records the prevalence of the rational appeal over the rest while the emotion alone is the lowest in presenting the religious persuasive message. At the micro level, the study pointed out the vital roles of the linguistic and textual elements in enhancing the persuasive impact of the arguments. They were successfully manipulated to bring out the authoritative tone of the discourse, enhance the degree of certainty, maintain the receiver's relation and reinforce the comprehensibility of the negotiated propositions.

The contrastive analysis between macro and micro levels shows the homogeneous representation of persuasive appeals (rationality, credibility and affective). Both correspond in foregrounding the rational nature of religious arguments and their credible stamp. Thus, the study's findings

confirmed the specificity of religious argumentative discourse at the two levels.

Ahmed (2011) made a study entitled "Investigating the factors that influence shaping political stance of the Arab participants on T.V talk show", the study took place at Al- Nileen University during the academic year 2011 , the researcher used the descriptive analytical method , to collect data two tools were used a questionnaire and a test , the main results of the study showed that cohesion ,nominalization, passivization and deities play a vital role in shaping the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.

Moreover, Snell-Hornby (1988)& Hymes (1964) remarked that misunderstanding of other religions , cause difference in political stance as it leads to different meaning interpretations

It is evident from the above literature review, that great efforts have been made by a great number of researchers to investigate the role of cultural values in shaping the political stances in central Arabs issues from CDA perspective , more empirical studies, however, are needed to explore the role of cultural values in shaping the political stances in central Arabs issues from CDA perspective to investigate them, this is what the present study is trying to demonstrate.

### **Chapter Summary:**

This chapter provided theoretical background and reviewed the related literature to investigate the role of cultural values in shaping the political stances in central Arabs issues from CDA perspective.

The relationship between the current study and the previous studies is that all the studies tried to investigate the role of cultural values in shaping the political stances in central Arabs issues from CDA perspective .



## **Chapter Three**

### **Methodology of the Study**

#### **3.1 Introduction:**

This chapter discusses the design of the study, the population and sampling of the study, the data collection instruments, validity and reliability of the tools used to collect data for the study, data collection and analysis procedures and the statistical method used for the collected data..

The method adopted in this research is the descriptive analytical approach. Data has been collected by using two tools; the researcher uses a questionnaire, and content analysis as main tools. The questionnaire; is designed for T.V viewers whereas the content analysis is adopted from T.V. political dialogues in two channels , the questionnaire has been then analyzed through SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences).

#### **3.2 Design of the Study:**

In any research study, the researcher usually goes through a series of inter-related phases which together make up the design of the study .A research design is therefore refers to the general plan of data collection and procedures, which are used in the analysis of data, in order to shed light on the problems under investigation. In other words, a research design may also refer to the procedures for conducting the study including when, from whom and under what conditions data were obtained. Its purpose is to provide the most valid, accurate answers to the research questions.

This study adopts descriptive analytical approach. The aim of such mixed method is to provide quantitative ,qualitative and interpretive data obtained from the analysis of the questionnaire which administered to T.V viewers. The content analysis is a second tool that is designed for the analysis of political dialogues in two channels namely CNN and Aljazeera.

### **3.3 Population and sampling of the study:**

The questionnaire(Appendix 1) has been administered to 30 T.V. viewers. They were asked to identify their views and perceptions toward 30 statements relating to the hypotheses of the study. The questionnaire is then analyzed statistically through SPSS program. The researcher also uses content analysis of political dialogues in two channels namely CNN and Aljazeera.

### **3.4 Data collection Instruments:**

Choosing a method that enables the researcher to collect relevant information is quiet important, thus selecting data and gathering tools which are apparent to be suitable and adequate for the study are so crucial. In this study a descriptive analytical method is used. The questionnaire and the content analysis are used.

#### **3.4.1 The questionnaire:**

The questionnaire is considered the main tool for gathering data on the topic of the study. Questionnaire refers to any written instrument that presents respondents with a series of questions or statements to which they are react either by writing out their answers or selecting their options from among existing answers, so it is one of the main instruments used in this study, it has been designed for T.V. viewers. They were requested to identify their options by ticking in the proper place, relating to the mentioned statements. They are 30 statements in the questionnaire, designed according to the hypotheses of the study. These statements are about the role of cultural values in shaping the political stances of both Arab and non-Arab participants on T.V. show.

The questionnaire is divided into two parts: the first part includes, information about the participants' demographic data such as, age, years of experience and qualifications. The second part consists of the three domains of the study. The aim of the questionnaire is to investigate participants' views and perceptions about the role of the cultural values in shaping the political stances of Arab and non-Arab participants on T.V. show talk.

### **3.4.2 Population of the Questionnaire:**

The population of the questionnaire is 30 T.V viewers who are keen of follow either CNN or Al Jazeera talk show programmes. They were asked to respond to the questionnaire statements given to them.

### **3.4.3 Sample of the Questionnaire:**

The Sample of the Questionnaire are T.V. viewers who are keen of follow either CNN or Al Jazeera talk show programmes. In order to ensure that the observed directive responses strategies would not be influenced by gender differences, the participants gender is equally presented in the group as possible and they were approximately the same age i.e 36-40 years old.

### **3.4.4 The Validity of the Questionnaire:**

The researcher consulted expert university teachers in the field of language teaching who have background in doing research in English language to examine the content, the structure, the logical flow of the statements, the length and the order of the questionnaire, they accepted the items of the questionnaire in general but suggested some modifications, they suggested that the researcher should limit the number of the statements to 30 in order to achieve accurate results, the researcher then made some modifications according to their comments.

### **3.4.5 The Reliability of the Questionnaire:**

As for survey reliability is concerned, according to Brown (2001) with the consistency which measures what is measuring, what is meant by consistency in this definition is that, when the procedure is repeated on a population of individuals of a group, the responses should be the same. Reliability is usually tested by statistical operation indicated by reliability coefficient, alpha-Devellis(1991)describes alpha as "an indication of the proportion of variance in scale scores that is attributed to the true score" ideally there should be no variance but a score of higher than 70 are suggested.(Nunnally, 1994and Litwia1995)as acceptable therefore the higher.

Reliability also means obtaining the same results if the same measurement is used more than one time under the same conditions.

Reliability is also defined as the degree of the accuracy of the data that the tool measures. Here are some of the most used methods for calculating the reliability:

- Alpha-Cronbach coefficient.

On the other hand, validity is also a measure used to identify the validity degree among the respondents according to their answers on certain criterion. The validity is counted by a number of methods, among them is the validity using the square root of the (reliability coefficient). The value of the reliability and the validity lies in the range between (0-1). The validity of the questionnaire is that the tool should measure the exact aim, which it has been designed for.

In this study the validity of the questionnaire is calculated by using the following equation:

$$\text{Validity} = \sqrt{\text{Reliability}}$$

For calculating the validity and the reliability of the questionnaire from the above equation, the researcher distributed the questionnaire to respondents to calculate the reliability coefficient using the Alpha-Cronbach coefficient; the results have been showed in the following table :

#### **Reliability Statistics**

<b>Cronbach's Alpha</b>	<b>No of Items</b>
80	30

### **3.4.6 The Content Analysis:**

The content analysis is used as a second tool in this study. The researcher analyzes political discourses used by Arab and non-Arab participants on TV show talk in CNN and Al Jazeera TV channels. The focus of the analysis is in terms of linguistic features such as passivization (the use of active and passive sentences), normalizations (nominal and verbal sentences), pronouns, cultural issues and nature of vocabulary and finally the style of the dialogue used by the participants.

### **3.4.7 The Validity of the Text Being Analysed :**

Validity refers to the extent to which a test or a set of tests measure what they are supposed to measure. It also refers to the extent to which the results of the procedure serve the uses for which they were intended.

The texts have been adopted from the Internet websites of CNN and Al Jazeera (Appendix 2 & 3).

The researcher consulted five expert discourse analysis teachers who have long experience in teaching and doing research in English; three university teachers and two instructors who teach IELTS in British Council and they agreed about the validity of the text.

### **3.5 Data Collection and Analysis Procedures:**

The researcher follows these procedures in order to conduct the study:

1. He reviews the related literature which related to the role of cultural values in shaping the political stances of Arab and non-Arab participants on T.V. show talk.
2. Identifies the research objectives, samples and questions which utilize reading from previous studies and thus the elements of the study are established.
3. The questionnaire is conducted for T.V viewers of different channels.
4. The data of the questionnaire is analyzed statistically via SPSS program.

5. The data of the questionnaire was collected and analyzed by using simple tables and figures followed by commentary on the items of the questionnaire along with logical explanation to them.
6. The content analysis is used to analyze the CNN and Aljazeera political discourses.
7. Finally, the researcher drew the main findings, conclusion of the study, and recommendation for further researches.

### **3.6 The Statistical Method:**

The SPSS( Statistical Package for Social Sciences) was used to statistically process the data .The method used in the analysis of the data is the frequencies and percentages of the respondents answers , in addition to the arithmetic mean and standard deviation of the weight of the respondents answers , Chi-square was used to test the hypotheses of the study.

#### **Chapter Summary:**

Chapter three shows how the researcher collected data about the role of cultural values in shaping the political stances of Arab and non-Arab participants on TV show talk.

The design of the study, the population and sampling of the study, the data collection instruments, validity and reliability of the tools used to collect data for the study, data collection and analysis procedures and the statistical method used for the collected data were explained in this chapter.

## **Chapter Four**

### **Data Analysis and Discussion**

#### **4.1 Introduction:**

This chapter presents the analysis, evaluation, and interpretation of the data collected through the questionnaire and the content analysis. The statistical part of the analysis of the questionnaire is done by (SPSS) program where frequencies and percentages are presented.

#### **4.2 The Questionnaire:**

The questionnaire was given to (30) respondents who represent the T.V viewers.

#### **4.3 The Responses to the Questionnaire:**

The responses to the questionnaire of the (30) T.V viewers were tabulated and computed. The following is an analytical interpretation and discussion of the findings regarding different points related to the objectives and hypotheses of the study.

Each item in the questionnaire is analyzed statistically and discussed. The following tables will support the discussion.

#### **4.4 Analysis of the Questionnaire:**

The researcher distributed the questionnaire on the determined study sample (30) T.V viewers, and constructed the required tables for the collected data. This step consists of transformation of the qualitative (nominal) variables (strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, and strongly

disagree) to quantitative variables (1, 2, 3, 4, 5) respectively, also the graphical representations were used for this purpose.

The following is an analytical interpretation and discussion of the findings regarding different points related to the objectives and hypotheses of the study.

### **Hypotheses of the study:**

#### **Hypothesis 1**

**Cultural values can linguistically shape the political stance of the Arab participants in TV show talk.**

#### **Statement No.(1)**

1.The use of idioms as cultural value , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.

**Table No (4.1)**

**The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents' Answers of Statement No. (1)**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent%</b>
strongly agree	3	13.3
agree	14	46.7
neutral	3	10
disagree	7	20
strongly disagree	3	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100.0</b>



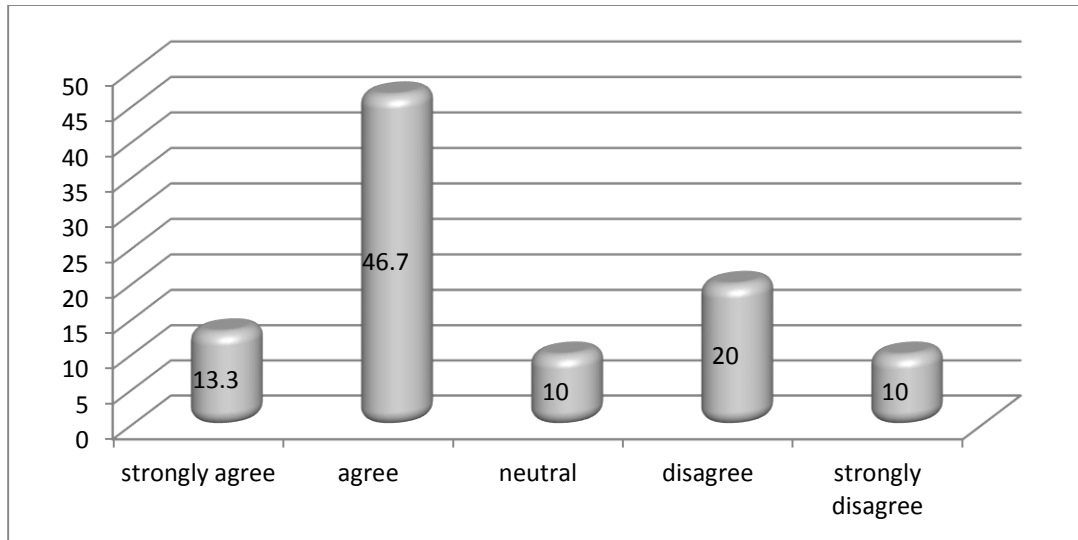


Figure (4.1)

It is clear from the above table and figure that there are (3) persons in the sample of the study (13.3%) strongly agreed with that " The use of idioms as cultural value , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk ".

There are (14) persons (46.7%) agreed with that, (3) persons (10.0%) were not sure, (7) persons (20.0%) disagreed and (3) persons (10%) strongly disagreed.

**Statement No (2)**

The use of proverbs as cultural value , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.

Table No (4.2)

The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents' Answers of Statement No. (2)

Variables	Frequency	Percent%
<b>strongly agree</b>	13	34.4
<b>agree</b>	10	33.3
<b>neutral</b>	3	10
<b>disagree</b>	3	10
<b>strongly disagree</b>	1	3.3
<b>Total</b>	30	100.0

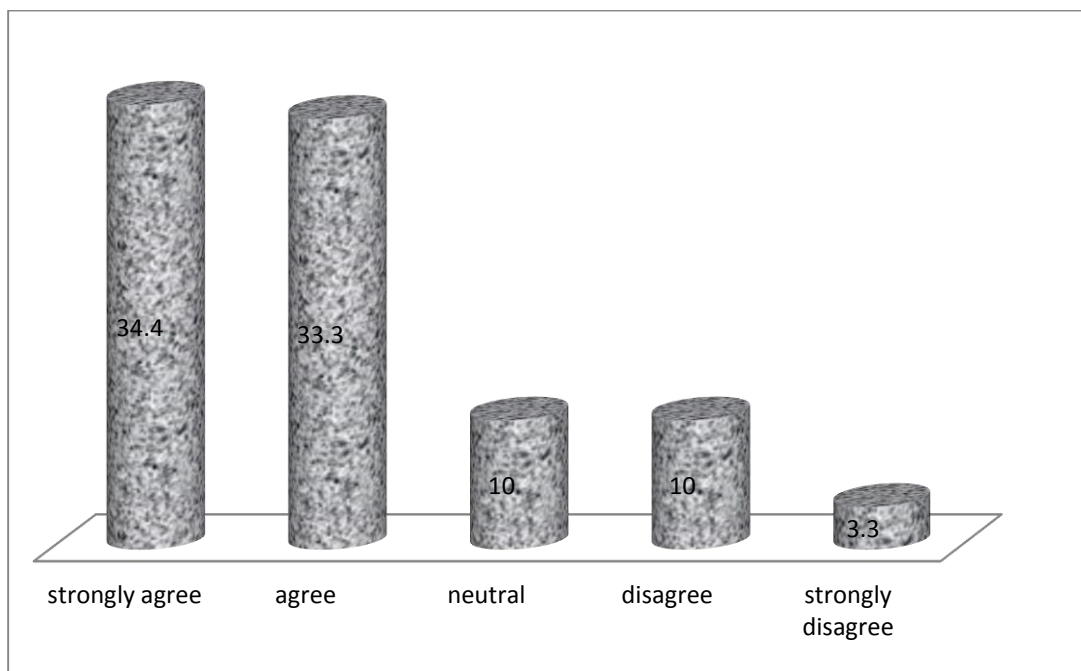


Figure ( 4.2)

It is clear from the above table and figure that there are (13) persons in the sample of the study (34.4%) strongly agreed with that 'The use of proverbs as cultural value , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.

" There are (10) persons (33.3%) agreed, (3) (10.0%) were not sure, (3) (10.0%) disagreed and (1) person (3.3%) disagreed.

### Statement No. (3)

The use of metaphors as cultural value , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.

Table No (4.3) The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents' Answers to statement No.(3 )

Variables	Frequency	Percent%
<b>strongly agree</b>	18	60
<b>agree</b>	10	33.4
<b>neutral</b>	1	3.3
<b>disagree</b>	1	3.3
<b>strongly disagree</b>	0	0
<b>Total</b>	30	100.0

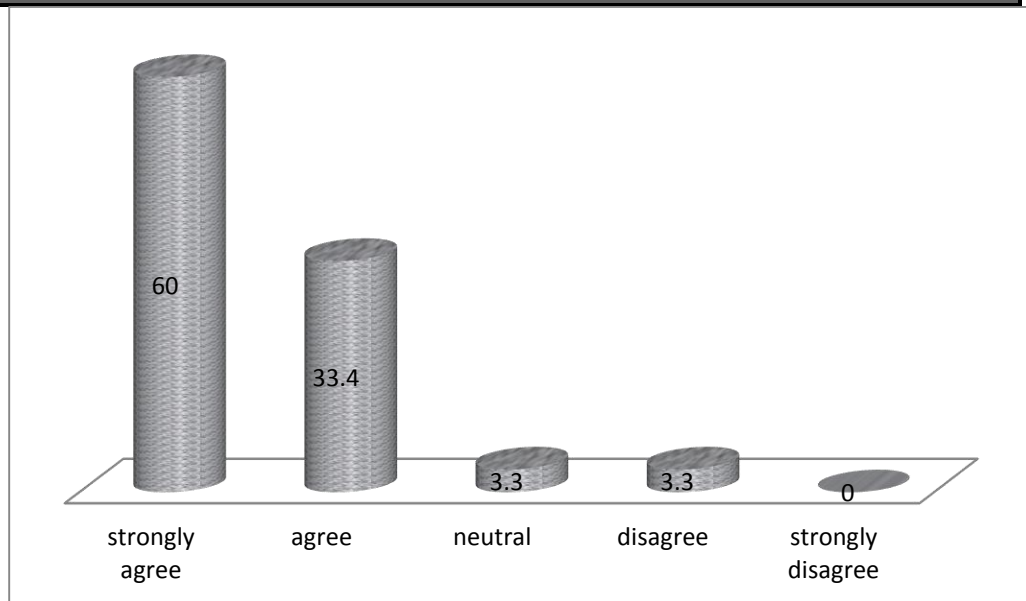


Figure (4.3)

It is clear from the above table and figure that there are (18) persons in the sample of the study (60.0%) strongly agreed with that " There are (10) persons (33.3%) agreed with "The use of metaphors as cultural value , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk".

, (1) person (3.3%) was not sure , (1) person with percentage (3.3%) disagreed and (0) person with( 0%) strongly disagreed.

**Statement No.(4)**

The choice of vocabulary , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.

Table No (4.4) The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents' Answers to statement No.(4)

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent%</b>
<b>strongly agree</b>	17	53.3
<b>agree</b>	11	36.7
<b>neutral</b>	2	6.7
<b>disagree</b>	1	3.3
<b>strongly disagree</b>	0	0
<b>Total</b>	30	100.0

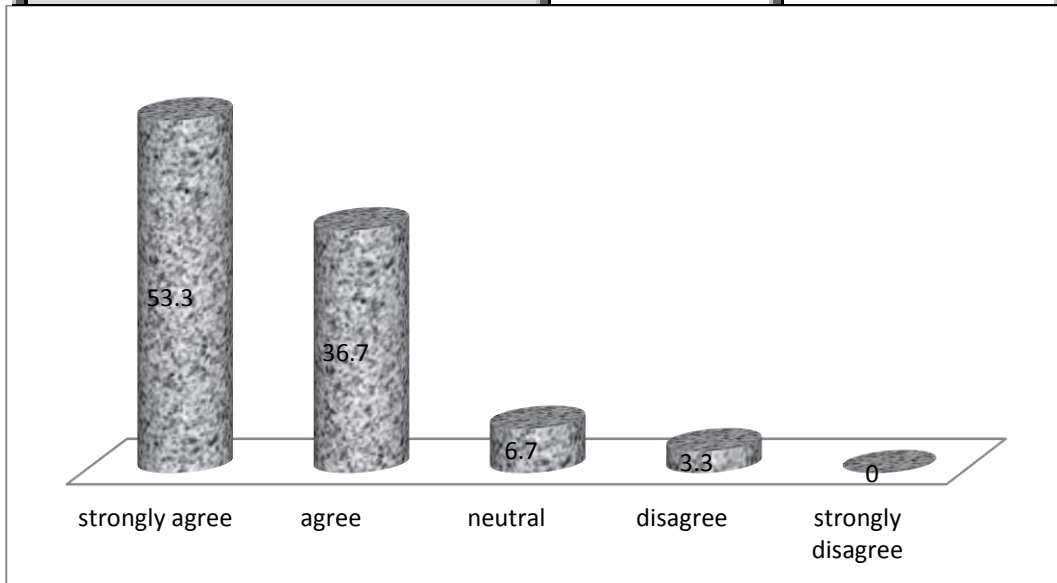


Figure (4.4)

It is clear from the above table and figure that there are (17) persons in the sample of the study (53.3%) strongly agreed with that “The choice of vocabulary , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk ”

There are (11) persons (36.7%) agreed, (2) persons (6.7%) were not sure, (1) person (3.3%) disagreed and (0) person (0%) strongly disagreed.

**Statement No. (5)**

Figures of speech as cultural values , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk

Table No (4.5) The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents' Answers of Statement No. (5)

Variables	Frequency	Percent%
strongly agree	15	50
agree	13	43.4
neutral	1	3.3
disagree	1	3.3
strongly disagree	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100.0</b>

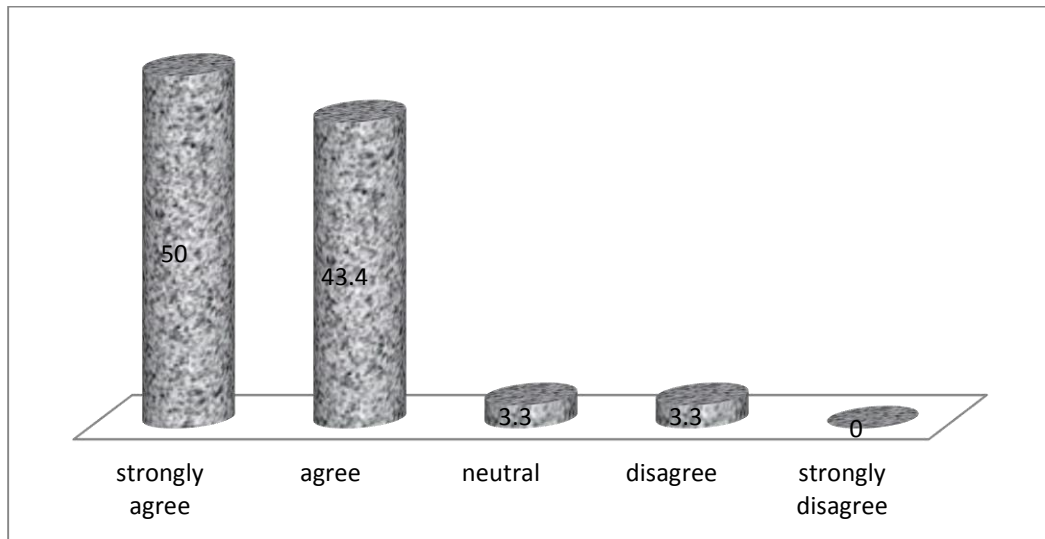


Figure (4.5)

It is clear from the above table and figure that there are (15) persons in the sample of the study (50.0%) strongly agreed with " Figures of speech as

cultural values , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk’.

There are (13) persons (43.4%) agreed, (1) person (3.3%) was not sure (1) person (3.3%) disagreed and (0) person (0%) strongly disagreed.

**Statement No (6):** Speech acts used by Arab participants on T.V show talk, shape their political stances.

Table No (4.6) The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents’ Answers of statement No. (6)

Variables	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
strongly agree	10	33.3	33.3	33.3
agree	12	40.0	40.0	73.3
neutral	4	13.3	10.0	83.3
disagree	3	10.0	13.3	96.7
strongly disagree	1	3.3	3.3	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

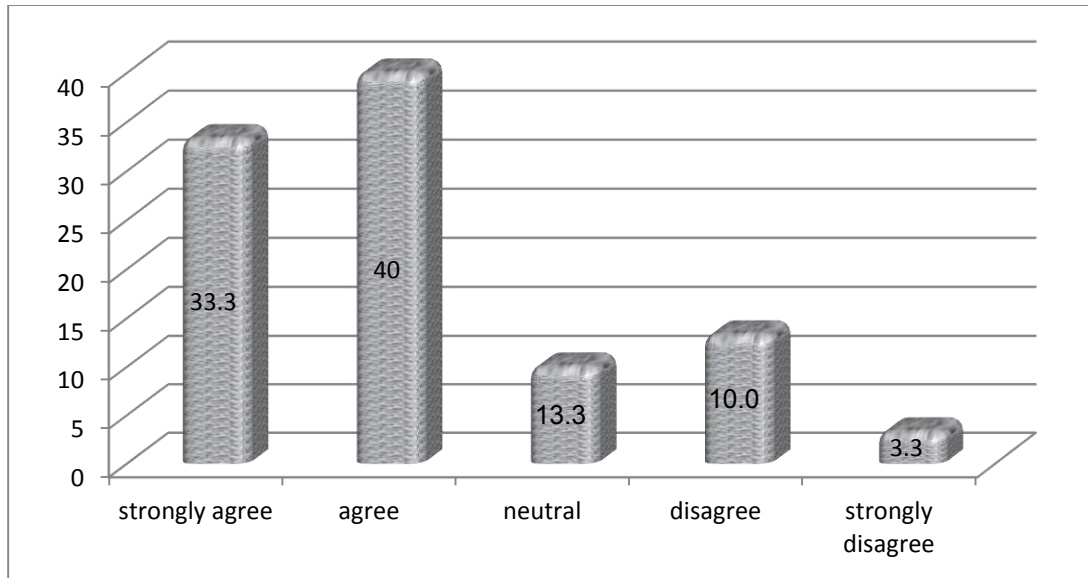


Figure ( 4.6)

From the above table and figure we can see that there are (10) persons in the sample of the study (33.3%) strongly agreed with " Speech acts used by Arab participants on T.V show talk, shape their political stances ". There are (12) persons (40.0%) agreed, (4) persons (13.3%) were not sure, (3) persons (10.0%) disagreed and (1) person (3.3%) strongly disagreed.

**Statement No (7):**

The choice of cohesion , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.

Table No (4.7)

The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents' Answers of statement No.(7)

Variables	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
strongly agree	10	33.3	33.3	33.3
agree	12	40.0	40.0	73.3
neutral	3	10.0	10.0	83.3
disagree	4	13.3	13.3	96.7
strongly disagree	1	3.3	3.3	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

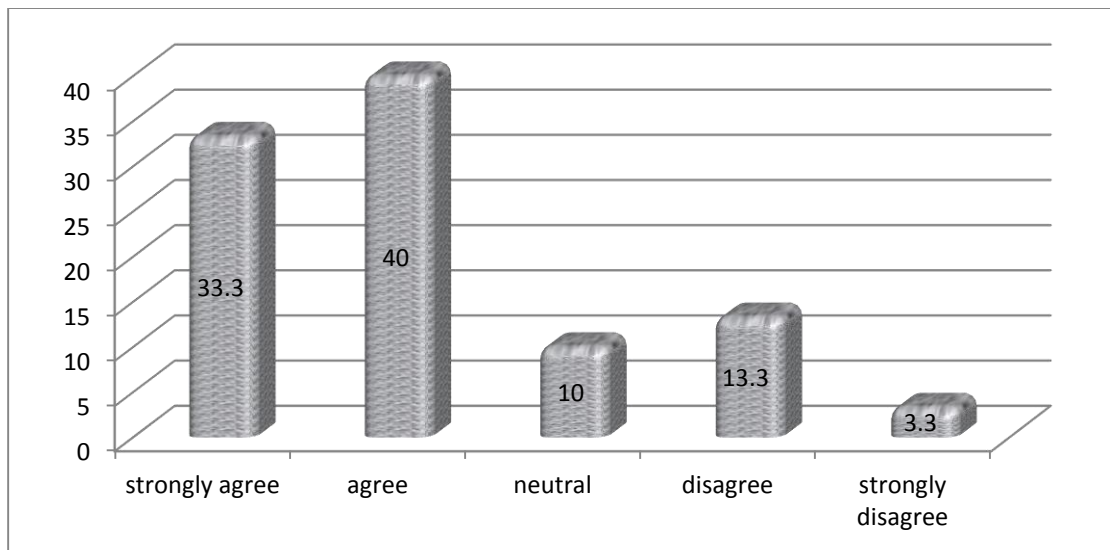


Figure (4.7)

From the above table and figure, we can see that there are (10) persons in the sample of the study (33.3%) strongly agreed with " The choice of cohesion , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk." There



are (12) persons (40.0%) agreed ,(3) persons (10.0%) were not sure , (4) persons (13.3%) disagreed and (1) person with (3.3%) strongly disagreed.

**Statement No. (8)**

Nominalization as linguistic structures shape the political stances , of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.

Table No (4.8) The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents' Answers of statement No.(8)

Variables	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
strongly agree	6	20.0	20.0	20.0
agree	12	40.0	40.0	60.0
neutral	3	10.0	10.0	70.0
disagree	8	26.7	26.7	96.7
strongly disagree	1	3.3	3.3	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

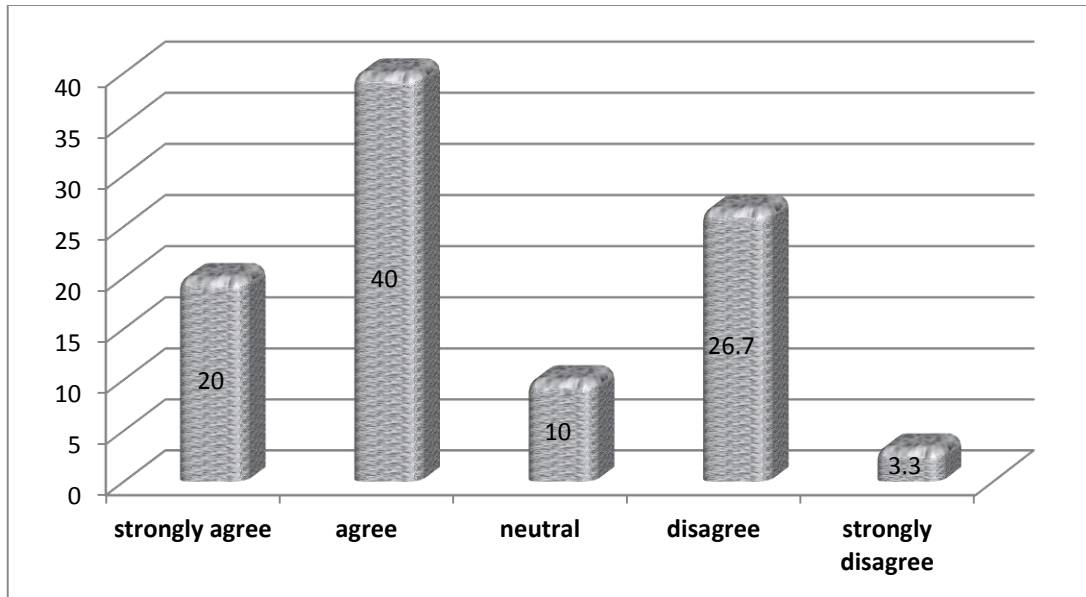


Figure (4.8)

From the above table and figure, we can see that there are (6) persons in the sample of the study (20.0%) strongly agreed with "Nominalization as linguistic structures shape the political stances, of the Arab participants on T.V show talk".

There are (12) persons (40.0%) agreed, (3) persons (10.0%) were not sure, (8) persons (26.7%) disagreed and (1) person (3.3%) strongly disagreed

### Statement No (9)

Passivization as linguistic structures shape the political stances, of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.

Table No (4.9) The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents' Answers of statement No.(9)

Variables	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
strongly agree	10	33.3	33.3	33.3
agree	8	26.7	26.7	60.0
neutral	3	10.0	10.0	70.0
disagree	8	26.7	26.7	96.7
strongly disagree	1	3.3	3.3	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

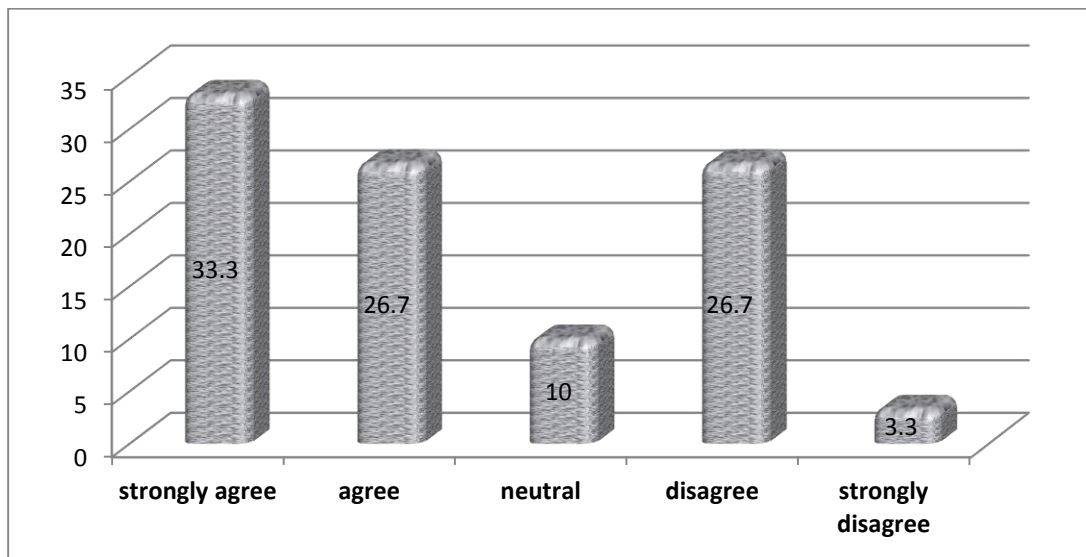


Figure ( 4.9)

From the above table and figure we can see that there are (10) persons in the sample of the study (33.3%) strongly agreed with " Passivization as linguistic structures shape the political stances , of the Arab participants on T.V show talk ". There are (8) persons (26.7%) agreed, and (3) persons

(10.0%) were not sure, (8) persons (26.7%) disagreed and (1) person (3.3%) strongly disagreed.

**Statement No (10):**

Deities as linguistic structures shape the political stances , of the Arab participants on T.V show talk

Table No (4.10)

The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents' Answers of statement No.(10)

Variables	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
strongly agree	10	33.3	33.3	33.3
agree	16	53.3	53.3	86.7
Neutral	3	10.0	10.0	96.7
disagree	0	0	0	0
strongly disagree	1	3.4	3.3	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

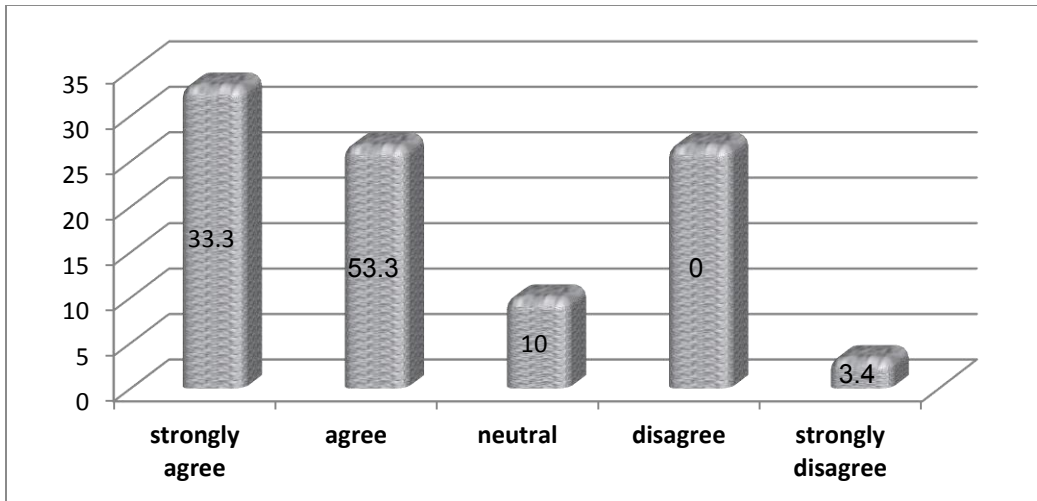


Figure (4.10)

From the above table and figure we can see that there are (10) persons in the sample of the study (33.3%) strongly agreed with that " Deities as linguistic structures shape the political stances , of the Arab participants on T.V show talk ”.

There are (16) persons (53.3%) agreed, (3) persons (10.0%) were not sure, (0) person (0.0%) disagreed and (1) person (3.4%) strongly disagreed.

**The mean and standard deviation and chi-square values for Hypothesis (1)** Cultural values can linguistically shape the political stance of the Arab participants in T.V. show talk.

No.	Statements	mean	SD	Chi square	p-value
1	The use of idioms as cultural value , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk	3.6	0.8	29	0.023
2	The use of proverbs as cultural value , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.	2.4	0.5	28	0.010

<b>3</b>	The use of metaphors as cultural value , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.	<b>3.3</b>	<b>0.7</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>0.006</b>
<b>4</b>	The choice of vocabulary , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk	<b>2.5</b>	<b>3.8</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>0.046</b>
<b>5</b>	Figures of speech as cultural values , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk	<b>3.4</b>	<b>2.5</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>0.000</b>
<b>6</b>	Speech acts used by Arab participants on T.V show talk, shape their political stances	<b>2.8</b>	<b>1.7</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>0.000</b>
<b>7</b>	The choice of cohesion , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.	<b>2.9</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>0.000</b>
<b>8</b>	Nominalization as linguistic structures shape the political stances , of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.	<b>2.7</b>	<b>0.5</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>0.000</b>
<b>9</b>	Passivization as linguistic structures shape the political stances , of the Arab participants on T.V show talk	<b>2.9</b>	<b>0.7</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>0.023</b>
<b>10</b>	Deities as linguistic structures shape the political stances , of the Arab participants on T.V show talk	<b>2.6</b>	<b>0.5</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>0.036</b>

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No.(1) was (29) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (4.12) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of

the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement " The use of idioms as cultural value , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk ”.

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No (2) was (28) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (4.12) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement " The use of proverbs as cultural value , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk”.

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No. (3) was (23) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (4.12) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement " The use of metaphors as cultural value , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk”.

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No. (4) was (15) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (4.12) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement " The choice of vocabulary , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk ”.

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No. (5) was (22) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (4.12) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of

the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement " Figures of speech as cultural values , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk".

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No. (6) was (12) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (4.12) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of the respondents, which support the respondents who agreed with the statement" Speech acts used by Arab participants on T.V show talk, shape their political stances".

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No. (7) was (34) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (4.12) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement " The choice of cohesion , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk".

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No. (8) was (22) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (4.12) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement" Nominalization as linguistic structures shape the political stances , of the Arab participants on T.V show talk".

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No. (9) was (32) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (4.12) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of



the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement " Passivization as linguistic structures shape the political stances , of the Arab participants on T.V show talk ".

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No. (10) was (22) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (4.12). this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement 'Deities as linguistic structures shape the political stances , of the Arab participants on T.V show talk'.

The above findings of the questionnaire revealed that cultural values can linguistically shape the political stances of the Arab participants in T.V show talk. According to the results of the first part of the questionnaire we can say that the first hypothesis of the study has been confirmed

For as Adwan (2004) stated nominalization and passivization as linguistic structures shape the political stances , of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.

Ahmed (2011) stated that cohesion ,nominalization, passivization and deities play a vital role in shaping the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk

Grice (1975) also argued that what is the most influential in the study of language as social action, reflected in speech- act theory and the formulation of conversational maxims, alongside the emergence of pragmatics, which is the study of meaning in context .

Halliday and Hassan(1981) declared take the view that the primary determinant of whether a set of sentences do or do not constitute a text

depends on cohesive relationship within and between the sentence, which create texture . They outline a taxonomy of types of cohesive relationship in texts is indicated by formal markers which relate what is about to be said to what has been said before .

**Hypothesis 2:**

**Culture values can linguistically shape political stances of non-Arab participants (pro West) on TV show talk.**

**Statement No. (11)**

Lexical features of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.

Table No. (4.11) The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents’ Answers of statement No.(11 )

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
strongly agree	6	20.0	20.0	20.0
agree	15	50.0	50.0	70.0
neutral	3	10.0	10.0	80.0
disagree	4	13.3	13.3	93.3
strongly disagree	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

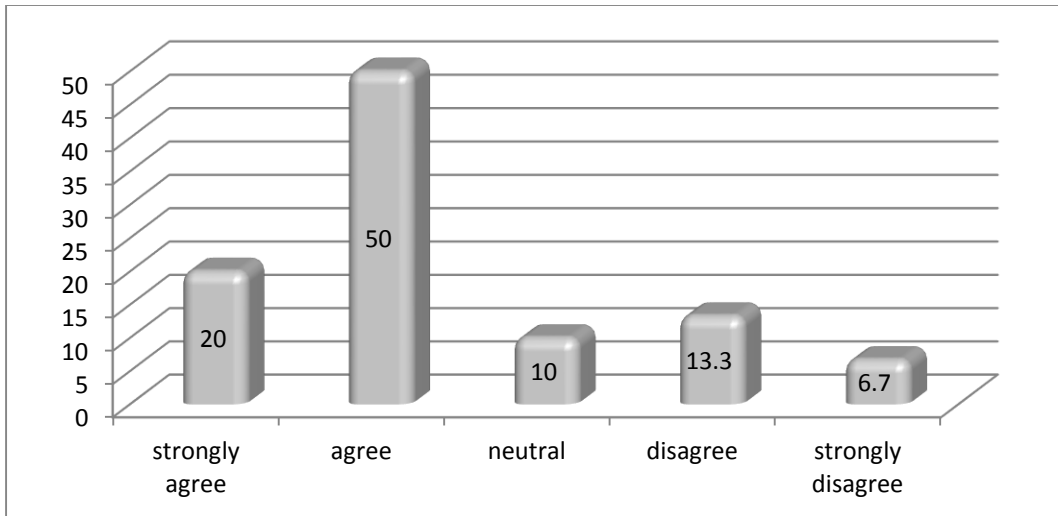


Figure (4.11)

From the above table and figure we can see that there are (6) persons in the sample of the study (20.0%) strongly agreed with " Lexical features of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk. ". There are (15) persons (50.0%) agreed, (3) persons (10.0%) were not sure, (4) persons (13.3%) disagreed and (2) persons (6.7%) strongly disagreed.

**Statement No .(12)**

Semantic features of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.

Table No. (4.12) The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents' Answers of statement No.(12)

Variables	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
strongly agree	8	26.7	26.7	26.7
agree	8	26.7	26.7	53.3
neutral	3	10.0	10.0	63.3
disagree	8	26.7	26.7	90.0
strongly disagree	3	10.0	10.0	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

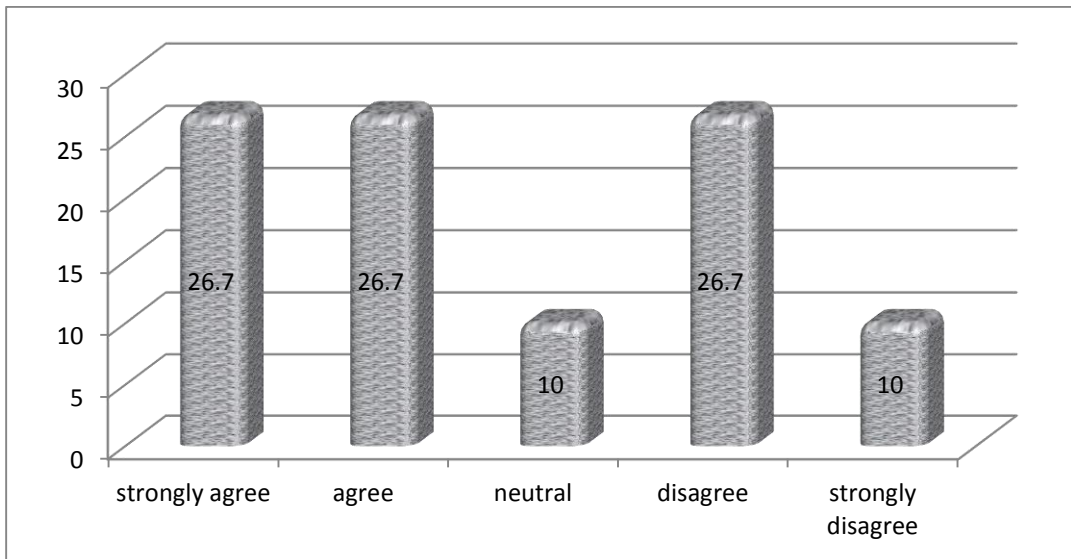


Figure (4.12)

From the above table and figure we can see that there are (8) persons in the sample of the study (26.7%) strongly agreed with " Semantic features of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk'".

There are (8) persons (26.7%) agreed, (3) persons (10.0%) were not sure, (8) persons (26.7%) disagreed and (3) persons (10.0%) strongly disagreed.

**Statement No. (13)**

Standard syntax of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.

Table No. (4.13) The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents' Answers to statement No.(13 )

Variables	Frequency	Percecnt%
strongly agree	18	60
agree	10	33.4
neutral	1	3.3
disagree	1	3.3
strongly disagree	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100.0</b>

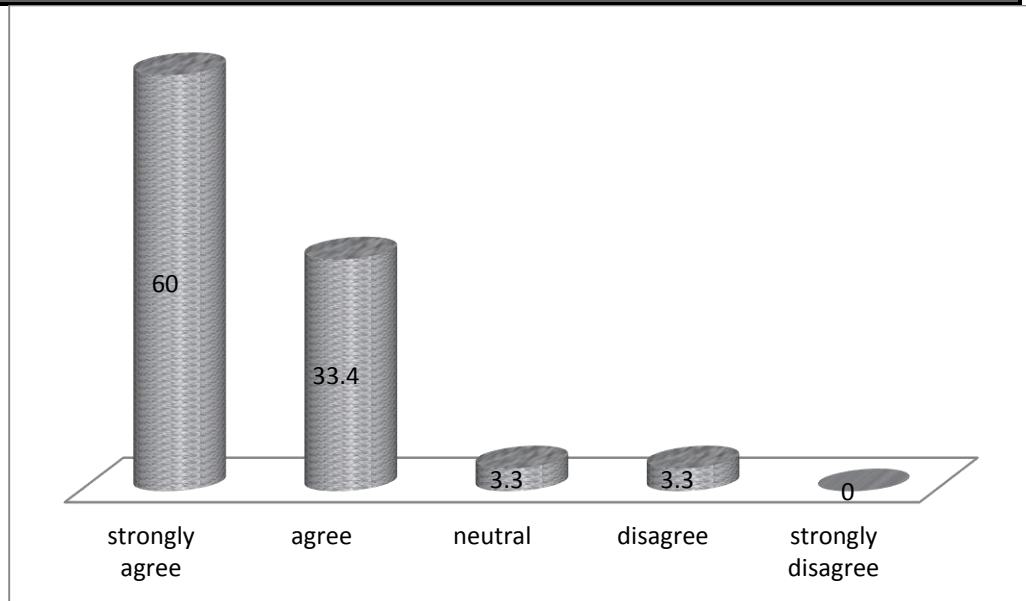


Figure (4.13)

It is clear from the above table and figure that there are (18) persons in the sample of the study (60.0%) strongly agreed with that “Standard syntax of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.”

There are (10) persons (33.4%) agreed, (1) person (3.3%) was not sure , (1) person with percentage (3.3%) disagreed and (0) person with( 0%) strongly disagreed.

**Statement No.(14 )**

The use of technical terms of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.

Table No (4.14) The frequency distribution for the respondents’ answers of statement No.(14 )

Variables	Frequency	Percent%
strongly agree	3	13.3
agree	14	46.7
neutral	3	10
disagree	7	20
strongly disagree	3	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100.0</b>

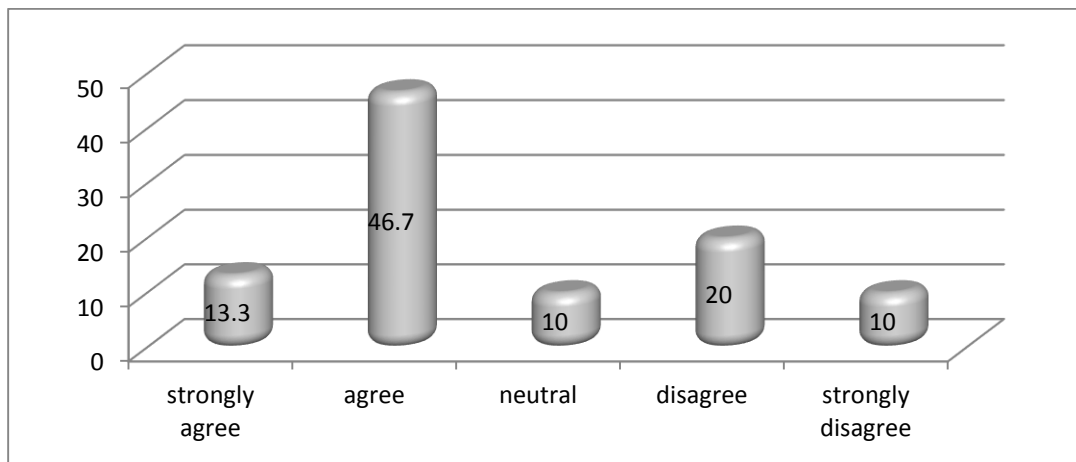


Figure (4.14)

It is clear from the above table and figure that there are (3) persons in the sample of the study (13.3%) strongly agreed with ‘ The use of technical terms of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk’. There are (14) persons (46.7%) agreed with that, (3)

persons (10.0%) were not sure, (7) persons (20.0%) disagreed and (3) persons (10%) strongly disagreed.

**Statement No.(15 )**

Everyday terms of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.

Table No. (4.15) The frequency distribution for the respondents' answers of statement No.(15 )

Variables	Frequency	Percent%
strongly agree	13	34.4
agree	10	33.3
neutral	3	10
disagree	3	10
strongly disagree	1	3.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100.0</b>

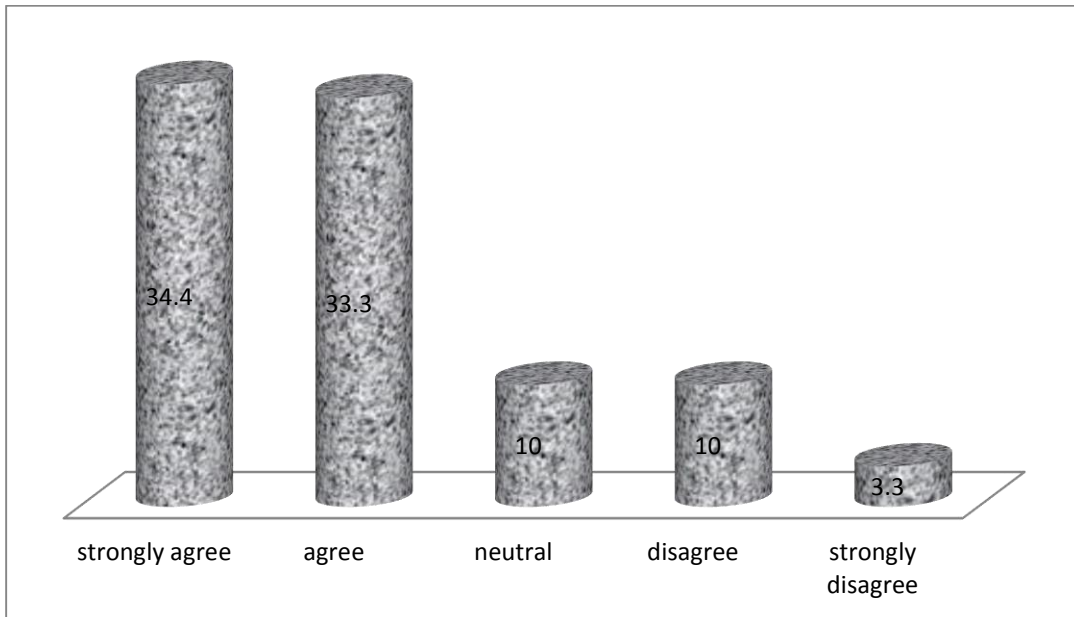


Figure (4.15)

It is clear from the above table and figure that there are (13) persons in the sample of the study (34.4%) strongly agreed with ‘‘Everyday terms of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk’’.

There are (10) persons (33.3%) agreed, (3) persons (10.0%) were not sure, (3) persons (10.0%) disagreed and (1) person (3.3%) strongly disagreed.

**Statement No.( 16)**

The social innovation of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.

Table No. (4.16) The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents’ Answers of statement No.(16)

Variables	Frequency	Percent%
Strongly agree	7	23.3
agree	16	53.3
neutral	1	3.3
disagree	4	13.3
Strongly disagree	2	6.7
Total	30	100.0

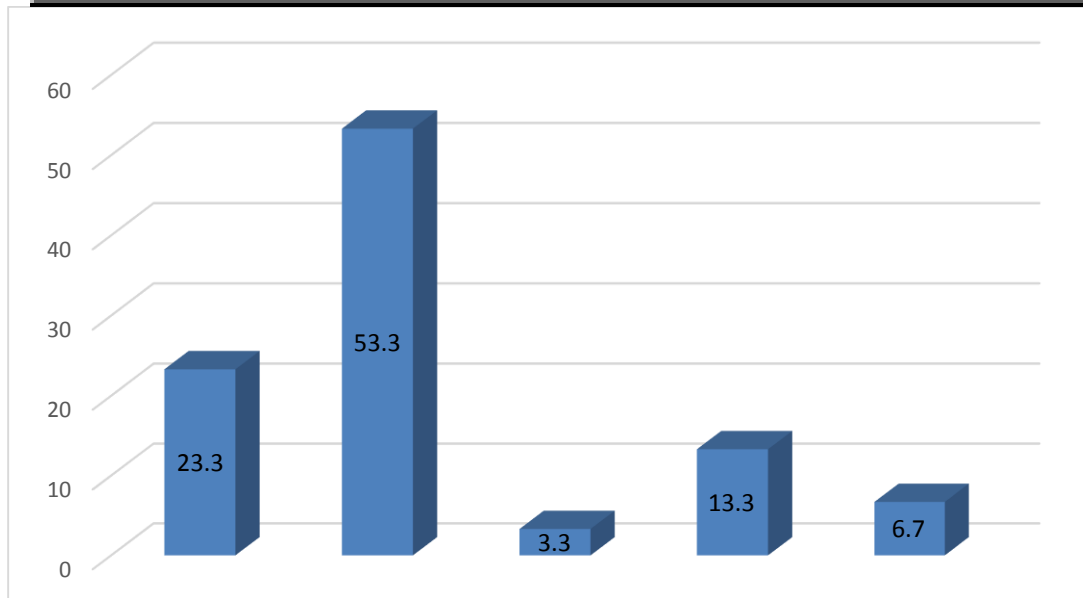


Figure (4.16)



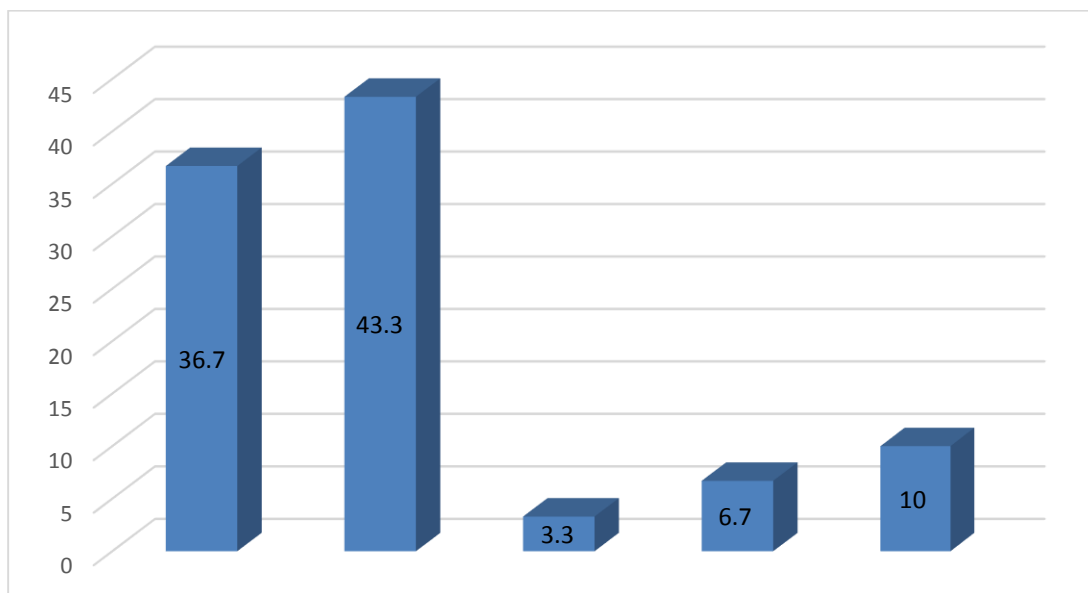
From the above table and figure. It is clear that there are (7) persons in the sample of the study with percentage (23.3%) answered strongly agree with "The social innovation of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk." There are (16) persons (53.3%) answered agree (1) person (3.3%) answered neutral, (4) persons with percentage (13.3%) answered disagree and (2) persons (6.7%) answered strongly disagree.

**Statement No.(17 )**

The cultural expressions of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.

Table No (4.17 ) The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents' Answers of statement No.(17 )

Variables	Frequency	Percent%
Strongly agree	11	36.7
agree	13	43.3
neutral	1	3.3
disagree	2	6.7
Strongly disagree	3	10.0
Total	30	100.0



From the above table and figure. It is clear that there are (11) persons in the sample of the study with percentage (36.7%) answered strongly agree with "

The cultural expressions of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.

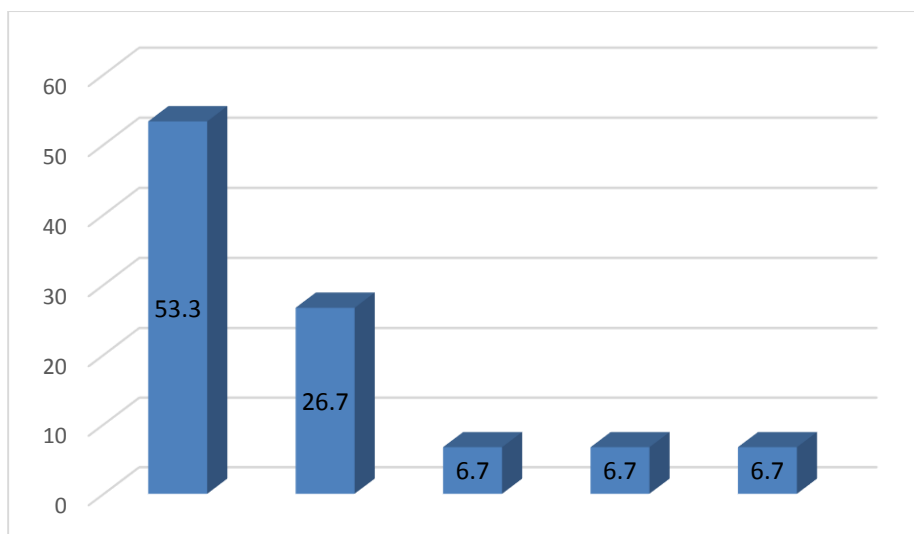
" There are (13) persons (43.3%) answered agree , (1) person with percentage (3.3%) answered neutral , (2) persons (6.7%) answered disagree and (3) persons (10.0%) answered strongly disagree.

**Statement No.(18)**

Modern thinking of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.

Table No. (4.18) The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents' Answers of statement No.(18 )

Variables	Frequency	Percent%
Strongly agree	16	53.3
agree	8	26.7
neutral	2	6.7
disagree	2	6.7
Strongly disagree	2	6.7
Total	30	100.0



Figure(4.18)

From the above table and figure. It is clear that there are (16) persons in the sample of the study (53.3%) answered strongly agree with "Modern thinking of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk". There are (8) persons (26.7%) answered agree, (2) persons (6.7%) answered neutral, (2) persons (6.7%) answered disagree and (2) persons (6.7%) answered strongly disagree.

**Statement No.(19 )**

The economic dominance of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.

Table No. (4.19) The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents' Answers of statement No.(19 )

Variables	Frequency	Percent%
Strongly agree	11	36.7
agree	13	43.3
neutral	1	3.3
disagree	2	6.7
Strongly disagree	3	10.0
Total	30	100.0

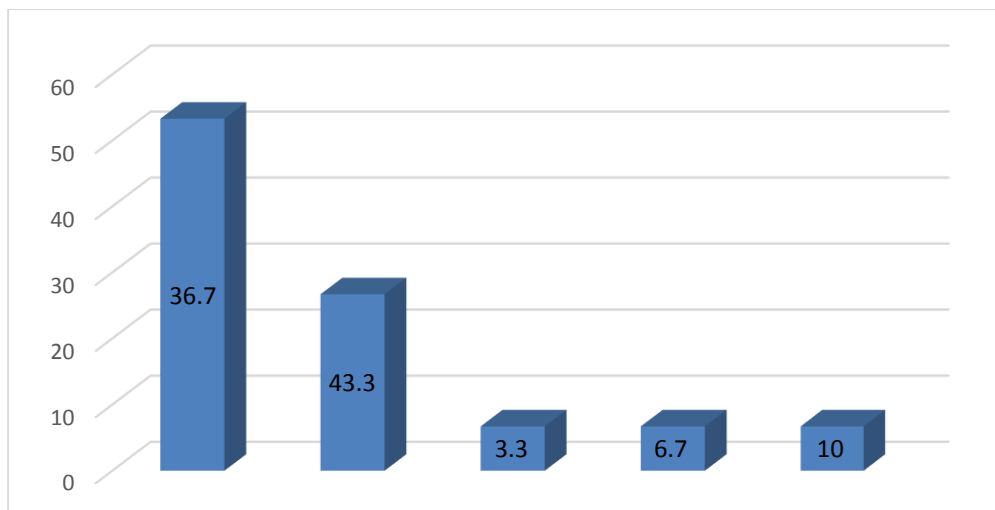


Figure (4.19)

From the above table and figure. It is clear that there are (11) persons in the sample of study (36.7%) answered strongly agree with "The economic dominance of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk." There are (13) persons (43.3%) answered agree (1) person (3.3%) answered neutral, (2) persons (6.7%) answered disagree and (3) persons (10.0%) answered strongly disagree.

**Statement No.(20 )**

The political dominance of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk

Table No. (4.20 ) The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents' Answers of statement No.(20)

Variables	Frequency	Percent%
Strongly agree	10	33.3
agree	14	46.7
neutral	2	6.7
disagree	2	6.7
Strongly disagree	2	6.7
Total	30	100.0

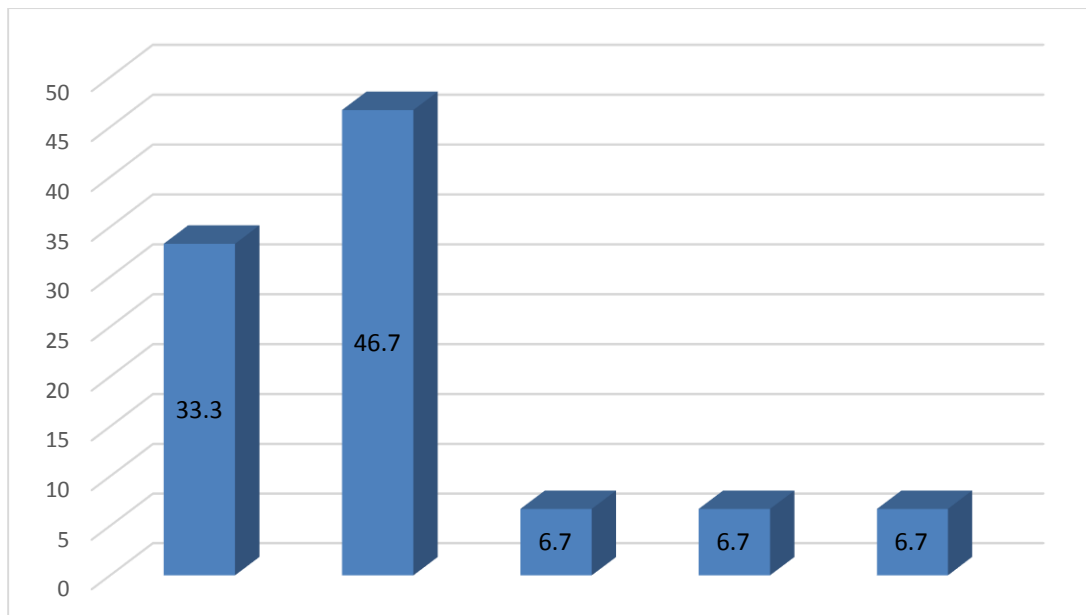


Figure ( 4.20)

From the above table and figure. It is clear that there are (10) persons in the sample of the study with percentage (33.3%) answered strongly agree with "The political dominance of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk". There are (14) persons with percentage (46.7%) answered agree, (2) persons with percentage (6.7%) answered neutral, (2) persons with percentage (6.7%) answered disagree and (2) persons with percentage (6.7%) answered strongly disagree.

**Chi-Square Test Results for Respondents' Answers of the study**

**Hypothesis No (2) :** Culture values can linguistically shape political stances of non-Arab participants (pro West) on T.V. show talk.

No.	Statements	mean	SD	Chi square	p-value
11	Lexical features of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.	3.6	.80	22	00.23
12	Semantic features of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.	3.4	.50	28	00.10
13	Standard syntax of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.	3.6	.80	29	00.23
14	The use of technical terms of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.	2.4	.50	28	00.10
15	Everyday terms of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.	3.3	.70	23	00.06

<b>16</b>	The social innovation of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.	<b>2.4</b>	<b>1.9</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>0.00</b>
<b>17</b>	The cultural expressions of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.	<b>2.5</b>	<b>2.6</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>0.03</b>
<b>18</b>	Modern thinking of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.	<b>2.4</b>	<b>2.4</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>0.00</b>
<b>19</b>	The economic dominance of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk	<b>3</b>	<b>.80</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>0.00</b>
<b>20</b>	The political dominance of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk	<b>2.9</b>	<b>1.6</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>0.00</b>

**Source: The researcher from applied study, SPSS 24**

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers statement No. (11) was (22) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (4.12) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement " Lexical features of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.".

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No. (12) was (28) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (4.12) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement " Semantic features of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk".

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No. (13) was (29) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (4.12) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement " Standard syntax of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk".

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No. (14) was (28) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (4.12) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement " The use of technical terms of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk".

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No. (15) was (23) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (4.12) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement " Everyday terms of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk".

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No. (16) was (12) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (8.57) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement " The social innovation of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk."

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No (17) was (17) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (8.57) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement " The cultural expressions of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk'".

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement (18) was (13) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (8.57) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of the respondents, which support the respondent who agreed with the statement" Modern thinking of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk ".

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No. (19) was (25) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (8.57) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement " The economic dominance of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk'".



The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No. (20) was (20) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (8.57) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement "The political dominance of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk."

The above findings of the questionnaire revealed that culture values can linguistically shape political stances of non-Arab participants (pro West) on TV show talk to a great extent. According to the results of the second part of the questionnaire we can say that the second hypothesis of the study has been confirmed.

The above findings of the second part of the questionnaire coincide with the following studies:

Smith and Kurthen (2007) argued, " The existence of arbitrary and language-specific syntactic and referential options for conveying a proposition requires a level of linguistic competence beyond sentential syntax and semantics". Similarly, Prince(1992) remarked that sentential grammars alone are not capable of constraining the use of definite and indefinite NPs .

Van Dijk (1985: 2) also stated , "What we can do with discourse analysis in more than providing adequate descriptions of text and context. That is, we expect more from discourse analysis as the study of real language use, by real speakers in real situations, than we expect from the study of abstract syntax or formal semantics.

Moreover, Salih (2003) claimed that the political dominance of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.

### Hypothesis 3

**There are some conflicting ideological expressions embedded in a face-to face discourse between two different participants on TV show talk.**

**Statement No.(21 )** Differences among ethnic groups, cause difference in political stances.

Table No.(4.21 ) The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents' Answers of statement No.(21)

Variables	Frequency	Percent%
Strongly agree	12	40.0
agree	12	40.0
neutral	2	6.7
disagree	2	6.7
Strongly disagree	2	6.7
Total	30	100.0

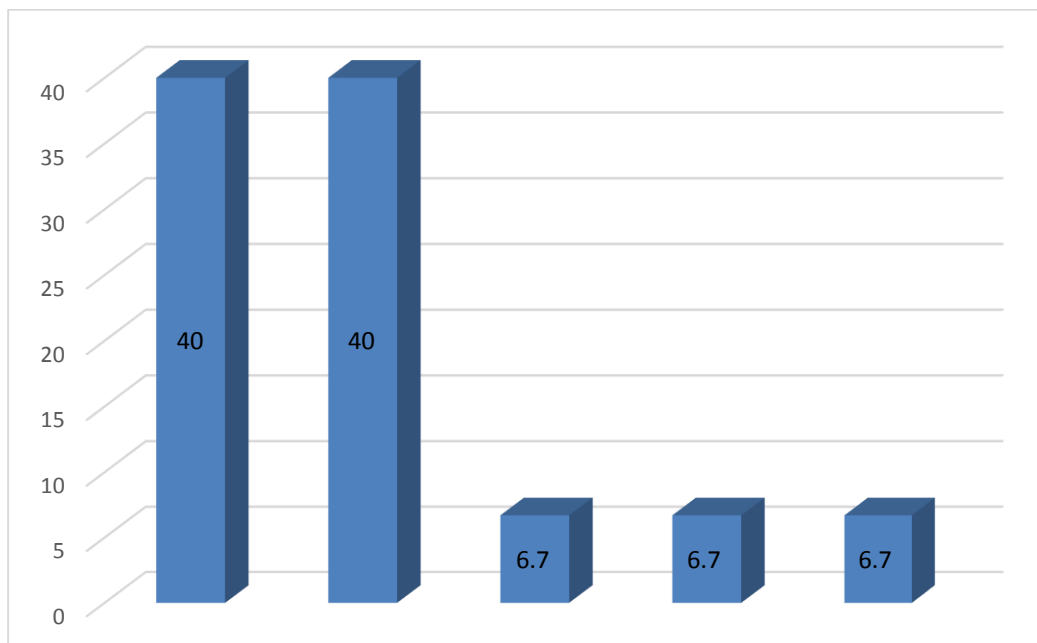


Figure (4.21)

From the above table and figure. It is clear that there are (12) persons in the sample of the study with percentage (40.0%) answered strongly agree with "Differences among ethnic groups, cause difference in political stances". There are (12) persons (40.0%) answered agree, (2) persons (6.7%) answered neutral, (2) persons (6.7%) answered disagree and (2) persons (6.7%) answered strongly disagree.

**Statement No.(22 )**

Differences among religious groups, cause difference in political stances.

Table No. (4.22 ) The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents' Answers of statement No.(22 )

Variables	Frequency	Percent%
Strongly agree	6	20.0
agree	18	60.0
neutral	1	3.3
disagree	3	10
Strongly disagree	2	6.7
Total	30	100.0

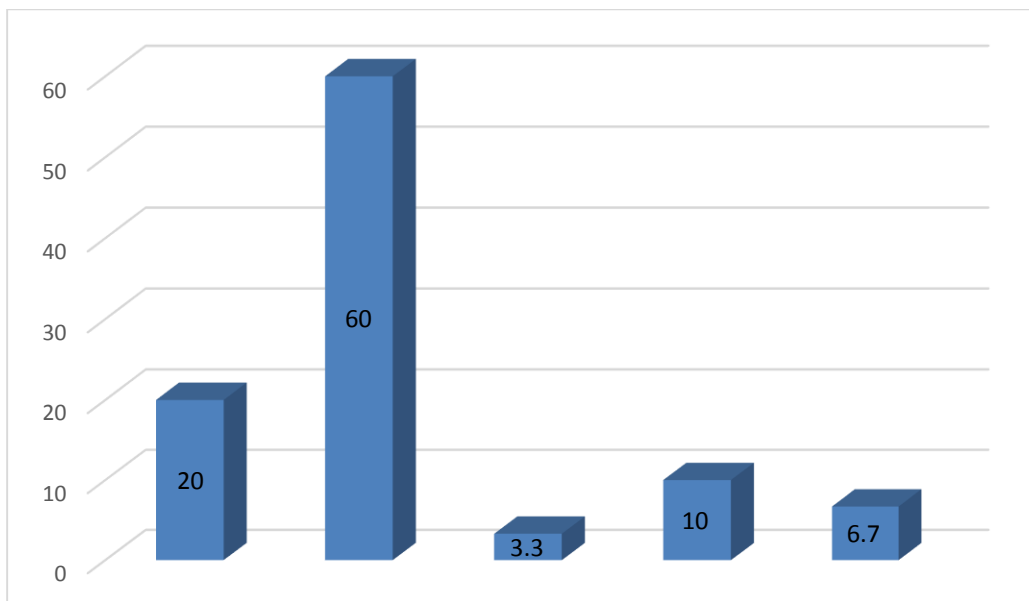


Figure (4.22)

From the above table and figure. It is clear that there are (6) persons in the sample of the study with percentage (20.0%) answered strongly agree with " Differences among religious groups, cause difference in political stances ". There are (18) persons(60.0%) answered agree, (1) person (3.3%) answered neutral, (3) persons (10.0%) answered disagree and (2) persons ( 6.7% )answered strongly disagree.

**Statement No.(23 )** Differences among various cultures, cause difference in political stances.

Table No. (4.23) The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents' Answers of statement No.(23 )

Variables	Frequency	Percent%
Strongly agree	7	23.3
agree	18	60.0
neutral	1	3.3
disagree	2	6.7
Strongly disagree	2	6.7
Total	30	100.0

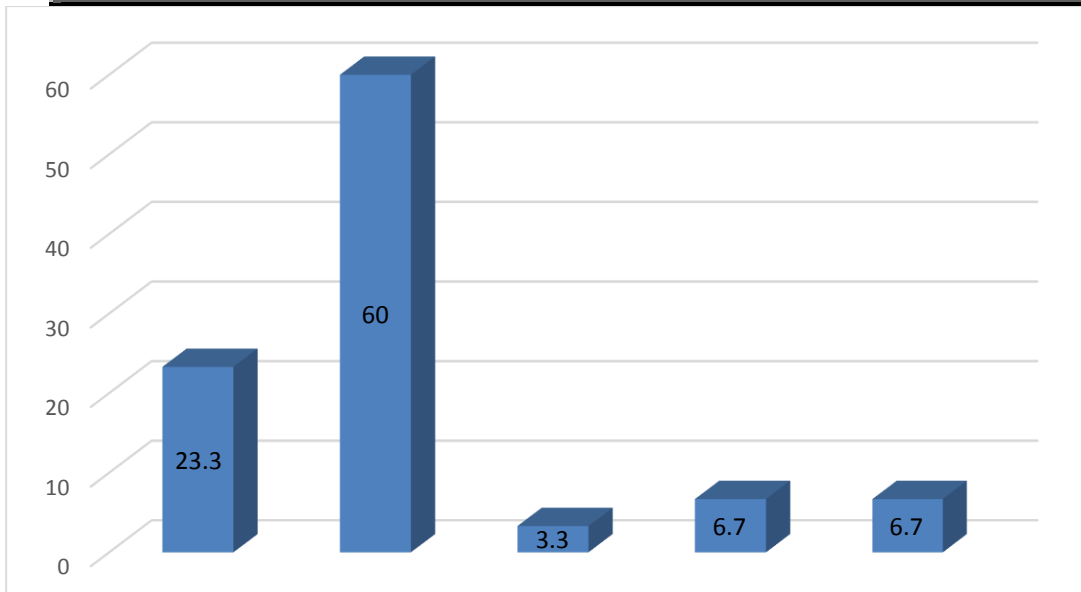


Figure (4.23)

From the above table and figure. It is clear that there are (7) persons in the sample of the study with percentage (23.3%) answered strongly disagree with "Differences among various cultures, cause difference in political stances". There are (18) (60.0%) answered agree, (1) person (3.3%) answered neutral, (2) persons (6.7%) answered disagree and (2) persons ( 6.7%) answered strongly disagree.

**Statement No. (24 )**

Economic power as conflicting ideology, cause difference in political stances

Table No. ( 4.24)The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents' Answers of statement No.(24 )

Variables	Frequency	Percent%
Strongly agree	6	20.0
agree	11	36.7
neutral	3	10
disagree	8	26.7
Strongly disagree	2	6.7
Total	30	100.0

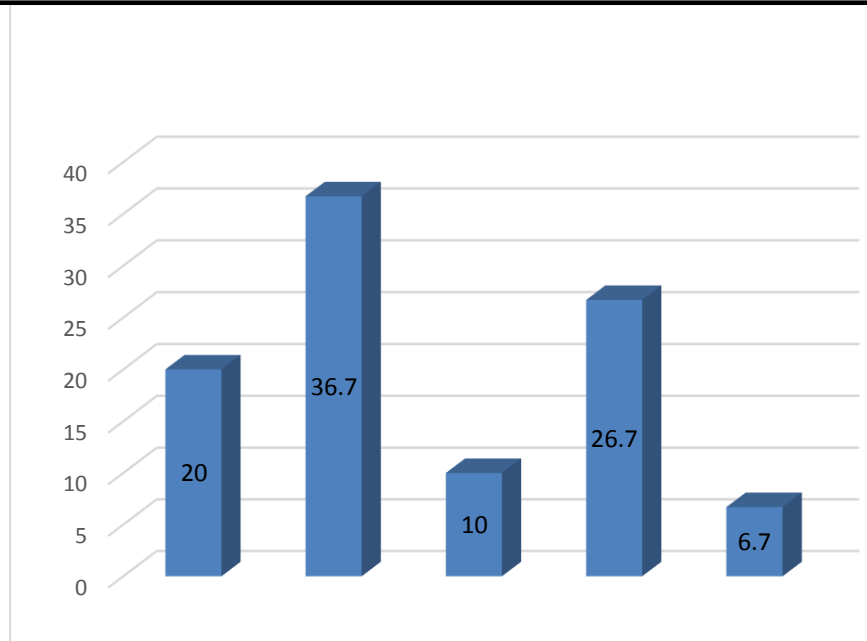


Figure (4.24)

From the above table and figure. It is clear that there are (6) persons in the sample of the study (20.0%) answered strongly agree with "Economic power as conflicting ideology, cause difference in political stances".

There are (11) persons with percentage (36.7%) answered agree, (3) persons (10.0%) answered neutral, (8) persons (26.7%) answered disagree and (2) persons (6.7%) answered strongly disagree.

**Statement No.(25 )**

Political power as conflicting ideology, cause difference in political stance.

Table No. ( 4.25)The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents' Answers of statement No.( 25)

Variables	Frequency	Percent%
Strongly agree	3	13.3
agree	6	20.0
neutral	1	3.3
disagree	13	43.3
Strongly disagree	6	20.0
Total	30	100.0

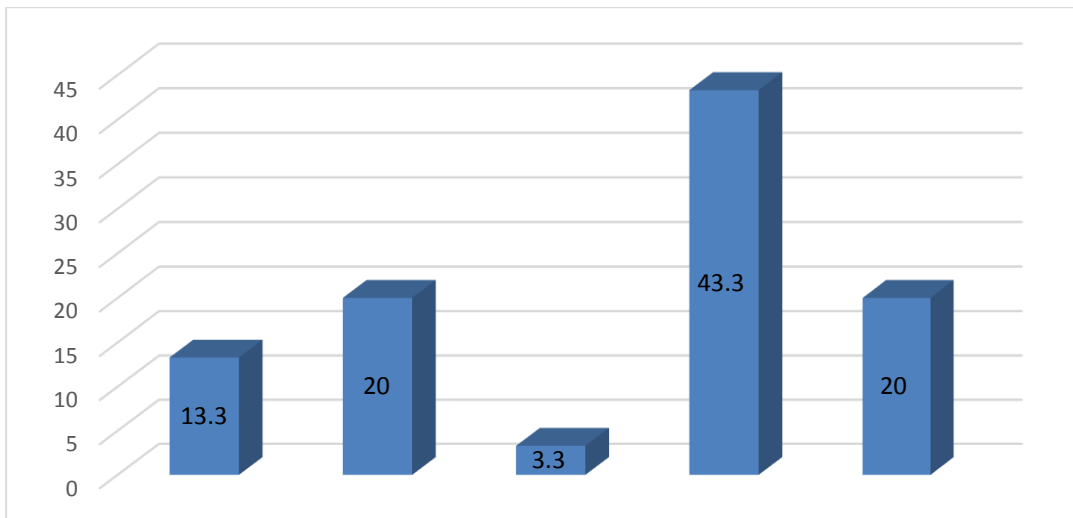


Figure No (4.25)

From the above table and figure . It is clear that there are (4) persons in the sample of the study with percentage (13.3%) answered strongly agree with " Political power as conflicting ideology, cause difference in political stance." There are (6) persons (20.0%) answered agree, (1) person with percentage (3.3%) answered neutral, (13) persons (43.3%) answered disagree and (6) persons (20.0%) answered strongly disagree.

**Statement No.(26)**

Language typology among various cultures, cause difference in political stance.

**Table No. (4.26)**

**The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents' Answers of Statement No. (26)**

Variables	Frequency	Percent%
strongly agree	3	13.3
agree	14	46.7
neutral	3	10
disagree	7	20
strongly disagree	3	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100.0</b>

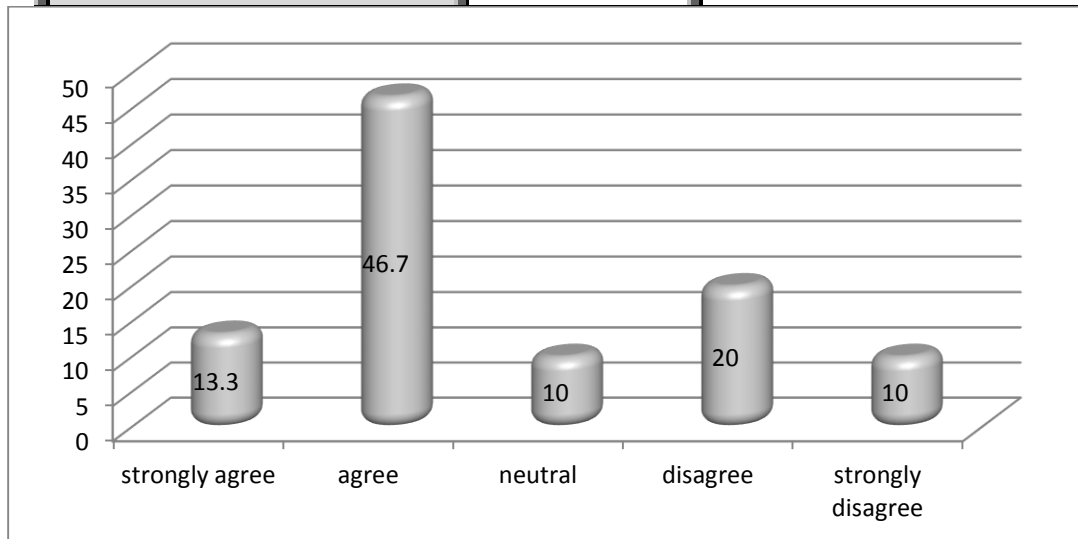


Figure (4.26)

It is clear from the above table and figure that there are (3) persons in the sample of the study (13.3%) strongly agreed with " Language typology among various cultures, cause difference in political stance ".

There are (14) persons (46.7%) agreed with that, (3) persons (10.0%) were not sure, (7) persons (20.0%) disagreed and (3) persons (10%) strongly disagreed.

**Statement No. (27)**

Misunderstanding of other religions , cause difference in political stance.

Table No. (4.27)

The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents' Answers of Statement No. (27)

Variables	Frequency	Percent%
strongly agree	13	34.4
agree	10	33.3
neutral	3	10
disagree	3	10
strongly disagree	1	3.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100.0</b>

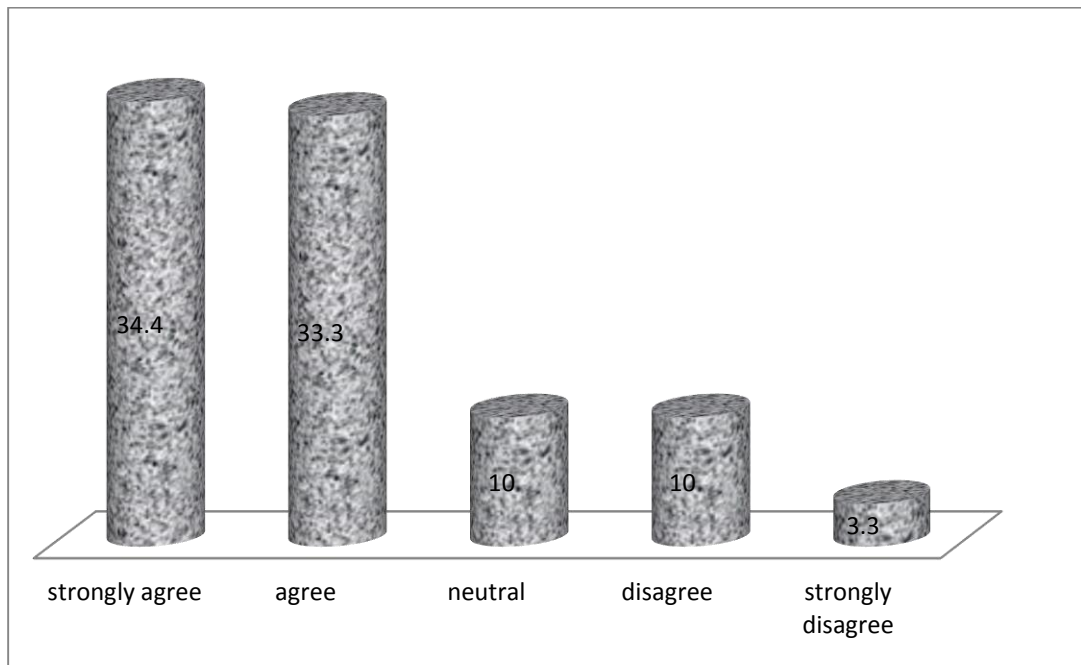


Figure ( 4.27)



It is clear from the above table and figure that there are (13) persons in the sample of the study (34.4%) strongly agreed with that ‘ ‘ Misunderstanding of other religions , cause difference in political stance.’ ’

There are (10) persons (33.3%) agreed, (3) (10.0%) were not sure, (3) (10.0%) disagreed and (1) person (3.3%) disagreed.

**Statement No. (28)**

Stereotyping of customs and traditions , cause difference in political stance.

Table No. (4.28) The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents’ Answers to statement No.(28 )

Variables	Frequency	Percent%
<b>strongly agree</b>	18	60
<b>agree</b>	10	33.4
<b>neutral</b>	1	3.3
<b>disagree</b>	1	3.3
<b>strongly disagree</b>	0	0
<b>Total</b>	30	100.0

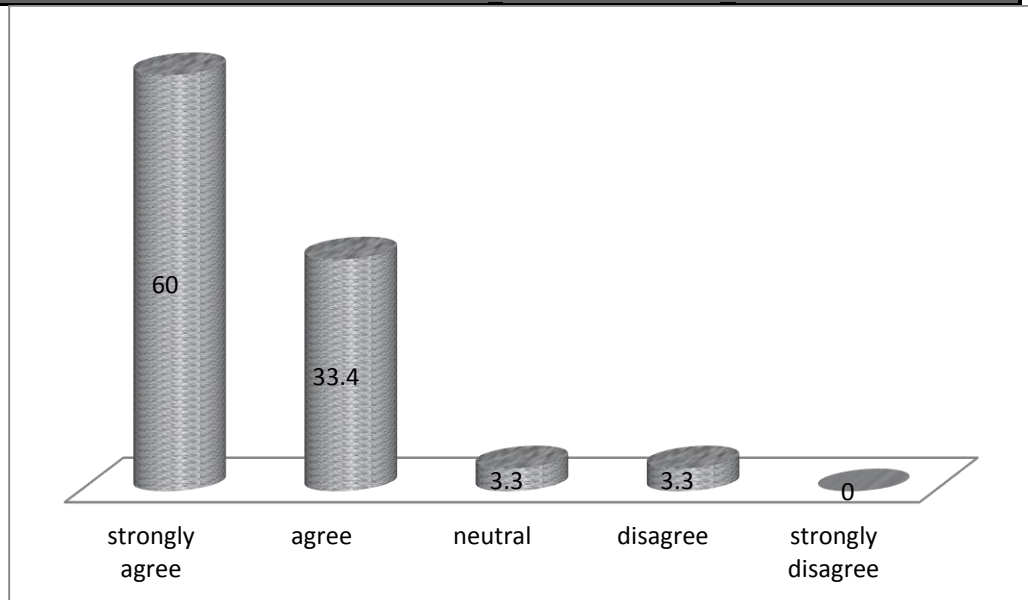


Figure (4.28)

It is clear from the above table and figure that there are (18) persons in the sample of the study (60.0%) strongly agreed with "Stereotyping of customs and traditions, cause difference in political stance."

There are (10) persons (33.4%) agreed, (1) person (3.3%) was not sure, (1) person (3.3%) disagreed and (0) person (0%) strongly disagreed.

**Statement No.(29)**

Culturally choice expressions, cause difference in political stance.

Table No (4.29) The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents' Answers to statement No.(29)

Variables	Frequency	Percent%
strongly agree	17	53.3
agree	11	36.7
neutral	2	6.7
disagree	1	3.3
strongly disagree	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100.0</b>

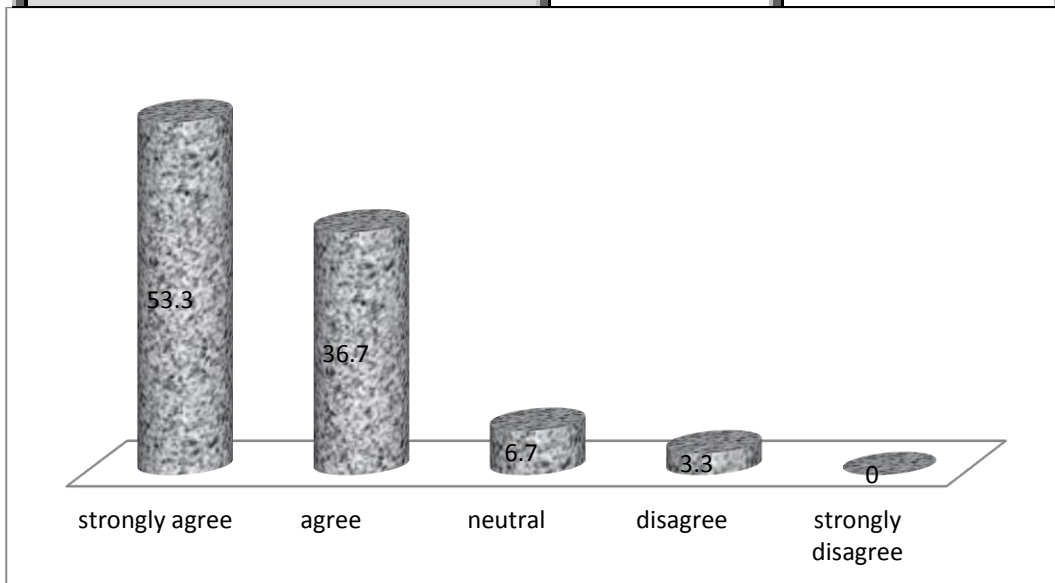


Figure (4.29)

It is clear from the above table and figure that there are (17) persons in the sample of the study (53.3%) strongly agreed with "Culturally choice expressions, cause difference in political stance".

There are (11) persons (36.7%) agreed, (2) persons (6.7%) were not sure, (1) (3.3%) disagreed and (0) person (0%) strongly disagreed.

**Statement No. (30)**

The style of discourse used on T.V. show talk, cause difference in political stance.

Table No. (4.30) The Frequency Distribution for the Respondents' Answers of Statement No. (30)

Variables	Frequency	Percent%
strongly agree	15	50
agree	13	43.4
neutral	1	3.3
disagree	1	3.3
strongly disagree	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100.0</b>

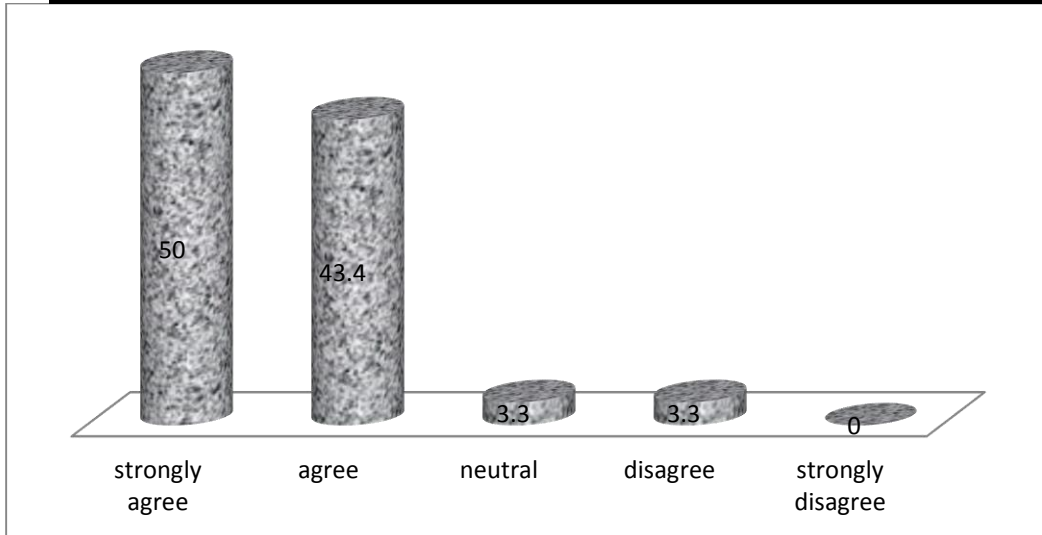


Figure (4.30)

It is clear from the above table and figure that there are (15) persons in the sample of the study (50.0%) strongly agreed with that " The style of discourse used on T.V. show talk, cause difference in political stance".

There are (13) persons (43.4%) agreed, (1) person (3.3%) was not sure (1) person (3.3%) disagreed and (0) person (0%) strongly disagreed.

**Chi-Square Test Results for Respondents' Answers of the study**  
**Hypothesis No. (3) :**

No.	Statements	mean	SD	Chi square	p-value
21	Differences among ethnic groups, cause difference in political stances.	2.4	1.9	12	0.00
22	Differences among religious groups, cause difference in political stances.	2.5	2.6	17	0.00
23	Differences among various cultures, cause difference in political stances	2.4	2.4	13	0.00
24	Economic power as conflicting ideology, cause difference in political stances	3	0.8	25	0.03
25	Political power as conflicting ideology, cause difference in political stance	2.9	1.6	20	0.00
26	Language typology among various cultures, cause difference in political stance.	3.6	.80	29	0.023
27	Misunderstanding of other religions , cause difference in political stance.	2.4	.50	28	0.010

28	Stereotyping of customs and traditions , cause difference in political stance.	3.3	.70	23	0.006
29	Culturally choice expressions , cause difference in political stance.	2.5	3.8	15	0.046
30	The style of discourse used on T.V. show talk, cause difference in political stance.	3.4	2.5	22	0.000

**Source: The researcher from applied study, SPSS 24**

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No. (21) was (12) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (8.57) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement 'Differences among ethnic groups, cause difference in political stances.

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No. (22) was (17) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (8.57) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement " Differences among religious groups, cause difference in political stances".

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No. (23) was (13) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (8.57) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of

the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement " Differences among various cultures, cause difference in political stance".

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No. (24) was (25) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (8.57) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement ' Economic power as conflicting ideology, cause difference in political stances'.

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No. (25) was (20) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (8.57) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement " Political power as conflicting ideology, cause difference in political stance".

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No.(26) was (29) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (4.12) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement " Language typology among various cultures, cause difference in political stance ".

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No. (27) was (28) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (4.12) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of

the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement " Misunderstanding of other religions , cause difference in political stance ”.

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No. (28) was (23) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (4.12) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement " Stereotyping of customs and traditions , cause difference in political stance ”.

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No. (29) was (15) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (4.12) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement '.Culturally choice expressions , cause difference in political stance’.

The calculated value of chi-square for the significance of the differences for the respondents' answers in statement No. (30) was (22) which is greater than the tabulated value of chi-square at the degree of freedom (4) and the significant value level (5%) which was (4.12) this indicates that, there are statistically significant differences at the level (5%) among the answers of the respondents, which supports the respondents who agreed with the statement " The style of discourse used on T.V. show talk, cause difference in political stance".

#### **4.5 The Content Analysis:**

A Central objective of this study was the need to assess how pronouns and, temporal and spatial deictic were utilized in this section in both Aljazeera and CNN channels to convey specific information.

Another research objective of this thesis was to regard the use of passivization and nominalization which serve to the deletion of participant or agent; this is for the sake of bringing to the attention a certain entity by placing it to subject position and emphasizing certain thematic properties.

This thesis is analyzed in political discourse. The content of the analyzed speech is a political one as the talk is contextualized in communication events. The politicians can position themselves with respect to pronoun use through which they create or make their identities specific. For this reason we take a closer look at person deixis in the political speeches to understand how group identity is conceptualized.

In addition to person deixis, spatial and temporal deixis are also examined because these deixes have apolitical significance too.

Many critical discourse analysts claim that the use of pronouns in political discourse is significant and manipulative, since it generates political stands (Fowler and Kress: 1979, Fair Clough: 1989, Wilson: 1990, Chilton and Schaffina : 2002, Van Dijk : 2002, etc)



Pronouns, especially the first person plural (we, us, our) can be used to induce interpreters to conceptualize group identities, coalitions and parties and the like, either as insiders or as outsiders. In this study we are going to examine each of these pronouns that are going to be searched for all the personal pronouns, possessives and reflexives.

The technique of deictic mapping is a good one to shed light to the participants in conversation and to their interaction. The shifts of the pronouns change the roles of participants and their interactional positions.

In the first analysis, the researcher is going to analyze the dialogue which held on Aljazeera channel by Mehadi Hassan with Danny Ayalon, who served as Israel's deputy foreign minister.

In this discussion, pronouns, especially the first person whether singular or plurals are used to induce interpreters to conceptualize group identities, coalition and the like. The most frequently used pronoun is first person singular (I) which used by the interviewee Danny. The following are the most situations in which the pronoun "I" is used by Danny.

"I can look at any one here in their eyes and say Israel is doing its level best not to kill anyone who is not involved",

"I do not know, I know that from the 62 on the 14<sup>th</sup> of May, 50 were Hamas by their own admission"

"And I'll tell you how, I'll tell you how. First of all, not to the Israeli snipers but certainly to the Israeli kids, babies and women and men who live in their own territory. Hamas is sending their people it is not just demonstration"

"I'm sorry", "I'm sorry"

"I beg to differ" "I beg to differ"

"I don't agree to that" "I'm not sure" "I do trust the Israeli military, I do trust the Israeli Supreme Court which is much trusted by all the world, Israel is transparent"

Looking at the use of pronoun I in these contexts you can realize that it is expressing sometimes the Danny's feelings and sometimes the voice of his people.

The pronoun "us" is used by Danny in the quotation "The Hamas is killing us" "The Hamas is killing and want to kill us" as a battlefield to emphasize that the war was forced on.

Danny used the pronoun repeatedly referring to Hamas accusing it as the cause of problems in the area.

In addition to person deixes, spatial and temporal deixes are also examined because these deixes have a political significance too. Temporal deixis is specifically important for the understanding of how people refer to the past or how they make the historical periodisation. The following are some of the temporal deixes used in the whole context.

"The first in the quotation, "my source is Hamas" "The first" which is used by Mehadi Hassan

Critical analysis considers of great importance the syntactic transformation which takes place in the political discourse. So in this thesis, the researcher will also focus on linguistic structures such as passivization (The use of active and passive sentences) and nominalization (The use of nominal and verbal sentences) which serve specific aims to the speakers. These theoretical assumptions play an important role in our inquiry. The following are some passive sentences used in this discussion.

"I'll also be joined by Professor Avi Shlaim"

"15,000 have been killed"

"I'm very troubled about the trend in Israeli society"

"Someone being killed"

Concerning nominal sentences in this discussion, here are some of them.

"That is normally how you hold people responsible for someone being killed"

“What about Palestinian terrorists were hiding behind innocent people who are launching rockets”

“That’s an outrageous claim to make of someone who’s dead without any evidence”

“That’s literally smearing the dead”

“That’s a great get-out of –jail-free card”

“Not the best question to ask the Palestinian”

Another linguistic feature is the use of political discourse metaphor which conceptualizes political actions or processes by offering a certain ideological views of the reality. Thus specific metaphoric scenarios can be identified. Metaphors also express distance or solidarity in the speeches of the politicians.

In some western societies if somebody is referred to as having Islamic ideologies, it almost like being referred to as terrorist or traitor as case with Hamas in this discussion. This can be explained with reference to the bitter negative concepts of these countries towards Islam. Following are some metaphoric expressions which are used in this discourse.

“The Jews are sons of pigs”

“The Jews are sons of dogs”

The second analysis focuses on the interview which was held on CNN channel by Larry King as host with king Hussein of Jordan as guest. Again the first person pronoun is dominating the whole scene. Following are some of used in this discussion.

“I would like to say to my good friend prime minister Yitzhak Rabin”

“I would like to say to my brother Arafat”

“I believe that in content of peace”

“I’m optimistic”

The pronoun “we” is also used repeatedly in this interview by King Hussein to include both Palestinian and Israeli side and including himself. He uses it many times to ensure the possibility of peace between the two sides. Concerning the use of the pronoun “I” to standing neutral sometimes the king uses “I” to express his own feeling as in “I believe”

Unlike Danny, King Hussein’s speech is free from bias. He uses all pronouns carefully to avoid any stereotyping in his speech.

Again temporal and spatial deictic are used in many situations.

Many passive sentences were employed in this interview. The following are some of them.

“The issue will be complicated”

“You will be out by July”

“According to what we had been promised”

“It’s very important to be known for every one that is election...”

“The question is not being out.

In this discussion nominal sentences are also employed by the speakers as in:

“The big looked like just matter of time peace between Israel and the Palestinians”

“This is why I enter negotiations”

“That’s why it is vitally important that Israel makes its deal now”

“The way to do it is to start taking”

Comparing the speech of the two guests; Dannay and King Hussein, we conclude that Dannay’s speech is negative towards Palestinians throughout this discussion whereas King Hussein more moderate and objective. Danny was subjective in his description to Hamas. He presents Hamas negatively through negative description. He tries to exaggerate the gravity of the

situation by using hyperbole phrases such as “Israel is doing its level best not to kill anyone who is not involved”

“They came with harm intention”

“The Hamas is killing and want to kill us, and they say we want to blot Israel off the map, we don’t want any Jews there” and this is the main problem.

In contrast, King Hussein use very moderate phrases to show that he is standing neutrally.

He addresses Yasser Arafat as his brother and Israeli deputy prime minister as good friend.

He says that he is optimistic that the sides will achieve peace in the Middle East.

He also emphasized that “Jerusalem will never be divided again”

According to the results of the third part of the questionnaire and the content analysis we can say that the third hypothesis of the study has been confirmed

The above findings elicited some findings that coincide with the following studies:

Faircloughs (1995:3) defended of the analysis of media language as an important element within the research into the contemporary process of social and culture change the second one is that talk-shows are a hybrid discourse genre which displays characteristics from conversation and from institutional discourse worthy of being analyses the third one is that talk-show can be generalized as conversational practice , that the talk-show is an invention of twentieth century broadcasting which takes as very old form of communication ,i.e., conversation , and transforms it into a low-cost highly popular form of information and entertainment through the institutions , practices and technologies of television.

They also agree with Håkansson (2012) who investigated The Use of Personal Pronouns in Political Speeches .The study investigates the

pronominal choices made by George W Bush and Barack Obama in their State of the Union speeches. The main focus of the study is on determining whom the two presidents refer to when they use the pronouns *I*, *you*, *we* and *they*, and to compare the differences in pronominal usage by the two presidents. The results suggest that the pronominal choices of the presidents do not differ significantly. The results also indicate that the pronoun *I* is used when the speaker wants to speak as an individual rather than as a representative of a group. *You* is used both as generic pronoun as well as a way for the President to speak to the Congress, without speaking on their behalf. The pronoun *we* is used to invoke a sense of collectivity and to share responsibility, in most cases it refers to the President and the Congress. *They* is used to separate *self* from *other*; whom the speaker refers to while using they varied greatly between the speakers. The study also showed that the pronominal choices and whom the pronouns refer to vary greatly depending on the context of the speech. Since a great deal of studies on pronominal choices in political interviews and debates already exist, this study can be regarded as significant because it deals with prepared speeches rather than interviews and debates.

Hall (1983) maintained that political and economic power as conflicting ideology, cause difference in political stance.

These findings also confirm with ( Snell-Hornby, 1988: Hymes, 1964) who remarked that misunderstanding of other religions , cause difference in political stance as it leads to different meaning interpretations.

### **Chapter Summary:**

This chapter viewed the results the researcher got from the questionnaire ad the content analysis.

All the hypotheses of this study are presented and verified in this chapter.

Chapter Five is going to be devoted to the summary of the study, findings, recommendations and suggestions for further studies

## **Chapter Five**

### **Summary, Findings, Recommendations and Suggestions for Further Studies**

#### **5.1 Introduction:**

This chapter presents summary of the study, discussion of the findings of the study, conclusion and recommendations for further studies.

#### **5.2 Summary of the Study:**

This study aims to investigate the role of cultural values in shaping the political stances in central Arabs issues from CDA perspective. The study consists of five chapters.

Chapter One represents the general framework of the study which includes introduction to the problem of the study, questions of the study , objectives , hypotheses , significance , limitations and methodology of the study.

Chapter Two provides theoretical background and reviews and analyze some literature related to the topic of role of culture values in shaping the political stances in the Arab's central issues from CDA perspective.

Chapter Three describes the methodology of the study .The researcher adopted the descriptive analytical method .The tool of the study was a questionnaire for (30) T.V viewers and a content analysis.

Chapter Four deals with the statistical analysis and discussion of the data collected by the questionnaire .

Chapter Five reviews a summary to the whole thesis .It gives conclusion which the study came up with, the recommendations and the suggestions for further studies.

### **5.3 Findings of the Study:**

In this part the researcher discusses the findings of the study with regard to the research questions of the present study.

#### **Research Question 1**

1.To what extent can the cultural values shape the political stance of the Arab participants in TV show talk linguistically?

In an attempt to answer the above research question, the researcher designed the questionnaire for T.V viewers to collect information about their views regarding how can the cultural values shape the political stance of the Arab participants in TV show talk linguistically.

According to the findings of the questionnaire which conveys the views of T.V viewers about the problem of the study and the content analysis, cultural values shape the political stance of the Arab participants in TV show talk linguistically , the study came up with the following findings:

- The choice of vocabulary , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.
- The use of idioms, proverbs and metaphors as cultural values , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.
- Deities, nominalization, passivization and cohesion as linguistic structures shape the political stances , of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.
- The use of pronouns, metaphors, nominalization and passivization in political speeches have significant political effects.



## **Research Question 2**

How can culture values shape the political stance of non-Arab participants on TV show talk linguistically?

As far as how can culture value shape the political stance of non-Arab participants on TV show talk linguistically is concerned, T.V viewers reported that culture values can have a remarkably positive effect on the political stance of non-Arab participant on T.V. show talk linguistically. The study came up with the following results :

- The political dominance of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V. show talk
- Lexical , semantic and syntactic features of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.
- The use of technical terms and everyday terms of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.
- The economic dominance of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk
- The cultural expressions of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.

## **Research Question 3**

What are the conflicting ideological expressions embedded in a face –to face discourses of the two participants on T.V. show talk?

To answer this question, the researcher designed the third part of the questionnaire which was administered to T.V viewers , from the findings of the questionnaire and the content analysis it was observed that:

- Differences among religious, ethnic groups and different cultures cause difference in political stances.
- Economic and political power as conflicting ideology, cause difference in political stances.

- The style of discourse used on T.V. show talk, cause difference in political stance.
- Culturally choice expressions , cause difference in political stance.
- Language typology among various cultures and misunderstanding of other religions, cause difference in political stance.

The above mentioned results agree with Kina (2017) who examined the lexical semantic and grammatical feature of British newspaper paper discourse . He found out that the main characteristics of British news paper discourse were expressivity , brevity evaluative character of articles handing to term in transferred use due to distinct grammatical , composition the news paper articles of the British journalistic were interesting and easy reading .

They also agree with Keller (2005) who remarked that conflicting ideological expressions such as political and economic power , ethnic and religious groups cause great differences in political stances.

Moreover, the results of the current study supported the findings of Mohamed(2010)and Freterikkang(2016) which have been reviewed in the second chapter.

#### **5.4 Recommendations:**

Based on the findings of this study, the researcher recommends the following points :

- Good knowledge of cultures is very important .
- The use of idioms, metaphors and proverbs as cultural value shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.
- Speech acts used by Arab participants on T.V show talk shape their political stances.
- Nominalization , passivization and deities as linguistic structures shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.
- Modern thinking of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.
- The use of technical terms of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.

- Semantic and syntactic features of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.
- Political and economic power as conflicting ideology cause difference in political stance
- Misunderstanding of other religions cause difference in political stance.
- Differences among ethnic and religious groups cause difference in political stances.
- The style of discourse used on T.V. show talk cause difference in political stance.

### **5.5 Suggestions for Further Studies:**

On the basis of the results obtained in this study, the following recommendations are made for further research:

1. Future research should increase the number of the subjects to enhance the generalizability of the results.
2. Future researchers should conduct the same study by using an interview for expert T.V viewers instead of the questionnaire, by doing so more values or norms that shape political stance will be pointed out.
3. The same study can be replicated using a diagnostic test.

## 5.6 Conclusion:

Among various studies of CDA the researcher's focus was put on not only what languages, but also in why languages presented to be such astute. Through the surface level of language form as CDA aim is to reveal the influence of ideology on discourse, the counteractive influence of discourse on the ideology, and how the two elements derive from and serve social structure and power relation with the aim to reveal the relationship between language ideology and power.

On the other hand, culture should be considered as a set of distinctive features inherent to society or to a social group as it represents spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional aspects of life. Apart from art and literature it comprises the way of life, the ability to coexist systems of values, traditions and beliefs hence there is a strong relationship between the culture we produce and the language (discourse), as they are connected together. Clifford (1988) remarked :

"While there are many times when we still need to be able to speak holistically something real and differentially coherent. It is increasingly clear that the concrete activity of representing a culture, subculture, or indeed only coherent domain of collective activity is always strategic and selective".

It is hoped that the findings of this study contribute a solution to the problems of how culture values or norms shape political stances of Arab and non-Arab participants of T.V shows and the conflicting ideological expressions embedded in Aljazeera or CNN media discourse. It is hoped this study provided an insight and helped in unmasking political dialogue to show the extent to which it can be shaped by cultural values or norms.

## **Bibliography:**

Anderson,H.& Michel,J. (1989). ). Revealing Stance Through Passive Voice. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 41, pp. 1406-1421.

Bardes, B. A., Shelley, M. C., & Schmidt, S. W. (2010). *American Government and Politics Today: the Essentials* (2009-2010 ed.). Boston, MA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

Blamaret,B. (2005) . *Introduction to Discourse Analysis*. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition . Longman: London and New York.

Brelt,D. (1995). *Finish Views of CNN Television News . A culture – cross Cultural of the American Commercial Discourse*. Longman: London and New York.

Brown ,G. &Yalue ,G .(1983).*Discourse Analysis* Cambridge .Cambridge University Press.

Chomsky,N. (1965).*Aspect Theory of Syntactic Structure*. Washington George Town – University Press.

Chilton, P., & Schäffner, C. (2002). *Themes and Principles in the Analysis of Political Discourse*. In P. Chilton & C. Schäffner (Eds.), *Politics as text and talk: Analytic Approaches to Political Discourse* (pp. 1-44). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Clifford , J.& , Simon,H. (1993). *The Culture Studies Readers* (second edition ) New York.

Cohen , L. (2007). *Evaluation of ESP in World*. [www.stage kot](http://www.stage.kot).

Fairclough,Y. (1989). *Language and Power*. London ,Longman.

Fancault,H. (1971). *Order of Discourse* .Integrated Lecture Delivered at the Collage de franch .

Frier,G. & Adwan,H. (2004). *The Israel – Palestinian Conflict in History and Civics* . Constantine: Constantine University.

- Furlough, Y. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. London, Longman .
- Ghasami, S. (2015). The analysis of Authoritative and Persuasive Discourse of Iranian EFL teachers and Their Roles of Public and Private schools .*International Journal of Academic and Research* Vol. 3 No. 2 Feb 2005 .
- Gillian, B. and George, Y. (1983). *Discourse Analysis* .New York . The Press Syndicate Cambridge University.
- Gomez, G. (2005). *Antonio Appraisal and Involvement : Analysis of the Interpersonal Semantic of American Talk Show Interaction*.
- Grifford, T. (1988). *Predicament of Culture* , Harvard University Press.
- Guy, C. (1989:2) *Discourse Analysis*. London. Oxford University Press.
- Halliday, H. (1967). *Cohesion in English* London. Longman.
- Hawkesworth, M. (2004). *Political Science in a New Millennium: Issues of Knowledge and Power*. In M. Hawkesworth & M. Kogan (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Government and Politics* (pp. 3-34) (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Jone, M. (1966). *The Jerusalem Bible. The Book of Samuel*.
- Kahargl, J. (2013). *International Languages and Linguistic – Published online 10/2014* [http:// www.sceince people sharing group.com](http://www.sceincepeoplesharinggroup.com) .
- Keller, K. (2005). *Analyzing Discourse and Approach from the Sociology of Knowledge*. University of Augsburg .
- Kina, H. (2017). *A typology of English Texts*. *Linguistics*, 27, pp. 3-43.
- Lamer, T. (1984) .*Conversational Study*, Edition of Deborah .
- Leech, G. (1991) .*The State on the Art in Corpus Linguistic* . Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Levinsohn, I. (2001) .*Analyzing Discourse .A Manual of Basic Concepts – SIL International* University of North Dakota

Ludge,R. (2015). Challenges in a Changing World – Issues in Social Discourse Analysis.

McCarthy, M. (1991). Discourse Analysis for Language Teachers London - Cambridge University Press .

Mehdi,S. (2001). Reflection on Plotocs of the Global “ Rolling News Television Genre . Circle Pines, MN: American Guidance Services.

Merriam , S. (1998). Qualitive Research and Application, Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.P65-6.

Michael,H.(1992) .Discourse analysis for Language Teachers , London-Cambridge University Press.

Mohamed,A. (2001). American Style of Journalism and Arab World Television “Anti-polarimetry “ Study of News Selection of Six World Satellite Television Channel. .Rowley Mass ,Newbury House.

Moore,P.(1982). The Stronmy Encyclopedia ,Oxford University Press.

Mutthews,H. (2005). Policy Coherence for Development Issues in Agricultural Department of Economic Training College of Dublin.

Munday, J. (2012). Evaluation in Translation: Critical Points of Translator Decision-Making.Abingdon and New York: Routledge.

Newmark, P. (1991). About Translation. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Paker,I.(1992) Evidentiality and Epistemological Stance: Narrative Retelling. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Rosati, J. A., & Scott, J. M. (2011). The Politics of United States Foreign Policy (*5th ed.*). Boston, MA: Wadsworth Language Learning.

Salih ,R. (2003) .David Versus Goliath . New Arab World : Special Report <http://english.aljazeera.net>.

Smith ,S.W.( (2005):A Critical Introduction Key Topics in Sociolinguistic-London-Cambridge Press.

Smith , K. (2007), the International Learning Hybrid Face to Face Learning [www, learning journal .com](http://www.learningjournal.com), University of South Florida.

Stone , B .(1989). *Linguistic Strategies and Culture Style for Persuasive Discourse* , London .

Stuard, J. (1988). *Culture Studies Readers ,A Theoretical History* , Edited by Dorgal Slack Lawrence Grossberg Duke University Press (2016) , Lecture given by Hall at the University of Illinois .

Stubbers ,S.M. (1983) .*Discourse Analysis* , the University of Chicago.

VanDijk,A.T. (1991). *Racism and Press* , London , Rutledge .

Van Dijk, A.T. (1998). *Ideology*. New York : Academic Press

Van Dijk ,A.T (1997) .*Discourse and Structure and Process of Discourse Comprehension* ,New York : Academic Press .

Van Dijk, T. A. (2001). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. In D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen, & H. E. Hamilton (Eds.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (pp. 352-271). Oxford: Blackwell.

Willian,H. (1999). *The World News Prison*. *Modern Language Journal*78,2:199-221.

Wilson, J. (2001). *Political Discourse*. In D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen, & H. E. Hamilton (Eds.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (pp. 398-415). Oxford: Blackwell.

Wood,L. and Kroger,R. (2000),*Doing Discourse Analysis* , *Methods of Studying Action in Talk and Text* Published- Inc. London.

Yang ,L.(1994).*University Lectures .Marco- structure and Micro -Feature in Flower Dew .J(ed) Academic Cambridge :Cambridge Press.*

Young (2008). *Integrating Culture in the Design of KTS – British Journal of Education Technology* First Published 02. June .2007 <https://doi-org/10.1111/j-467-8>



## Appendix 1

### The TV viewers' Questionnaire

Dear T.V viewers,

This questionnaire is one of the tools used by the researcher to collect data for a PHD study entitled " Investigating the Role of Cultural Values in Shaping the Political Stances in Central Arabs Issue from CDA Perspective" So your answers to these statements according to your experience in this field are highly appreciated.

Thanks for your co- operation

Name (optional).....

Years of experience.....

Academic degree.....

#### Part One:

Please Tick the statements that you feel suitable:

S/N	statements	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	The use of idioms as cultural value , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk					
2	The use of proverbs as cultural value , shape the political stances of the Arab participants					

	on T.V show talk.					
3	The use of metaphors as cultural value , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.					
4	The choice of vocabulary , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk					
5	Figures of speech as cultural values , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk					
6	Speech acts used by Arab participants on T.V show talk, shape their political stances					
7	The choice of cohesion , shape the political stances of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.					
8	Nominalization as linguistic structures shape the political					

	stances , of the Arab participants on T.V show talk.					
9	Passivization as linguistic structures shape the political stances , of the Arab participants on T.V show talk					
10	Deities as linguistic structures shape the political stances , of the Arab participants on T.V show talk					

## Part Two

Please Tick the statements that you feel suitable:

S/N	statements	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
11	Lexical features of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.					
12	Semantic features of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.					

13	Standard syntax of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.					
14	The use of technical terms of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk					
15	Everyday terms of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.					
16	The social innovation of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.					
17	The cultural expressions of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.					
18	Modern thinking					

	of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk.					
19	The economic dominance of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk					
20	The political dominance of western culture shape the political stances of non-Arab participants on T.V show talk					

### Part three

Please Tick the statements that you feel suitable:

S/N	statements	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
21	Differences among ethnic groups, cause difference in political stances.					
22	Differences among religious groups, cause difference in political stances					
23	Differences among various cultures, cause difference in political stances					
24	Economic power as conflicting ideology, cause difference in political stances					
25	Political power as conflicting ideology, cause difference in political stance					
26	Language typology among various cultures, cause difference in political stance.					
27	Misunderstanding of other religions ,					

	cause difference in political stance					
28	Stereotyping of customs and traditions , cause difference in political stance.					
29	Culturally choice expressions , cause difference in political stance					
30	The style of discourse used on T.V. show talk, cause difference in political stance.					

**Appendix (2)**  
**Aljazeera Context**  
**From head to head**

Transcript: Danny Ayalon on who is to blame for Gaza

Read the full transcript of our discussion with the Former Israeli Deputy FM about Gaza and Israel's nuclear programme.

Mehdi Hasan: I'm Mehdi Hasan and I've come to the Oxford Union to go Head to Head with Danny Ayalon, who served as Israel's deputy foreign minister, ambassador to the United States and adviser to Prime Ministers Sharon, Barak and Netanyahu. I'll challenge him on whether Israel's shooting of Palestinian protesters is moral or legal and I'll ask him not only about Iran's nuclear programme but Israel's own nuclear weapons.

Mehdi Hasan - Tonight, I'll also be joined by Professor Avi Shlaim; the renowned Israeli-British historian, Paul Charney, chairman of the UK Zionist Federation, and Diana Buttu, the Palestinian lawyer and former adviser to the PLO.

Mehdi Hasan: Ladies and gentlemen, please welcome Danny Ayalon. Currently, he heads "The Truth about Israel", a Zionist advocacy organisation.

Mehdi Hasan: Thank you for coming.

Danny Ayalon: Thank you, thank you very much.

Mehdi Hasan: Danny Ayalon, on May 14th of this year, the Israeli government celebrated the 70th anniversary of your country's independence at the opening of the new US embassy in Jerusalem, I believe you were there as well, at that event, while over in Gaza on that same day Israeli army snipers killed 62 Palestinians in cold blood, gunned them down in full view of the world's television cameras. How do you justify, can you justify, the killing of unarmed Palestinian protesters, journalists, paramedics, kids?

Danny Ayalon: Well Mehdi, no one can justify killing innocent people, but I'm not sure this was the case, the 14th of May there were -, you're right, 62 persons were killed, they were pushed by their leaders of the Hamas, who by the way want to destroy the state of Israel, they were using them as human shields as some of them were behind them with bombs, incendiary, Molotov and other things. By the way, the 62, Hamas itself confessed the second day that out of the 62, 50 were active Hamas members. All the rest, well, I mean, we call it in, in a way which I don't like "collateral damage", but we have to look at who is responsible for the death, and the responsible is only Hamas.

Mehdi Hasan: Here's a question to you; 143 Palestinians at least, and the count keeps changing because Israelis keep killing more, have died since March 30th, since the beginning of the so-called "Great March of Return". Fifteen thousand Palestinians, let's just be clear, 15,000 have been wounded, 4,000 of them according to the United Nations were shot with live ammunition. Are you telling us, are you telling the Oxford Union audience here, the audience at home, that those 15,000 people were all members of Hamas? Seriously?



Danny Ayalon: Mehdi Hasan, I can look at anyone here in their eyes and say Israel is doing its level best not to kill anyone who is not involved. It's very important to know who is responsible here, because -.

Mehdi Hasan: Is it not the-, is it not the responsibility of the people pulling the trigger? That's normally how you hold people responsible for someone being killed.

Danny Ayalon: No. Well -, well -, well, how do you define pulling the trigger?

Mehdi Hasan: Um -.

Danny Ayalon: If you have the Hamas people -.

Mehdi Hasan: A man with a gun -.

Danny Ayalon: Yeah -.

Mehdi Hasan: Aims at a child from a 150 metres away and shoots him in the head.

Danny Ayalon: What about -, what about Palestinian terrorists were hiding behind innocent people who are launching rockets. Who are launching rockets!

Mehdi Hasan: OK, well it -, well it's a simple question. 15,000 wounded, how many of them were either members of Hamas, slash, terrorists?

Danny Ayalon: I do not know. I know that from the 62 on the 14th of May, 50 were Hamas by their own admission. On the other -.

Mehdi Hasan: No, we don't know that because there hasn't been an investigation.

Danny Ayalon: The facts are (overtalking) no -.

Mehdi Hasan: You got their Hamas membership forms from their bodies? What -, what's the facts?

Danny Ayalon: No. The facts are -, the facts are that Hamas leadership, sometimes at gunpoint, are sending those poor Hamas -, th -, those poor Gazan people to the borders. Now, [what is this] -.

Mehdi Hasan: What evidence for that? The UN doesn't say that; human rights groups don't say that.

Mehdi Hasan: Let's come back to the -, the shootings here. Even if they were all members of Hamas, even if all 15,000 people are, you do realise that under international law and basic morality you can't shoot people for being members of a group, no matter what group it is. You can only shoot them when they pose an imminent threat to you. Were 15,000 people posing an imminent threat to Israeli snipers?

Danny Ayalon: Yes, they were. Yes, they were.

Mehdi Hasan: OK.

Danny Ayalon: And I'll tell you how, I'll tell you how. First of all, not to the Israeli snipers but certainly to the Israeli kids and babies and women and men who live in their own territory. Hamas is sending their people, it's not just demonstration -.

Mehdi Hasan: Countless Palestinians at the protest have been interviewed and they said, "We weren't sent by Hamas."

Danny Ayalon: Just go into the blogs -.

Mehdi Hasan: But they're all liars, are they?

Danny Ayalon: Just go to the blogs of Hamas where they say, “The Jews are sons of pigs and sons of dogs, and they have a -.”

Mehdi Hasan: And you’re now quoting them as a reliable source, that’s my favourite -.

Danny Ayalon: No!

Mehdi Hasan: I’ve interviewed so many Israelis, you’re the first to come here and say -.

Danny Ayalon: No!

Mehdi Hasan: “My source is Hamas.” The first.

Danny Ayalon: Of course, it is.

Danny Ayalon: Of course, it -.

Mehdi Hasan: In 10 years of doing this.

Danny Ayalon: Of course, it is.

Mehdi Hasan: Wow.

Danny Ayalon: Because all you have to do is to see what they say. I -, I just -.

Mehdi Hasan: Well no, how about we look at -, how about we look at some facts rather than your -, your kind of dodgy blogs?

Danny Ayalon: I just quote Hamas.

Mehdi Hasan: Let’s -, let me ask you this. Well, look, I’ll just quote the people who died and their family members. What threat did Razan al-Najjar, 21-year-old volunteer paramedic who was shot while wearing a white uniform in the chest, a hundred meters away from the fence, what threat did she pose to Israeli snipers?

Danny Ayalon: Wait a minute. This is something I really looked into, OK? She -.

Mehdi Hasan: I’m glad someone did.

Danny Ayalon: Yes. She was having an incendiary bomb, and there is an investigation by the IDF, so she was a threat. But I have another questions for you; why -.

Mehdi Hasan: Where’s your -, hold on, no, no, before -.

Danny Ayalon: Why was she -, why was she going into a-, it’s a warzone!

Mehdi Hasan: Why? You know why she was going, because you’re killing her people and she’s a paramedic.

Mehdi Hasan: Can you tell me how many Israelis were killed by Palestinian protesters since March the 30th? Simple question.

Danny Ayalon: You know, again, I didn’t check it but, you know -.

Mehdi Hasan: Zero. But you are the ones under threat.

Danny Ayalon: No, no, no. I want to a -, why is it that no Israeli was killed? ‘Cause the Israeli government, elected democratically, is defending them. Hamas people, not defending the people -.

Mehdi Hasan: Palestinians don’t get a right to self-defence, do they?

Danny Ayalon: No, no, no, they are sending them to die.

Danny Ayalon: Listen, it’s a culture of death.

Mehdi Hasan: You keep saying they were sent to their death -.

Danny Ayalon: Yes.

Mehdi Hasan: As if Israelis have no agency. You were forced to pull the trigger. You just shot them because Hamas whispered in your ears to shoot them.

Danny Ayalon: No.

Mehdi Hasan: You could choose not to kill people at a fence who are just damaging a fence allegedly, as the UN, the EU, international lawyers have said. No other country shoots people in this way, in the back as they're running away.

Danny Ayalon: Mehdi Hasan, I'm sorry if I show some impatience, but it's not a human rights situation. It's an area in conflict. It's an armed conflict, absolutely!

Mehdi Hasan: [Oh I see,] it's a warzone, there's no human rights, you could do whatever you want!

Danny Ayalon: Well, there is -, there is -.

Mehdi Hasan: Is that what Israel's position is?

Danny Ayalon: There is laws of [war] -.

Mehdi Hasan: Shoot people in the back, shoot nurses, shoot kids.

Danny Ayalon: Listen, listen -.

Mehdi Hasan: Shoot journalists.

Danny Ayalon: I'll ask -, you have a border, you have thousands of people stampeding over to your borders with knives in their hands, with bombs, and you know that you have kindergartens, you have schools, [you have to save] people.

Mehdi Hasan: Journalists and eye-witnesses say there were not thousands of people with bombs, that is a false statement Danny and you know it.

Danny Ayalon: Out of these thousands, it's enough that one has a bomb, but -, but more -.

Mehdi Hasan: OK, I'm glad you've gone from thousands to one.

Danny Ayalon: But -, no, no! I -, no.

Mehdi Hasan: Good, we're getting somewhere.

Danny Ayalon: No, you're putting words in my mouth.

Mehdi Hasan: I'm putting your own words in your own mouth.

Danny Ayalon: No, you're not.

Mehdi Hasan: You said thousands went with knives -.

Danny Ayalon: No, no.

Mehdi Hasan: I'm saying that's not true. Do you stand by that statement? Do you stand by that statement?

Danny Ayalon: You know what, I stand -, I -, I said something else. I said even if there was one, there were thousand but even if there was one I say you are wrong. So please -.

Mehdi Hasan: You say -, you say this 21-year-old nurse, Razan al-Najjar had a bomb. No evidence of that, eye-witnesses say not true.

Danny Ayalon: Well, it is still under investigation. By the way -.

Mehdi Hasan: There's videos of her holding her hands up.

Mehdi Hasan: Let me ask you this; Yasser Murtaja, journalist, 30 years old, shot in the stomach by an Israeli sniper. He was 250 metres away from the fence. Why was he -, why was he -, what knife did he have? What knife was he carrying?

Danny Ayalon: Mehdi, you can quote hundreds of names, if you look at them individually, I feel bad for them and for their families, even if they were coming to harm us.

Mehdi Hasan: I'm not asking you to feel bad, I'm asking how do you justify killing -.

Danny Ayalon: I say because -, because -, because they came with a -, a harm intention. If they were coming -.

Mehdi Hasan: Where's your proof of that?

Mehdi Hasan: Yasser [al-] Murtaja was not Hamas, was a journalist, you shot him in the stomach, your country shot him in the stomach, he -, and you claim he had a hurtful intention. That's an outrageous claim to make of someone who's dead without any evidence. That's literally smearing the dead.

Danny Ayalon: No, anyone who goes into a warzone knows exactly what he's doing. They're -, they're -.

Mehdi Hasan: What is a warzone?

Danny Ayalon: When they come and attack us, it's a warzone.

Mehdi Hasan: He wasn't attacking you.

Mehdi Hasan: If you pull a gun, you aim at someone and you shoot them. Remember the Israeli military bragged on Twitter, "We know where every bullet landed."

Danny Ayalon: Mehdi, you go around a circle to the same point, and the point is that we have a border -.

Mehdi Hasan: You don't have a border.

Danny Ayalon: A legitimate border, well they tried to cross it -.

Mehdi Hasan: You don't have a border, Danny.

Danny Ayalon: Not with flowers -.

Mehdi Hasan: Danny, Gaza is an occupied territory. This nonsense that you have a border is absurd.

Danny Ayalon: Not with candy, but with bombs. Listen, well, I'm sorry, I'm sorry -.

Mehdi Hasan: Gaza is an occupied territory, the people there are living in an open-air prison camp and you're saying it's a border.

Danny Ayalon: No, no, I -, I beg to differ, I beg to differ. Gaza is not an occupied territory, because Gaza was handed to -.

Mehdi Hasan: You beg to differ with the United Nations, the European Union, the International Criminal Court -.

Danny Ayalon: No, no.

Mehdi Hasan: Every Western government. The International Committee for the Red Cross says Gaza is being treated with collective punishment, that's the view of the ICRC.

Mehdi Hasan: Can I ask a question? Does Israel control Gaza's borders, airspace and territorial waters, yes or no?

Danny Ayalon: No. No.

Mehdi Hasan: [Who does]?

Danny Ayalon: No.

Mehdi Hasan: Really?

Danny Ayalon: Isra-, no!

Mehdi Hasan: Wow.

Danny Ayalon: Because I'll tell you -.

Mehdi Hasan: You're just going to come here and say bare-faced falsehoods?

Danny Ayalon: No, the things are not yes and no.

Mehdi Hasan: So, fishermen who go beyond six miles and get shot, they just imagine the bullets hitting them?

Danny Ayalon: Listen, listen -, the blockade is because -, the blockade is because -,

Mehdi Hasan: Didn't actually ask about the blockade but I'm glad you brought that up.

Danny Ayalon: No, the Hamas is killing us!

Mehdi Hasan: The World Bank says you're strangling Palestinian territory with the blockade.

Danny Ayalon: The Hamas is killing and want to kill us, and they say, "We want to blot Israel off the map, we don't want any Jews there," and this is the main problem.

Mehdi Hasan: Your former boss, Avigdor Lieberman, Israel's current defence minister, founder of your party -.

Danny Ayalon: Oh, you -, you are -, you raise now a touchy issue. I would like to (overtalking) [refer to me as my former boss].

Mehdi Hasan: OK, well he's the defence -, he's -, hold on, he's -, he is your former boss, he's also the current defence minister of Israel.

Danny Ayalon: I'm not with the party anymore, independent, please, let it be recorded.

Mehdi Hasan: OK. He said -, he said, quote, "There are no innocent people in the Gaza Strip," to justify the killings, do you support that statement?

Danny Ayalon: Listen, I'm not in the government, I do not support Lieberman, I do not support many things he says, I -, I don't think that there are not innocent people in Gaza, there are, but they're subject to the terror of Hamas, and they're sending them into the border.

Mehdi Hasan: And when General Zvika Vogel, former head of Southern Command, said in April, "If a child or anyone else gets close to the fence his punishment is death," do you support that? Death penalty for anyone who comes near a fence?

Danny Ayalon: I -, I don't agree to that, except if he is holding a weapon.

Mehdi Hasan: Mohammed Ibrahim Ayoub, 14 years old, was not holding any weapon. An Israeli sniper shot him in the head. Did he deserve to die?

Danny Ayalon: No one deserves to die unless they aim to kill.

Mehdi Hasan: So, why did an Israeli sniper shoot him in the head?

Danny Ayalon: Unless they aim to kill.

Mehdi Hasan: He wasn't aiming to kill, so why was he shot in the head?

Danny Ayalon: I'm not sure, I'm not sure. If you look at the -, if you look at the -, at the facts -.

Mehdi Hasan: What are the facts?

Danny Ayalon: The facts are -.

Mehdi Hasan: I mean, you don't do -, there's no transparent investigations, you don't allow any international investigators in, and then you say, trust you – that the nurse had a bomb and a 14-year-old guy was going to kill a sniper.

Danny Ayalon: I do trust the Israeli military, I do trust the Israeli Supreme Court which is very much trusted by all the world, Israel is transparent -, Israel -.

Mehdi Hasan: Pfft, that's -.

Danny Ayalon: Well, I'm sorry -.

Mehdi Hasan: That's not what human rights groups in Israel say.

Danny Ayalon: Listen, I may say-, I may say things which may be inconvenient truth but -.

Mehdi Hasan: They're also not true factually but -.

Danny Ayalon: But I'm here to speak the truth.

Mehdi Hasan: Let's go to our panel that we are talking to here in the Oxford Union. Diana Buttu is an Israeli -, is a Palestinian citizen in Israel, is a human rights lawyer, is a former adviser to the PLO. Would you concede that Hamas does have some responsibility for the way in which it runs Gaza, for the way in which it incites attacks against Israel, for some of the deaths in Pa-, in-, in the Gaza Strip?

Diana Buttu: Absolutely not. Every choice Israel has made, Israel's always had an opportunity to choose whether to kill these -, these people who are out -, who are protesting, or not to kill them, and they have deliberately chosen to kill them. The idea that, somehow, we are all linked to Hamas, that somehow we -, because people are linked to Hamas that they are not human beings, is absolutely ridiculous. He knows very well that the only time that a soldier can shoot is if that soldier himself or herself is under imminent threat; there have been no Israeli soldiers killed or injured, it means that what Israel's doing is deliberately choosing to slaughter Palestinians.

Mehdi Hasan: Before I bring back Danny to respond to that -.

Mehdi Hasan: Before I bring back -, before I bring back Danny to respond to that -.

Danny Ayalon: No way, no way!

Mehdi Hasan: Paul Charney's here from the Zionist Federation of the UK, former -, you served in the IDF?

Paul Charney: I did.

Mehdi Hasan: When you see what's going on in Gaza, when you put yourself in those positions of those Israeli soldiers, do you -, do you say, "You know what, they shouldn't have pulled a trigger on those kids, they weren't posing an imminent threat. A 14-year-old boy's not a threat to me," or do you say actually as Danny does, "Everyone could be a threat?"

Paul Charney: So, as an officer in the IDF, I held myself to the highest regards and I hope that h-, they held me to the highest regard. No one in the Israeli army has got-, has ever had an

order to kill 1-, civilians, that's never happened; I've never been around to see it, I've never heard it happen. On -, on the other side of it, when Hamas tell Israel that "We are here to breach that border and come and kill civilians," we take them in Israel very seriously. It's the one thing you can trust with Hamas, breaching a border, breaching a border of any country is an act of war. Do not ask Israel not to defend their civilians.

Mehdi Hasan: OK, let's put that point to-, let's put that point to Avi Shlaim.

Mehdi Hasan: Avi Shlaim, prominent British Israeli historian, former professor here at Oxford University. Avi Shlaim, any other country would do what Israel's done, Israel has a right to defend itself, is what we hear.

Avi Shlaim: I served in the IDF in the mid-1960s and I served loyally and proudly because in my time the IDF was true to its name, it was the Israel Defence Force. But after the June 1967 war, everything changed. Israel became a colonial power and the IDF became the brutal police force of a brutal colonial power. But there is absolutely no self-defence justification for Israel's brutal policies in Gaza over the last 11 years. A whole series of war crimes were committed and Israel continued to commit war crimes in Gaza in every successive vicious assault on the people of Gaza, not Hamas.

Mehdi Hasan: Danny, isn't -, isn't that the -, isn't that the problem that Avi points out, that you keep saying, you know, "Israel has a right to defend itself, Israeli families [are allowed to] ...," but when you look at the numbers over the last 10, 15 years just alone, the ratio is phenomenal. It's the Gazans who are being killed, not Israelis, in their thousands. Five hundred kids killed in one summer bombardment.

Danny Ayalon: The ratio speaks of the ruthless cruelty of the Hamas leaders.

Mehdi Hasan: So, you don't take responsibility for any death of any Palestinian civilian, because ultimately it's all Hamas' fault, always?

Danny Ayalon: Yes, it is.

Mehdi Hasan: That's a great get-out-of-jail-free card. OK.

Danny Ayalon: Yes, it is. Yes, it is. I'm not saying that there are no accidents, which are deplorable, but the responsibility squarely lies with Hamas.

Mehdi Hasan: Danny, I want to ask you this; Israel prides itself on being a democracy, you say, supposedly the only democracy in the Middle East, yet in recent years even Israel's own human rights organisations are saying democracy there is under assault from a series of authoritarian, racist, far-right laws.

Danny Ayalon: Israel is a democracy, rule of law, you know, two of our leaders were thrown into jail, and you know what? It was an Arab Israeli who threw the president of Israel into jail.

Mehdi Hasan: When the Knesset, the Israeli parliament, passes the Boycott Law which makes any Israeli organisation that calls for a boycott against Israel liable to be sued for damages, the Nakba Law, which cuts state funding from any organisation which marks the country's independence day as a day of mourning, the NGO Law, which targets quote/unquote "foreign-funded human rights organisations", one parliamentarian in Israel called it "A semi-

fascistic law that harms democracy and is reminiscent of Putin's Russia." That's an Israeli politician speaking.

Danny Ayalon: Of course, because in Israel you can say anything and you can -, you know what, no one attacks the Israeli government more than Israelis and Israeli newspapers, and I'm proud of that. I am proud of that. Israel is a democracy, anybody can come and go, say and speaks what he wants

Mehdi Hasan: Reuven Rivlin, who is the president of Israel, not a liberal, conservative -.

Danny Ayalon: I respect him very much, yeah.

Mehdi Hasan: Anti-Palestinian stater, he says Israel -, "Israeli society is sick, it is our duty to treat this disease." You don't agree with him either?

Danny Ayalon: I don't agree with that, but I respect what he says.

Mehdi Hasan: Why are all these people saying it? Have they all gone mad?

Danny Ayalon: Because they are -, well, they are concerned, they are entitled to their own views, and -.

Mehdi Hasan: So, you're not concerned about these trends?

Danny Ayalon: No, and they are -, listen, they speak subjectively, it doesn't mean that this is the objective situation. It's not that Israel is perfect, no country is -.

Mehdi Hasan: Let me give you an example from your time in office. You were in government under Avigdor Lieberman, you were his deputy foreign minister, he was foreign minister.

Danny Ayalon: Yeah.

Mehdi Hasan: He and you wanted to subject Israel's one and a half millions citizens of -, Palestinian citizens to an oath of loyalty to Israel as a Jewish state, a proposal so controversial one minister at the time described it as "borderline fascist".

Danny Ayalon: Do you know that every American, I don't know how it is here, pledge the law, the loyalty of allegiance every day in school?

Mehdi Hasan: Americans don't pledge allegiance to Christianity, they have a separation of-, it's not...

Danny Ayalon: We do not either, we do not either.

Mehdi Hasan: No, the proposal was you had to support Israel as a Jewish state.

Danny Ayalon: Of course, but Judaism is not only a religion.

Mehdi Hasan: Oh, is it a nationality? That's even worse.

Danny Ayalon: It's -, no. It's a -, no.

Mehdi Hasan: To be asking people to pledge allegiance to a religion and a race they're not part of, and you're comparing that to the US oath of allegiance.

Danny Ayalon: Judais -, Judaism is a way of life, is a culture, is a whole civilisation, if you will. So, there's nothing wrong with pledging allegiance country. The country -.

Mehdi Hasan: So, you supported that policy which was eventually watered down because it was so controversial.

Danny Ayalon: Listen, the country that clothes you and protects you, and give you jobs, and give you money, including to all the Arab Israelis.



Mehdi Hasan: OK. Diana Buttu, you, are a Palestinian citizen of Israel, do you recognise the very rosy picture being painted by Danny Ayalon?

Diana Buttu: Absolutely not. Look, one thing that he is conveniently overlooking is that Israel is -, describes itself as being a Jewish state, which by its very definition excludes me, and the -, the state is founded on this concept of Jewish privilege, which means that when the -, when the Supreme Court, this court that he lauds so much, has faced the question of whether Israel's a Jewish state or a democracy it has always chosen Jewish state, which means that Jewish privilege exists. And we see this through everything, from the 60 laws that directly discriminate against Palestinian citizens of Israel, to the way that people such as Ayalon and others deal with Palestinians for everything from calling for our heads to be chopped off, for us to be drowned, for oaths of loyalty. What they fail to recognise is that -, that we didn't come to Israel, we didn't immigrate to Israel, Israel came to us.

Mehdi Hasan: Avi Shlaim, many would say you're on the left of the political spectrum. When you look at Israeli society today, do you worry about the trends? Do you share President's Rivlin's view that this is a quote/unquote "sick society" that needs some kind of treatment?

Avi Shlaim: I'm very troubled about the trend in Israeli society, Israel within its original borders is a democracy. It's a flawed democracy, but so are all other democracies. But if you look at Israel and the West Bank and Gaza it -, Israel most emphatically, most decidedly, is not a democracy. It's an ethnocracy; it's a system in which one ethnic group dominates the others. And there is another word for ethnocracy, and that is apartheid, and this is what Israel is.

Mehdi Hasan: Paul, I'm going to ask you two questions; one is the same question I asked Avi, are you worried about the trends in Israel, does that worry you at all? And secondly, do you want to respond to Avi's claim about Israel being an ethnocracy and an apartheid state?

Paul Charney: Every democracy around the world has its own unique features. The Israeli democracy and the "Israeliness" was built and established because of what happened in -, partially because of what happened in the Holocaust, and therefore, a Jewish majority must remain for safety and for security because we've seen what happens when you rely on the rest of the world for your safety.

Number two: Anyone else who lives as an Israeli has absolute equal rights. Every Israeli Arab has the same rights of university, of hospitals, of -, of Supreme Court in law, and everything else.

Mehdi Hasan: Diana's shaking her head. She's saying no.

Diana Buttu: The Knesset has time and again been asked the simple question "Is Israel a state that's founded on equality or is there no equality?" and time and again, It will not allow a simple law that calls for equality, and the fundamental problem is that they do not recognise my right to exist and my right to be there.

Danny Ayalon: Listen, have you -, have you ever been arrested by Israeli police? Have you ever been beaten by Israeli police? Have you been ever -.

Diana Buttu: Yes, actually, I have.

Danny Ayalon: Oh well -, well, yeah, yeah, yeah.

Mehdi Hasan: That was a -, that's probably -.

Diana Buttu: [Yes I have, exactly].

Mehdi Hasan: Not the best question to ask a Palestinian.

Danny Ayalon: Yes, yes, yes.

Danny Ayalon: I -, I really feel y -, you can check the bruises, she is all bruised up, right?

Mehdi Hasan: Let's just be clear. First, you're saying that if you haven't been beaten by the Israeli police you're an equal member of society, and then, when someone says they have been beaten by Israeli police you say, "Where are the bruises?"

Danny Ayalon: No, no, listen -.

Mehdi Hasan: I'm just -, I'm asking you to clarify what was said.

Danny Ayalon: She went to school; was she denied education? Was she denied social – (overtalking).

Mehdi Hasan: So, that's your definition?

Danny Ayalon: What is your definition?

Mehdi Hasan: Hold on, in -, in -.

Danny Ayalon: She is Israeli, just like me.

Mehdi Hasan: Hold on, black people -, black Americans during the Jim Crow era could go to school, it doesn't mean that there wasn't massive segregation and discrimination against black Americans.

Danny Ayalon: This is -, but there is not -, but Israel is -.

Mehdi Hasan: It's weird, weird criteria.

Danny Ayalon: No, but Jews and Arabs can go to school together -.

Mehdi Hasan: Do you support -.

Danny Ayalon: And they do go to school together.

Mehdi Hasan: There -, there were protests on TV just a few weeks ago, Israelis were saying they didn't want to sell a house in their town to a Palestinian family, (overtalking) apartheid.

Danny Ayalon: Fine, and how many Arabs -, and how many Arabs did not want to sell to Israeli?

Mehdi Hasan: "That's fine," did you just say "That's fine"?

Danny Ayalon: Listen -.

Mehdi Hasan: Did you just say "That's fine" to Israeli people protesting against the sale of a house in their town?

Danny Ayalon: No, it's -.

Mehdi Hasan: Are you OK with that?

Danny Ayalon: They can protest, which is good.

Mehdi Hasan: Are you saying it's good, your words, for people to protest against the sale of a house to a Palestinian family to keep the town Jewish-only? 'Cause that's what I just said happened and you said, "Fine," and then you said, "good." Are you OK with that?

Danny Ayalon: Listen, you have people here and there who I do not believe that they're right, but it is the law -.

Mehdi Hasan: So, you would condemn those pro -, so would you condemn those protests? Because a moment ago you said it's "good" that they're protesting.

Danny Ayalon: Because it's a democratic society, you can protest.

Mehdi Hasan: But it's a racist protest! You don't have to be OK with the protest.

Danny Ayalon: You can protest whatever you want! It's called -, it's called -.

Mehdi Hasan: But you condemn those protests?

Danny Ayalon: It's called freedom of expression and speech.

Mehdi Hasan: And he is -, and I'm asking you to give us some free speech, do you condemn those protests?

Danny Ayalon: I condemn anything which is biased against race, religion -.

Mehdi Hasan: I'll ask again.

Danny Ayalon: Gender -.

Mehdi Hasan: Do you condemn those protests, Danny?

Danny Ayalon: Protests as such or what they represent?

Mehdi Hasan: Whatever you like Danny, just do something! Give me an answer!

Danny Ayalon: I condemn -, you know what, I condemn any racism.

Mehdi Hasan: OK.

Danny Ayalon: OK?

Mehdi Hasan: A general statement, you won't condemn those protests, though.

Danny Ayalon: I would condemn them.

Mehdi Hasan: Oh wow, OK, we got there.

Mehdi Hasan: Last question, another one, since you're in a mood of condemnation. Benjamin Netanyahu, you say you don't speak for the government -.

Danny Ayalon: Not at all.

Mehdi Hasan: In 2015, he said during the election campaign, "The right-wing government is in danger, Arab voters are coming out in droves to the polls." Surely that was an example of unashamed naked racism towards a fifth of the population from the prime minister of the country?

Danny Ayalon: I would not use this, I would not do that, but you have to understand something else. In democracy, right, in democracy, you do everything you can do in order to win the elections.

Mehdi Hasan: That's not what I asked.

Danny Ayalon: And -.

Mehdi Hasan: I mean, racist parties do racist things to win elections.

Danny Ayalon: No, you have to look at -, no.

Mehdi Hasan: I'm asking you do you agree it's racist?

Danny Ayalon: It's wrong but not racist.

Mehdi Hasan: We're going to take a break, it's going to continue in part two, we're going to be talking about the Iran deal and Israel's position on Iran and nuclear weapons. We'll be hearing from our very patient audience here in the Oxford Union, do join us after the break.

21 Al Jazeera Media Network

**Appendix (3)**  
**CNN Context**  
**LARRY KING**

despair in the Holy Land. Our ground breaking interview with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, PLO leader Yasser Arafat and Jordan's King Hussein. Next, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, PLO leader Yasser Arafat on LARRY KING WEEKEND

Thanks for joining us  
right now, it's hard to believe that the Middle East  
With all the violence going on in the Middle East  
Israelis and the Palestinians were once on the verge of peace. But that's exactly where they  
stood in June 1995

In fact, peace between Israel and the Palestinians looked like just a matter of time. The big  
was Israel's relations with the other Arab countries in the region, particularly Syria question  
.It was in this optimistic climate that we brought you an unprecedented program  
To help mark the 10th anniversary of LARRY KING LIVE, the leaders of Israel, Jordan and  
the Palestinians came together for a historic broadcast  
.A lot has changed since then

While Yasser Arafat still leads the Palestinian Authority, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated at a peace rally in November of that same year, 1995. A  
King Hussein lost his battle with cancer in February of '99

But today we take you back to a time when the Middle East was on the threshold of peace  
and its leaders were hopeful about the future

say that the United States Secretary of State This remarkable conversation took place on the day  
Warren Christopher arrived for his 13th trip to the region

KING: The reports today from Secretary of State Christopher is that everything looks good,  
Would you report the same thing and this is an unusual opportunity for Middle East peace  
out of that meeting? YITZHAK RABIN, FMR. ISRAELI PRIME MIN.: Well, I would say  
that there is a great opportunity to move ahead with the peace process

Israel signed peace Let's first say that the real story breakthrough started when Egypt and Israel  
treaty in 1979. But then no Arab leader has followed the footsteps of President Sadat of  
Egypt, and President Mubarak followed after him

Only the change on the international scene, the crisis in the gulf, and the strong, firm position  
of the United States against aggression between two Arab countries created realities that led to  
the Madrid Peace Conference

what I, as the prime minister of the present government of Israel, started to do, is --What we  
Israeli conflict-Israeli conflict, the Palestinian-the Arab first to tackle the longest part of  
We started with the PLO leader, Chairman Arafat. It was followed by a peace treaty with  
Jordan that has got the longest border with Israel that any neighboring Arab country. And I  
continuation will be by negotiation with Syria hope that the

And Syria, for all practical purposes, represents Lebanon. And therefore, there is a good chance for peace, but still, let's face it, there are many obstacles. There are many enemies of the extreme Islamic terrorist groups among the Palestinians, the peace, first and foremost Hamas and the Islamic Jihad, the Hezbollah in Lebanon, and they are backed by Iran. And the extreme Islamism wave that goes over the Arab countries and the Islamic world

an, are you optimistic? How do you feel to date KING: Mr. Chairm

YASSER ARAFAT, PLO LEADER: It is not a matter to be optimistic or not to be optimistic. The matter is, while we are looking to have real and honest and quick implementation to what had been agreed upon

know, the election was supposed to be last July, and now we are in June '95, and in spite of that, we will continue doing our best through the talks and negotiations with the Israelis, so we can have quick implementation to what had been agreed upon

Israeli peace treaty as well? Would you like to see that-Are you encouraging a Syrian KING ARAFAT: Definitely, because we are looking for a comprehensive, lasting peaceful solution between the Arabs and the Israelis. The Lebanese and the Syrians, Jordanians, Egyptians, and others

KING: Your Majesty, your popularity is everywhere, and everyone in the Middle East seems to like you, and in this country and elsewhere. What is your role in this process

is to ensure that what we have achieved KING HUSSEIN, JORDAN: My role in this process so far will be a model, a good example to others. It will be a cornerstone for peace, a comprehensive peace, which all of us search and seek between the Arab world and Israel

KING: Are you optimistic

... optimistic, more so than every before. I believe that the experiences HUSSEIN: I am

KING: Why

HUSSEIN: Well, there is no alternative. There is no other way than for us to carry out our obligations and dignity duties toward future generations, and give them an opportunity to live with peace and security and to combine our efforts and talents and bring about the future that is worthy of them

KING: Are you as concerned as is Mr. Rabin about the extremists

appened already. HUSSEIN: I believe that there are those who try to destroy peace, as has happened. But I hope that those who belong to the peace camp will be the overwhelming majority and that with perseverance and determination, the results will be a comprehensive peace, a just peace, a lasting peace

back to the prime minister and other issues, are you KING: Mr. Chairman, before we get concerned about the Islamic extremists

ARAFAT: First of all, as you remember, when we met the first time, after signing the Oslo agreement in Washington, I had named this treaty the peace of the graves, because we were expecting that we will face some troubles, especially from the extremists on the two sides, on the Israeli side and the Christian side and other sides

But we have no other alternative but to be committed to the peace process, and we are committed to it, and we will, in spite of what we are suffering from the closure, from the committed economical situation, from everything, we will continue to be committed to the peace process. We have no other alternative but to carry on in this peace process

More in a moment with our Middle East leaders in this 10th anniversary week of :KING

.KING: Welcome back to LARRY KING LIVE on this historic night

From Amman, His Majesty King Hussein. From Tel Aviv, the prime minister of Israel, the chairman of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, Yitzhak Rabin. And from Jericho .Yasser Arafat

Mr. Chairman Arafat, July 1 is a key date for you. The Israelis are supposed to be out. You're what supposed to get ready for the elections. Are we going to make it? ARAFAT: I hope that had been agreed upon and what had been promised will be fulfilled accurately, especially you will remember the last meeting between me and His Majesty King Hassan of Morocco, in the .st of July presence of Mr. Peres, who had been committed to this date of the fir

it is very important to be known for everybody that this election was - Especially we also supposed to be last July. And now, after one year, we are looking from all points of view that .mised this will be fulfilled, according to what we had been pro

We are in need of this election, because we are suffering, not only from delaying of the election. We are suffering from the closure for which we are actually, our loss is more than .million per day from the closure 6\$

cting this to come about, aren't they? They're kind of KING: And your people are expecting ?looking forward to July first, as are you. Do you think it will happen

.ARAFAT: Look, I hope that we will have it, but it depends on the other side, not only on me

?the other side. Mr. Rabin, will you be out by July first let us ask --KING: We will now ask

.RABIN: The question is not to be out. One has to read the declaration of principles

It was divided into two parts. One part was implemented, we all saw Jericho The second part Bank. In the definition of the DOP, the declaration of principle, there are is vis a vis the West .two phases of the redeployment of the Israeli forces in the West Bank

.One, to allow elections. Second, after the elections, to help further redeployment negotiations with the Palestinians. What is needed to be done to make it We are in a process of n possible to carry out elections in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the Palestinians negotiators would like to focus now not only on the first phase, which is needed to make it .to have the elections, but also about further redeployment possible

In the DOP, there is nothing that is defined as a withdrawal as a West Bank. It is redeployment, and this is the issue. If the Palestinian negotiators will focus on what is really rt to redeploy, not to be in the populated areas, in the real sense, not needed on our pa .whenever there is a small village that will not be there anyhow

But really to make it possible to make an agreement about the first place, what is needed to then to discuss the further redeployment, I believe the first of July is carry out elections and that is possible

.The issue will be complicated. On the two phases, I am not sure

KING: Mr. Chairman, you want to comment on that? ARAFAT: First of all, no doubt we are here he is essentially saying, but at the same time I would like to remind you looking deeply to what he said to him that the second phase has to declare that we must expand, and to expand the jurisdiction, really, so the national jurisdiction, the Palestinian national jurisdiction, for the whole populated area that we can have a free election

We can't have an election freely under occupation or in the presence of the Israeli military forces

No doubt, we had agreed upon with the Israelis for the presence of international supervision but first of all, they have to withdraw from all populated areas in the West for this election, but I think so that we can have, very soon, our election free of any obstacles

KING: Interesting. Your Majesty, at this point, the world can see what this can be like. What do you think to each of these parties regarding this July first matter would you say

HUSSEIN: Well, as far as the July first matter, I really hope that both sides will be successful in reaching agreement and implementing what they agree upon, and giving hope to many people here to see things move rapidly towards the establishment of peace and the people who aspire to the recovery of rights everywhere

.I believe that that is very, very important

I would like to say to my brother, President Arafat, head of the PLO, the sole elected representative of the people of Palestine, I am very happy to see you and wish you every representative of your success in the future, and I salute your braveness in moving ahead and assuming responsibilities and leading the Palestinian people toward peace. God willing, you will be able to support you fully succeed, and we

I would like to say to my good friend Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin that it is a privilege to be on this program with you, and as one shepherd of the peace process to another, God willing that what is between us, between our two countries, becomes something that is between our people as well, a complete and comprehensive peace

We are on the longest border, as you said, but we are guarding it on both sides, the Jordanian side, to create an atmosphere of confidence and trust and determination to the Jordanians and the Israelis, in order to keep it a border of peace

This is the result of a lot of work, of assuming responsibilities, of negotiations, of facing difficulties and overcoming them

years ago, we were still at this point in time probably I would like also to say that it is 28 years ago that we were winding down one of the worst disasters that occurred in this region. I was leading Jordan.

.Prime Minister Rabin was the architect of the Israeli military operation in the six day war



ffered. All of us suffered. I believe that after all these years, we will never Palestinians su  
forget those we lost on either side, on all sides, Palestinians, Jordanians, Syrians, Lebanese,  
ce is achieved Arabs, Jews, Israelis, and it is in their memory that we must make sure that pea  
for future generations, so that the children of Abraham and their descendants can live in  
.peace in this place, which is the birthplace of the three religions

.Thank you very, very much

.KING: Thank you

outstanding guests, we'll talk about Jerusalem, right after When we come back with our three  
.this

?KING: Should the United States be a broker in this

GEORGE W. BUSH, U.S. PRESIDENT: Absolutely. The United States should try to foster  
e so anxious to have a peace that we peace, but what the United States should not do is to b  
.to make a peace that would harm their security --cause the Israelis to make security

... KING: Do you fear that? Do you fear them harming

e when he BUSH: Well, I think Prime Minister Barak is strong. I heard his message one tim  
came to America. It said, look, it's fine for you to facilitate. We'll make the peace. And I  
believe that's important. I believe for us not to try to force a peace settlement on anybody in  
.the Middle East

to try to encourage a peace. It's another thing to force a It's one thing to broker. It's one thing  
.peace in our image, on our terms

.KING: We're back, and the question of Jerusalem. We may have some disagreements here

?alem berange view, what should Jerus-We'll start with Chairman Arafat. In your long  
ARAFAT: According to what has been agreed upon, since we went to Madrid, as I have  
mentioned before, according to resolution 242 and land for peace, which means that all the  
has to be solved ,land which had been occupied in the war of '67, including East Jerusalem  
...with other territorial areas, especially

?KING: Solved how

.ARAFAT: How? As we have mentioned, capital for the two states

?on Jerusalem is --KING: Mr. Rabin, your position on Israel is

isunderstanding. For me, you mentioned RABIN: Very simple. I don't want to create any m  
that I am 73 years old. I was born in Jerusalem. I'm the first prime minister of Israel to be  
.born here. I am the only former general to become a prime minister  
reignty, will be the capital of Israel For me, Jerusalem was united, will be under Israel sove  
.and the heart of the Jewish people

.Whoever would like to raise the issue, to talk about it, no problem

At the same time, we are committed to free access and free practice, to the members of the  
to the holy shrines in Jerusalem. To the Muslims, to the Christians. And ,other two religions  
to make sure that the holy shrines to these two religions will be administered by their  
.respective church

tained the We have a special commitment to Jordan, to the king of Jordan, that has main responsibility of the holy shrines, to bring into our account this special responsibility, a .Jordan responsibility, to the holy shrines of the Muslims

There should be no misunderstanding about it, and whatever was said about resolution 242, it is better that it will be read clearly. There is no mentioning of withdrawal from all territories. There is a withdrawal from territories. Therefore, the issue of territories is an issue for .negotiations

It never be divided again. I don't believe that Our position is very clear. Jerusalem is united, in the name of the holiness of the city you have to put barbed wires, machine gun nests, mine .pins and everything of that, in the name of the holiness of Jerusalem

?atKING: Your Majesty, what do you think of th

.HUSSEIN: I'd like to express my own views in that regard

I believe that the issue of Jerusalem, in any event, is to be discussed between our Palestinian .brother and the Israelis, in the later stages of the agreements they have had

we concerned, the holy places in Jerusalem, the old city, is certainly But as far as we are occupied territory, but beyond that, I believe that in a context of peace, it should become in the that regard the city of peace. The city of the coming together of all believers in God in the essence of peace, and there should be no sovereignty over these holy places, of one or the .other

But it should be the area where the followers of the three great monotheistic religions come .together to represent peace between them for all times to come

In terms of the Arab side of the city, it was occupied in June of '67, and therefore I don't see a Jerusalem divided by barbed wires or tanks or anything of the sort. But hopefully, in time, and Palestinians will also be a this very sensitive problem will be discussed and addressed, an .very, very important element in it. After all, it is their area and their cause and their case

We will do whatever we can to help, but I hope that they will be able, together with the .peace between Palestinians and Israelis as well Israelis, to make Jerusalem a city of

... KING: Mr. Chairman Arafat, do you think

ARAFAT: First of all, I would like to remind everybody that not only one person had been born in Jerusalem, born in Jerusalem. Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians also have been born and when he was born in Jerusalem, Mr. Rabin, his nationality was a Palestinian. Yes. .Because Palestinian was under the British mandate

At the same time, we are looking not only for religious reasons. We are looking for political our jurisdiction. And at the same time, we don't want to divide the city. Why not ,reasons .have one capital for two states? One capital for two states

.KING: Mr. Rabin, Mr. Arafat says you're a Palestinian. Is that fair? One capital, two states believe that, first, we have to reach an agreement as it is defined in the RABIN: Well, I believe .declaration of principle

I am the first prime minister of Israel that is ready not to adopt (UNINTELLIGIBLE) government, philosophy of the whole land of Israel be a Jewish state, and therefore not to annex over 2 million Palestinians I would like Israel to national -who live in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to Israel, which will make Israel a bi state, against the will of the Palestinians le, and next to Israel should be a Palestinian entity I recognize that there is a Palestinian people that I don't want to define it now

This is why I enter negotiations with Chairman Arafat, the leader of the PLO, the between our representative of the Palestinian people, with the purpose to have coexistence .two entities, Israel as a Jewish state and Palestinian state, entity, next to us, living in peace How will it develop? What will be the boundaries? What will be the future of Jerusalem? It's NINTELLIGIBLE), the opposition to my not the major issue. I accept, in principle, what (U government, don't accept that there is a need to divide between the Palestinian entity and the .Gaza Strip and parts of the West Bank and Israel the Palestinian We have to recognize that there is a Palestinian entity, that the PLO and .Authority has to run their life

.KING: Excuse me, Mr. Prime Minister

More in a moment with our Middle East leaders in this 10th anniversary week of LARRY .KING LIVE. Don't go away

East, in the 90's, will RICHARD NIXON, FMR. U.S. PRESIDENT: I would say the Middle be the area of the greatest opportunity for progress toward peace and progress, and the .greatest opportunity for disaster

It is the prime candidate for nuclear war, because the Israelis have nuclear weapons. I'm not .ou how I know, but I know thatgoing to tell y

.KING: As a former president, I'm going to take your word

NIXON: Others in the area are going to get them. There's no question about it. By hook or ther than waiting crook. That is why it is vitally important that Israel make its deal now, ra .until later, when its potential adversaries will have the power to threaten its existence

.KING: Welcome back

Tonight we're rebroadcasting a historic program. It was the first and to our knowledge the dan and the Palestinians appeared together on the same only time the leaders of Israel, Jor .program

Today, the Mideast seems trapped in a vicious cycle of violence, but in June of 1995 the .mood was very different

ader Yasser Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Jordan's King Hussein and Palestinian le .Arafat all believed that peace in the Holy Land was almost at hand

.KING: A personal question for each of our guests, and then more issue related questions ?Your Majesty King Hussein, you are 60 years old. You are in good health now es, thank you very much, indeed. It appears that I am in good health. I have HUSSEIN: Y .gotten over the cancer problem that I had, and the rest is in the hands of God

KING: Mr. Chairman Arafat, 66 years old. Are you in good health? ARAFAT: I thank God but at the same time I have to say to His Majesty, my best wishes and best regards, and also I send it to Prime Minister Rabin. And I hope that all of us will continue in this line, until we will be able to achieve what our people are looking to have, the comprehensive, lasting peace resolution in the area

KING: Does that mean, Mr. Arafat, that when there are elections in your area among the Palestinians, you will definitely run for the presidency

question. You have to respect the ARAFAT: See, you haven't the right to ask me this democracy. What will be the result of the election, we will respect it

KING: But you will run

ARAFAT: I think it depends on my critics, if they want me to run, I will run it years old. Are you going to seek reelection 73 KING: Mr. Rabin, Mr. Prime Minister, you are next year

RABIN: I don't believe that this is the time to speak about it I intend to continue what I have started. I brought about dramatic change in the by first making the agreement with the interrelationships between the Arab world and Israel PLO, the representative of the Palestinians, mutual recognition between the PLO and Israel, and above all, signing the peace treaty between Jordan and Israel, hoping to continue it with and with the Syrians on the other the Palestinians on one hand, a

KING: Are you in good health

RABIN: I am healthy. I wish all my colleagues to the peace process to be healthy. I admire King Hussein his courage in leading his country for a long time. I appreciate the Chairman his courage to take the decision to enter into negotiations with us Arafat for

And let's hope that this will be the way that we will solve our problems, in the time that we have, and the time is in our hands, and the results are dependent on what we will do

More in a moment with our Middle East leaders in this 10th anniversary week of KING LARRY KING LIVE. Don't go away

BILL CLINTON, FMR. U.S. PRESIDENT: If we could succeed in bringing a comprehensive of that peace to all the people peace to the Middle East, and then we could bring the benefits who live there, I believe that that would help us to defeat terrorism in all continents in the next century. I think it's a huge deal for all the people of the world

ght on this show, the president of KING: Mr. Rabin, Mr. Prime Minister of Israel, Monday ni the United States, President Clinton, said he had no doubt that Assad is serious and that you and he will have peace. Do you have no doubts

ns to have RABIN: Well, I always have a doubt on one hand, and at the same time, expectatio .it in a better way

The problem with Syria is that Syria doesn't want to talk with us on a bilateral basis, only under the auspices of the United States

and , We appreciate the efforts of the United States, of the president, of the secretary of state we are ready to find, in terms of formalities, any form of talks, but we have to overcome the

differences between Syria and Israel, to reach peace. I try my best, and I don't want to speculate

the prophets came from this region. But we say in Israel that in accordance to the Bible, all that it's not advisable now days to become a prophet, what will happen here

We try our best to reach peace. We are ready to compromise. We are ready to take calculated risks, but for a peace that will give us security

?G: Would you invite Mr. Assad to Israel

RABIN: I have invited many times, but so far not a president of Syria, not a foreign minister of Syria, no members of the Syrian government was ready to meet any Israeli counterpart. between, serves in Washington, under its umbrella, the -The United States serves as a go .director in the presence of the American officials

.We accept every form or way to talk to the Syrians how to achieve peace

?KING: So you would invite Mr. Assad to Israel

President Assad to come to Jerusalem and to speak with me, with our RABIN: I invite now parliament, with whomever he wants to speak in Israel and in the territories among the .Palestinians

?KING: Your Majesty, should Assad go to Israel

is, obviously, with the help of the United States, HUSSEIN: I think that what should happen progress must be made, and I hope that dialogue between the two sides at the very highest levels can be established, because this would help remove many of the obstacles, many of the .d create a better atmosphere for peacebarriers and walls an

But I am very optimistic that with the coming visit of the secretary of state and all the efforts made, maybe we'll see some progress there. We're definitely concerned, but hopeful and .lly will go along the right trackoptimistic that everything fina

KING: Mr. Rabin, Mr. Prime Minister, the Golan Heights. Are you prepared to talk about it?

?Leave it? Meet Mr. Assad there

RABIN: First, allow me to say, everybody who is involved with the peace negotiations is for .peace

.The problem is, what is his definition of peace? What he wants is a price for peace

And may I add to what I said, I am ready to meet President Assad not only in Jerusalem, but .in Damascus or anywhere that he'll decide that he is ready to meet me

vis the Golan Heights, no doubt that the present government of Israel, under my Vis a leadership, is the first government that is ready to speak about a withdrawal. In the context of .the achievement of peace, where up to which line it is related to other issues

What will be the lengths of withdrawal? What will be the interfacing between, first, limited withdrawal, and full implementation of normalization of life between Syria and Israel? .Embassies on both sides. Open boundaries

... We would like to test it

.The way to do it is to start talking :KING

RABIN: Forgive me. With Egypt, we had, after signing the peace treaty, nine months of withdrawal to part of Sinai

Then two years and two months in which we had full normalization of life, embassies, open before we completed a withdrawal to the agreed border of peace, boundaries

With Syria, we didn't have the visit as we had with Egypt with President Sadat in Jerusalem. We didn't have the invitation of Begin, then the prime minister to (UNINTELLIGIBLE). We the Camp David Accords didn't have

We want to put the peace into test before committing to a withdrawal to the line that we have not yet agreed on

KING: All right. Mr. Chairman Arafat, if Mr. Assad asked you, and since it is your interest to a, would you tell him to do what other leaders in the past have done, want peace in this area? take the step, go and meet him

ARAFAT: Not to forget, first of all, we had agreed upon, from the beginning, to go together initiative which has been and to participate in the Madrid conference, according to this declared by President Bush, peace for land and land for peace

And according to this, we had accepted, all of us, Syrians, Lebanese, Jordanians, Israelis, are willing to Palestinians, to participate in Madrid conference. And no doubt, all of us achieve real peace

And at the same time, no doubt President Assad knows exactly what he is doing, and he will continue, as he had declared yesterday with Mr. Dennis Ross, and in his phone to President peace process Clinton, that he is committed to the p

.KING: By the way, President Assad was invited to appear tonight, and declined

We'll come back with more questions of our three major leaders in the Middle East and their effect on world peace, right after this

ENT: I think this is a delay now in making progress JIMMY CARTER, FMR. U.S. PRESID with Syria on the Golan Heights, and I think if we don't make progress and conclude an agreement with Syria before the election time comes along in Israel, that it might be ainly more difficult, on Israel to make any sort of concessions. It politically impossible, or cert would be necessary

I think, though, that both sides, both Prime Minister Rabin and President Assad, know that very strong the time is running out, and my hope is that during 1995 there can be another effort made to resolve the Golan Heights issue

I think that in itself would help a great deal to ease some of the tension between the Palestinians and the Israelis

ted States is KING: Mr. Arafat, in our remaining moments, do you like the fact that the Uni? involved in all of this process, or would you rather they not be

we are looking for their complete involvement, not to forget that --ARAFAT: No, they must been they are one of the cosponsors and that we are very happy that the Oslo Agreement has signed under the auspices and supervision of His Excellency President Clinton, and in

Washington, in the White House, and I have to thank His Excellency for this. And we cannot forget this historical moment

...we signed the agreement in Cairo, it was And at the same time, also, in Cairo, when

?KING: So you like the United States staying involved

.ARAFAT: No doubt. I am looking for it

Also, in Cairo, the two cosponsors had signed the agreement, beside me and Prime Minister Rabin

.do you favor the United States staying involved ,KING: King Hussein

HUSSEIN: Definitely, I do favor that. I favor the United States involvement, and continuation with us, in terms of helping all concerned move towards bringing about a better the peoples of this region future and a better life for all

?KING: Mr. Prime Minister, do you favor he United States staying involved

RABIN: Allow me first to compliment you to bring the three of us together. I believe that the een King Hussein, Chairman future of the region depends on the kind of cooperation between Arafat and Israel to bring about a new Middle East

I am for the United States being involved, and I hope that the United States will keep its commitment to Jordan, to the Palestinians, in accordance to what was said to them

.far as Israel, I am not worried about the relations between Israel and the United States As

?KING: And one thing more, Mr. Rabin, would you invite Mr. Arafat to Israel

.RABIN: Whenever he wants

?KING: Mr. Arafat, would you like to go to Israel

would like, you know, we will have no obstacles to meet anywhere, and I am ARAFAT: I appreciate what His Excellency had mentioned and we have to continue in our coordination and cooperation for the sake of our new generations

.(GIBLEPeace in the land of Peace (UNINTELLI

KING: And, King Hussein, we all salute you for your involvement, and I thank you, Your Majesty, for joining us tonight as well

.And maybe we can all do this again soon

.HUSSEIN: I hope so, very, very much indeed, and a very happy anniversary to you

.KING: Thank you

HUSSEIN: And, by the way, Save the Children deserves every support and help as well. And greetings to all my friends on this program. Thank you. KING: Thank you all, very much

.re no longer with usKING: Sadly, two of the three participants in this program a

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated in November 1995, shot while ending a peace rally

.Jordan's King Hussein died of cancer in February 1999

.the West Bank And Yasser Arafat is currently surrounded by Israeli forces in

.June 1995 seems like a long, long time ago

Tomorrow night, we'll have a live edition of LARRY KING WEEKEND with an update on the crisis in the Middle East, and among the guest former Senator George Mitchell, who has East peace plan. We'll get his thoughts on how maybe to end this drawn up his own Middle .violence

.Until then, good night