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CONSTRUCTING ISRAELI APARTHEID DISCOURSE
IN ISRAELI ENGLISH MEDIA

Master's Thesis

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I have written this master thesis myself. All opinions by other authors and sources from literature and other resources have been referred to.

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Reviewer ....

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Abstract

The main research question of this master's thesis is "How is the apartheid discourse recontextualized in Israeli English media?" I analysed the corpora of Haaretz and The Jerusalem Post of over 2,5 million words during the period 2000-2016 in the collocational level of word use–a method used by linguists to write definitions of words into dictionaries. The apartheid Israel discourse in Israeli English media is a comparative one, drawing parallels with the original South African apartheid system. It deals with naming a discourse–*calling Israel an apartheid state like South Africa*. The main social actors of the discourse are the Palestinians and global civil society organizations against the state of Israel, and comparatively the blacks against the white racist policies of South Africa. This kind of *naming* the apartheid Israel discourse is an antagonistic and counter-hegemonical ideological struggle against the hegemon in post-structuralist political philosophy. Apartheid Israel discourse is also concerned with Israel's occupation of Palestine, racism, apartheid policies, colonialism, the security fence, boycotts against Israel, Palestinians' struggle, binationalism etc. Apartheid Israel discourse is recontextualized in texts by drawing the chains of equivalences between discourse objects and actions, actors and events, indicated by the most frequently used verb and noun word classes. This interdisciplinary discourse linguistic analysis enables to research the creation and development of political ideas quantitatively on the level of their common definitional meaning–a very insightful research method to investigate the creation and development of political and social ideas.

Introduction

The term apartheid was originally used to describe the South African racist segregational regime in 1948-1994. By now, apartheid has been condemned globally as a crime against humanity by United Nations member states within international law, where states have agreed to treat people equally. The concept of apartheid has thus been taken over by other cultures and the usage of the term has gained wider connotations than before, when it uniquely described the political segregation of races in South Africa.

Since the beginning of the new millennium, accusations against Israel of practising apartheid in occupied Palestine have grown internationally (Falk &Tilley 2017; Dugard & Reynolds 2009; Peteet 2009 etc.). Some of the arguments supporting that claim have been for example: denying citizenship to Palestinian refugees from 1947-49 Israeli-Arab war; separation of Palestinians from the Israeli population; building illegal settlements to West Bank; implementing separate roads for Palestinians and Israelis; military check-points on roads; concrete wall between the West Bank and Israel; discriminating marriage rules and restricted water supplies in Palestine etc. (Marshall 1995; Urbina 2002; Davis 2003; Zreik 2004; Yiftachel 2009; Clark 2012 etc.).

The UN Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA) issued a report in March 2017, where it stated that "Israel has established an apartheid regime that oppresses and dominates the Palestinian people as a whole" (Falk & Tilley 2017: 1). It was the first time that a United Nations institution accused Israel of practising apartheid at this high level. However, the report was dismissed by the United Nations Secretariat within two days after being published, and removed from their webpage[1]. This incident was very significant in terms of understanding how politically loaded and internationally important this case is.

As Jüri Lipping has put it, the Latin saying *omen est nomen*–the name speaks for itself, is the precondition for every politics (2015). It creates possibilities to recognize oneself

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1. Its presenter, ESCWA executive secretary Rima Khalaf resigned because of it and said that the withdrawal was the result of political pressure from USA and Israel on the UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres (Roberts 2017).

(or not), and start a discussion about it (ibid.). *Naming* a discourse object is in essence a hegemonic operation, brought together by the social actors. Their ideas are brought together in *chains of equivalences*, applying for changes in power relations concerning the subordinated groups or the "outsiders". A common antagonism against the hegemon can be analysed as a counter-hegemonic struggle, always appearing in the civil society. (Gramsci 1971; Laclau & Mouffe 1985; Laclau 2000; Howarth & Stravrakakis 2000)

Just as in case of South Africa's apartheid regime in 1980s, the international civil society movement The Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) is today seeking for international isolation of and imposing economic boycotts and sanctions on Israel to recognize the Israeli violations of Palestinians' rights as guaranteed under international law. If Israel were ever to be found guilty of committing the crime of apartheid, it would have major political and economic consequences for the country and also to global international relations within the existing hegemonic order of power. That is the reason why it is important to investigate apartheid as a discourse in Israeli media. It is exactly in the platforms of free journalism, where a crisis in the hegemonic order reveals itself first – long before it even could become a legal matter. That is the main reason, why I have formulated the main research question of my master's thus:

How is the apartheid discourse recontextualized in Israeli English media?

I will apply as the theoretical framework of my research Ernesto Laclau's post-structural understanding of discourse as hegemony and Norman Fairclough's conceptualization of critical discourse analysis in analysing apartheid discourse in media texts. I will operationalize the discourse analysis of apartheid in Israel by investigating its objects as articulated in the chains of equivalences for filling the empty signifier *apartheid* within a new context of Israeli social practices. I will use corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis of media texts to explain the recontextualization of apartheid Israel discourse events, objects and actions in Haaretz and The Jerusalem Post during 2000-2016.

These two newspapers are considered to be the most important Israeli English quality newspapers among American Jews, informing the largest and most influential Jewish diaspora community in the world[2] (Laksin 2003). They are also a window for

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2. Seven million Jews live in USA (Jewish Virtual Library n.d.), Haaretz and The Jerusalem Post together have a readership of about 6,5 million unique visitors per month (Haaretz.com n.d.; The JPost.com n.d.).

international community into the Hebrew- and Arabic-speaking nations' daily news and prominent opinions, reflecting also the political discussions within and outside of Israel. Haaretz and The Jerusalem Post provide useful corpora for investigating also the differences within the political discourse because of their notedly different political leaning: Haaretz has been considered to be a left-liberal newspaper and highly critical or government's policies, whereas The Jerusalem Post is seen as right-of-centre one.

I base the qualitative discourse analysis of media texts on quantitative methods of corpus linguistics, which focuses on researching the attraction between words to get information about their meaning formation and use. I will analyse the collocate[3] words of *apartheid* in text corpora of over two million words. Corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis is a new methodological approach, because the software that helps to analyse large corpora of texts has been developed only recently[4]. That is the reason, why one of the aims of this research has also been to try to combine the political scientists' and corpus linguists' research strategies and methods to investigate the emergence and recontextualization of a political idea as precisely as possible.

I used the interdisciplinary approach of combining the critical and post-structural discourse analysis with corpus linguistic collocations analysis with focus on the verb and noun classes use as main carriers of information on discourse actions, objects, actors and events. I observe the changes in language use as discourse events in the hegemonic system of power relations. I focus the analysis on the hegemonic processes of naming the discourse and drawing the chains of equivalences in discourse recontextualisation i.e. its language use. I would call it a discourse linguistic analysis.

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3. Collocation means co-occurrence of words within a certain span of words. Collocate is the co-occurring word of the search e.g. the node word–in my case *apartheid*.

4. Interestingly, in it Noam Chomsky and his theory of generative grammar have been a major influence. He claimed that language has a general structure, which is not measurable by means of computational research or corpus analysis. Many contemporary linguists have proven his claim false, because any scientific research has to be based on scientifically measurable evidence–in linguistics, words and texts (Harder 1996; McEnery & Hardie 2012 etc.).

1. Background of apartheid Israel discourse

The apartheid Israel discourse is intertwined with the particular historical South African apartheid system, which was the instigator for creating the international law that considers apartheid to be a crime against humanity. In this chapter I will first briefly explain the original apartheid system and policies in South Africa and then the definitions of apartheid provided by United Nations, the bases for relevant international law. I will then give an overview of conceptualization of apartheid Israel in academic literature and the main proponents of this claim.

1.1. Origins and definitions of apartheid

1.1.1. Apartheid in South Africa

Apartheid is in its origin an Afrikaans[5] term, meaning "separateness" (-*heid* being suffix for English -*ness)*. According to Derrida, the word apartheid itself is like a concentration camp – a "system of partition, barbed wire, crowds of mapped out solitudes" (2013 [1983]: 54). The adoption of apartheid as a framework of state practice and policies is rooted in the South African discriminatory racial policies during 1948-1994 under the Nationalist Party governance. Even the Merriam-Webster dictionary defines apartheid through this particular case, as a "formal social system in South Africa in which black people and people from other racial groups did not have the same political and economic rights as white people and were forced to live separately from white people" (2015).[6]

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5. The Afrikaaners are descendants of the Dutch, Flemish, French Huguenot and German white colonists in South Africa from the 17th and 18th centuries.

6. Already in 1923 the Natives Act empowered South African municipalities to enforce racial segregation by building new locations for Africans, and forbade property rights to them (Worden 2012: 49). The discriminating myth of social division by race started to prevail in political battles for resources in 1930s and 1940s era of agricultural capitalization, fast urbanization and Second World War (Norval 1996). The articulation of political identities by Afrikaner *volksbeweging* (movement of the *volk,* the people) interpreted their interests as being different from „others" – Africans, English-speaking whites, liberals, communists, Jews etc. (ibid.: 300). Afrikaners viewed that the proletarization of Africans threatens their „traditional culture", that their wages would decrease because of growing cheap labour, and the property owners saw the value of their real estate going down because of the slums (Worden 2012: 49). When coming to power in 1948, the architects of apartheid articulated the segregational policies as „practical and just instruments for coping with the unique realities of South African society" (Williams 1998: 569).

The segregational apartheid policy was introduced by South African Government under the leadership of National Party, who applied it shortly after coming to power in 1948 general elections. In 1949 the South African government made it illegal to marry and in 1950 to have sexual relations across racial lines[7]. As Derrida put it, the "obsessiveness of this racism" and "compulsive terror" materialized itself first and foremost in forbidding contact: "The white must not let itself be touched by black" – the principle that was applied also on the symbolical level of the state, prohibiting the handling of the national emblems with national symbols to non-Europeans in 1964 to assure the cleanliness of them (Derrida [1983] 2013: 54).

The word apartheid became a *watchword* in international community only after the Second World War, when the National Party campaigned "for the separate development of each race in the geographic zone assigned to it" (ibid.). The population of South Africa was divided into four racial groups: blacks, whites, coloured (mixed) and Indians. More than 3,5 million people were forced to move to tribal homelands or so-called Bantustans, where only certain races were allowed to live. This policy and different opportunities for employment have been termed as *grand apartheid*. Political participation of non-white population was outlawed and black citizenship revoked. In twenty years more than two hundred laws and amendments were enacted to uphold the legal apparatus of apartheid, introducing segregation among racial lines in the entire public sphere of South Africa under the so-called *petty apartheid*, including in cinemas, beaches, medical care, athletic competitions, post offices, swimming pools, universities etc. (Derrida [1983] 2013: 59).

The main advocate for boycotting the system was the African National Congress, whose main goal was putting an end to the apartheid system in South Africa and giving voting rights to blacks and mixed race Africans. The party was banned in 1960, soon after making their first move in campaigning for sanctions in 1957 and continued its activities underground. ANC stated that boycotts were going to be "one of the major political weapons in this country", targeted at "total international isolation of the South African economy and administration" (Lodge 1989: 34, 38).

The anti-apartheid movement worked for disinvestment and divestment from South

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7. Under the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949) and Immorality Amendment Act (1950).

Africa, and in 80s the political and economic sanctions implemented by international organizations and many countries (including USA and European Community) put the Government of South Africa under enormous pressure. With passing of the UN Security Council resolution 418 in 1977, international efforts to harm apartheid government turned to arms embargo, which has been considered to be one of the main reasons for the South African government's decision to negotiate over the apartheid policies. Many claim that if the West hadn't put the embargo in place, it wouldn't have been able to challenge the regime (Laverty 2007). In 1989 the National Party understood that it can't sustain the government because of external pressures. In 1990 president F. W. de Klerk unbanned the African National Congress[8] and other similar organizations, constituting a radical shift in political frontiers and social divisions (Norval 1996: 124). In 1994 the first elections for all races were held, The African National Congress headed by Nelson Mandela won the elections and apartheid came to an end.

1.1.2. Apartheid according to international law

The definitions of United Nations are the basis for international actions and legal trials on crimes committed against international law and crime of apartheid. The UN General Assembly condemned South African apartheid policies annually since 1952 and the UN Security Council since 1960, stating that apartheid is contrary to articles 55 and 56 of the Charter of United Nations, in which the parties agreed to guarantee the equal treatment of all peoples[9] (Dugard 2008). The General Assembly of United Nations labelled apartheid as a crime against humanity in its resolution in 1966.

The parties of the International Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Racial Discrimination condemn in its Article 3 "racial segregation and apartheid," and promise to "prevent, prohibit and eradicate all practices of this nature in territories under their jurisdiction" (UN 1966: 48). It defines as "racial discrimination" all discrimination

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8. Because of the fall of communism with the collapse of the Soviet Union – Russia funded ANC heavily and the fight with Soviet expansion was a typical rhetoric from South African government in justifying their policies throughout 1960s and 1970s (Laverty 2007).

9. The Article 55 of the Charter of United Nations states that the stability and well-being of nations is based on respect for equal rights and self-determination of peoples and for that UN promotes: "higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic social progress and development, /.../ universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion". Within Article 56 all members of the Charter pledge to take action to achieve the purposes of Article 55 (UN 1945).

based on race, colour, descent, nationality or ethnicity, so "race" in this context is understood much more widely than before (ibid.). Thus, apartheid is not measured against "races", but groups "that may not sit within traditional conceptions of "race", including non-citizen groups such as migrant workers and ethno-cultural groups" (Dugard & Reynolds 2013: 887).

The most important international agreement on apartheid is United Nations multilateral International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid from 1973 (came to force in 1976)[10]. The Apartheid Convention constitutes that:

> "Apartheid is a crime against humanity and that inhuman acts resulting from the policies and practices of apartheid and similar policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination, as defined in article II of the Convention, are crimes violating the principles of international law" (UN 1973: 245)[11].

The 10. Rome Statue treaty that in 1998 established the International Criminal Court (ICC) has categorized the crime of apartheid under Article 7 "Crimes against humanity", defining it as inhumane acts of character "committed in the context of an institutionalized regime of systematic oppression and domination by one racial group over any other racial group or groups" (ICC 1998). The treaty came to force in 2002 and it has 124 states as parties. Israel is not among them.[12]

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10. Portugal, South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States voted against it. In the Third Committee of the General Assembly the opinions divided on the question whether to employ the convention only on South Africa or on other countries too. Already by 1977 the question was solved – additional protocol for the Geneva Conventions of 1949 defined apartheid as a "grave breach" of the protocol without geographical limitations. In 1980 UN even considered establishing a special criminal court for the crime of apartheid, but the idea was dropped. (Dugard 2006)

11. Article II explains apartheid crime as: a) denial to the right to life and liberty of persons (by murder, bodily or mental harm, infringement of freedom or dignity, torture, degrading treatment or punishment, arbitrary arrest and illegal imprisonment); b) imposition of destructive living conditions; c) prevention of participation in political, social, economic and cultural life of the country and deliberate prevention of full development of a group by denying them basic human rights and freedoms (rights to: work, nationality, forming trade unions, education, leave and return to the country, freedom of movement and residence, opinion and expression, peaceful assembly and association); d) measures to divide the population along racial lines, creating separate reserves, ghettos, prohibition of mixed marriages among various groups, expropriation of landed property; e) exploitation of the labour and forced labour of members of groups; f) persecution of organizations and persons because they oppose apartheid (UN 1973: 245-246).

12. Israel initially gave a signature to join ICC in 2000, but in a letter to the secretary-general of UN, the government of Israel in 2002 stated that "Israel does not intend to become a party to the treaty" (UN 1998: end note 4).

1.2. Apartheid Israel discourse

1.2.1. Discourse beginning

One of the first times when the comparison of Israeli occupation in Palestine with South African apartheid regime was publicly drawn, was in 1974, when the chairman of Palestine Liberation Organisation Yassir Arafat gave a speech at UN General Assembly, and said that "Zionist racists and colonialists", the usurpers of Palestinians' land, are "practicing racial discrimination more extensively than the racists of South Africa" (Peteet 2009: 17; Arafat 1974). Arafat referred to Zionism as a form of racism, targeted towards Palestinian people, and appealed for "a world free of colonialism, imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism in each of its instances, including Zionism" (ibid.).

Israel's first prime minister David Ben-Gurion was Zionism's most successful leader in the 20th century, who deftly manipulated with "Bible stories to make them fit Zionism's political claims on Palestinian's land" (Rose 2004: 2). Ben-Gurion claimed that it was the Bible itself that gave him the "mandate" to create a Jewish state in Palestine, successfully relying on Zionist myths like "a land without people, for a people without land," the suffering of the Jews during the "Exile" and "purity of arms" – 2000 years of Jews living outside of Palestine since the Roman's overthrow of the Temple at Jerusalem in 70 BC (ibid.: 2-3). Rose argues, that USA and Europe gave their vital support to the Zionist project of creating the state of Israel after the World War II in 1948, because they saw the state of Israel in the region as "nothing less than a *strategic asset*", and answered to the Zionists' cynical call "Too many Jews in your country? Help us dump them in Palestine" (ibid.: 4-5).

Nazi Holocaust against the Jews in World War II played enormous part in Europe's support for creating the state of Israel in the "empty land", as Zionists described the territories inhabited by the Palestinians. A major accomplishment of the Zionist political agenda was virtually writing Palestinians out of existence: it was blind to their *Naqba*, the national catastrophe that happened to them 70 years ago with the birth of Israel. 15 000 Palestinians were killed, 750 000 people were forced to leave their homes and 530 villages were destroyed. These massacres and forced displacements of hundreds of thousands Palestinians created a refugee crisis so grave, that the United Nations created

in 1949 a special agency to deal with the humanitarian catastrophe, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). It manages the Palestinian refugee camps still running, and helps nearly 5 million registered Palestinian refugees and their descendants all over the world. Among them are the people, who fled their homes during the 1967 Six Day war. As Rose argues, Israel's...

> "...blind ideological refusal to understand the political realities of the Palestinian people has itself a dangerous capacity to radicalize Zionism, tempting it to ever greater acts of violence against the Palestinian people" (Rose 2004: 6).

This phenomenon of ideological ignorance of Palestinians' rights was defined as *politicide* by Kimmerling (2003: 3), meaning "to bring about the dissolution of the Palestinian people's existence", which was "symbolised by the policies of the Israeli leader Ariel Sharon" (ibid.). Sharon served as a commander in the Israeli army from its creation in 1948, taking part in Israel's "War of Independence" to occupy the Palestinian territories, the 1956 Suez crisis and Six-Day War in 1967 etc. He served as minister of defence during 1982 Lebanon war, and as the prime minister in 2001-2006. He was a member of Likud party.

In 1975 the General Assembly of United Nations passed the resolution 3379, declaring that "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination," and only the veto from United States often saved Israel from being sanctioned by the Security Council, until in 1991 the resolution was revoked (Peteet 2009: 17)[13]. Between 1980s-1990s isolated suggestions of Israel committing apartheid were made, however, when in 1993 and 1995 the Oslo Accords[14] settled the districts that were to be administered by newly-created Palestinian Authority, the comparison of these with South African Bantustans emerged: the Palestinian districts were separated by Israeli settlements, military bases and check-points, and travel between them and to Israel was severely restricted for

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13. USA is the greatest Israeli financial donor, providing its Department of Defense over three billion dollars of foreign aid in a year for military financing (UsAid: 2017).

14. Within Oslo Agreements, in 1993 Israel and Palestine Liberation Organization signed the Declaration of Principles to peacefully resolve the conflict. With 1994 Gaza-Jericho agreement the Palestinian Authority was created. The core issue of Oslo accords was Israeli military withdrawal from Palestinian territories, which have regardless remained in control of 80 percent of Areas B and C.

Palestinians (ibid.). One of the international public figures to draw the comparison with South African system was Noam Chomsky, who referred to "envisioned Palestinian state as Bantustan-style statelet" (McMahon 2010: 23).

In the early 2000s the Israeli apartheid narrative gained momentum with the outbreak of the second Palestinian *al-Aqsa Intifada* or uprising (Peteet 2009). When the South African human rights activists, among them the Nobel Peace Prize winner and the patron of the Holocaust centre Desmond Tutu, began in 2002 to echo that Israel reminded them of South African apartheid system, it added major "weight to the powerful symbolism of the analogy" (Dugard & Reynold 2013: 868). In fact, the civil society movements of different Black communities, including from USA, signalled their support for Palestinians' claims already in 1960s, because of their shared struggles and collective identities that push for international solidarity (Springer 2017). Some believed that the discursive shift from *occupied territories* to *apartheid* might help to shift the "unmovable object" of unconditional U.S. support to Israel (Marshall 1995: 15). The proponents of naming Israel an apartheid state say that it helps to draw attention to Israeli government's "violent approach" towards Palestinians, and makes possible the idea of change in the Palestine's situation in Israel and internationally (Bakan & Abu-Laban 2010). The critics of apartheid comparison say that this discourse is an ideological move, and a real threat to the legitimacy of Israel's politics in the international arena, but also an important part of "official Palestinian propaganda", in which "the isolation of Israel has been an important component of Arab strategy against the Jewish state, and remains so to this day" (Inbar 2006: 826-827).

In 2000 the construction of the West Bank barrier between Palestine and Jerusalem began, built to defend the Israeli population from "would-be suicide bombers from entering and blowing themselves up" (Matthews 2011: 6). It "starkly illustrated Israel's logic of separation–Jews here, Palestinians there–, and became a rallying point for a host of solidarity movements" (Peteet 2009: 17). The wall was denominated as *apartheid wall* in Arabic immediately, and the term was readily adopted by activists all over the world. 25 000 Palestinian people were cut from their communities, because 85 percent of the wall was built in West Bank. The 708 kilometres long concrete wall, topped with barbed wire, constitutes a powerful symbol of segregation of the two

communities, who are physically kept *apart*.

1.2.2. Proponents of the discourse

Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement

Besides the political leaders of Palestine, the main and even more successful agents of Israeli apartheid discourse popularization have long been different civil society movements, among whom the most effective being The Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement (Bakan & Abu-Laban 2010). BDS came to life in 2005, when 170 Palestinian civil society organizations issued a call for international boycott, divestment and sanctions and demanded for full equality for Israel's Palestinian citizens and the right to return for Palestinian refugees. Their number one goal was "to end the occupation[15] of all Arab lands and dismantling the Wall" (bdsmovement.net).

BDS got inspiration from the South African apartheid civil society boycott movement in 1980s, where the economic sanctions implemented by international organizations and many countries put the government of South Africa under unbearable pressure and UN actions regarding condemnation of apartheid helped enormously in that cause. The three main demands of BDS are: ending of occupation and colonization of all Arab lands, dismantling the Wall, "recognizing the fundamental rights of Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality" and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes (as in UN res. 194) (BDS: n.d.).

The BDS movement has successfully prevented Israeli ships from docking at ports in all over the world; many scientists boycott visits to Israel and co-operation with Israeli academia. European Union has introduced rules to prohibit itself from funding Israeli companies based in illegal settlements and many companies decline co-operation with them. Famous public figures such as Stephen Hawking, Naomi Klein, Jimmy Carter etc. have supported the movement and even local councils in Spain, UK, Australia etc. have voted to support BDS (bdsmovement.net). Most companies, academia, local municipalities, public figures etc., who have boycotted Israel have done so due to BDS and its global civil society movement. Their call from 2005 asked for the same

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15. The West Bank, including East Jerusalem, Gaza and the Syrian Golan hights are seen as occupied by Israel in international law.

international action as in case of South Africa's apartheid regime, because it was exactly the international isolation and economic pressure on the regime that forced it to change (Munayyer 2017; Hitchcock 2016). BDS also stresses on their webpage that their aim is not to campaign for one/two state solution, but for basic rights for Palestinians and Israel following international law.

Israel has taken actions against BDS. In 2011 the Israeli parliament, the Knesset, passed a law to punish Israeli citizens that support a boycott of Israel or any of its companies and institutions. In 2013 Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu declared the BDS movement a "strategic threat" to Israel and assigned ministry of strategic affairs the responsibility for fighting BDS (BDS: n.d). Israeli incursions into Gaza in 2008–2009 and in 2014, Benjamin Netanyahu's divisive campaign for prime minister as the leader of Likud Party in 2015 led to significant increases in people and organizations supporting BDS internationally, because they saw that the changes in Palestinians situation won't come from within Israel (Hitchcock 2016; Munayyer 2015). Israel issued a travel ban against the movements' co-founder Omar Barghouti in 2016. There are many other civil society organizations and movements like Israeli Apartheid Week (http://apartheidweek.org/), Palestinian Grassroots Anti Apartheid Wall Campaign (www.stopthewall.org) etc., who have contributed to the discourse popularization, organizing international publicity for the issue (Clark 2012). Most of them follow the example of BDS in their work.

The Russell Tribunal on Palestine

One interesting example about the actions of international civil society organizations regarding Israeli apartheid question was The Russell Tribunal on Palestine in 2010-2011, held in Cape Town, South Africa. This was a "people's tribunal", established to "examine the role and complicity of third parties (governments, institutions and corporations) in violations of international law committed by Israel against the Palestinian people" (Russell Tribunal… 2011). It found Israel to be guilty of the crime. The same judge R. T. Goldstone, who lead the UN-commission investigation into allegations of war crimes committed during Israel's 2008-2009 operation in Gaza, said that the court's evidence is one-sided and "jury" consists of known Israeli critics, who want to retard the peace negotiations (Goldstone 2011: 205). He also implied, that

"Jewish-Arab relations in Israel cannot be simplified to a narrative of Jewish discrimination", that the security fence was built to stop terrorist attacks, and the "road restrictions get more intrusive after violent attacks and are ameliorated when the threat is reduced" (ibid.).

Jimmy Carter

One of the first state leaders that brought the notion of apartheid Israel into global spotlight was the former president of US, Jimmy Carter, who published in 2006 a book titled "Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid", where he wrote that for Israelis the option of Israel becoming an apartheid state is not a desirable one:

> "A system of apartheid, with two peoples occupying the same land but completely separated from each other, with Israelis totally dominant and suppressing violence by depriving Palestinians of their basic human rights. This is the policy now being followed, although many citizens of Israel deride the racist connotation of prescribing permanent second-class status for the Palestinians" (Carter 2006; in Quandt 2007).

Carter criticized Israel for separating Palestinian and Jewish communities with the security fence, building illegal settlements in West Bank and separate roads for Jewish settlers and the Palestinians, but "the driving purpose for the forced separation of the two peoples is unlike that in South Africa—not racism, but acquisition of land (pp. 189–90)" (Quandt 2007: 93). Carter thought that the issue could be solved, if Israel drew back to its territories before 1967 war[16], when Israel gained control over West Bank and Gaza Strip, captured Golan Heights from Syria and Sinai Peninsula from Egypt[17].

1.2.3. Conceptualisations of apartheid Israel

In 1990s Israel was said to apply apartheid in its occupied territories by denying "civil and political rights to a religious, ethnic, or a racial group that is part of its population"

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16. Before that the West Bank was under Mandate of Jordan and the Gaza strip under Egypt. In 1948 Arab armies invaded the territories after United Nations Partition Plan (1947), allotting Israel 55 percent of Palestine's territory and Israel declared independence after the British rule ended in 1948. Israel came out of the war with 78 percent of the territories of former Palestine.

17. Israel returned Sinai Peninsula to Egypt in the Camp David Accords (1979).

(Marshall 1995: 18). According to Marshall, the Palestinians are subjected to *grand apartheid*–the legal system to keep different populations apart like Bantustan's policy did in South Africa (ibid.). "Zionism disenfranchises the indigenous population at three levels: banishment, occupation, and second-class citizenship," he wrote, applying to Arab refugees from the 1947-49 war, who can never return to Palestine, and are thus kept away from the country, voting and citizenship[18] (ibid.). The second major group of people, who are kept apart from the Jewish population of Israel and thus subjected to apartheid, are those Palestinians, who were after the 1967 war not allowed to establish residence outside of West Bank and Gaza (ibid.). The third, the so-called "inner circle" are the Arab citizens of Israel, who were allowed to stay in Israel after the 1947-49 war– according to Marshall, they comprehend to the "Section 10" in South African apartheid system–the minority of blacks with the right to live next to whites, and who had the right to permanent residency in towns (ibid.).

Yiftachel (2009: 7) described Israel as being in the process of "creeping apartheid". According to him, Israel is an "ethnocratic state", where policies of "Judaization" can be seen in territories under its control – the Palestinians living in refugee camps, divided into "proto-groups with different inferior sets of rights" (ibid.). The "Judaization of Palestine" is a settlement policy, where Israel has illegally built Jewish settlements in West Bank–the United Nations has condemned the illegal settlements in many resolutions (Reimann 2017). It is against the Geneva Convention IV for the "occupying power to transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies" (UN 1949).

Based on constant and wide-ranging violations of Palestinian's human rights, documented thoroughly by human rights organizations and UN bodies, Dugard and Reynolds conclude, that there are very strong grounds to state, that a system of apartheid as defined in international law, has developed in Israel (2013: 912). They found on the basis of evidence provided by human rights organizations and UN bodies

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18. In 1950 UNRWA assisted 750 000 refugees from Palestine. Today there are 5 million Palestine refugees eligible for UNRWA services, because the definition of refugee includes also the descendants of male refugees and adopted children (UNRWA). More than 1,5 million of these refugees live in 58 Palestine refugee camps in Jordan, Lebanon, the Syrian Arabic Republic, the Gaza Strip and the West bank, including East Jerusalem (ibid.). The Palestinians argue that these refugees have a „right of return" under the 1948 UN General Assembly Resolution 1948.

that Israel is systematically committing inhuman acts on Palestinians as specified in Apartheid Convention in the following ways: violating the Palestinian's right to life and liberty with targeted killings and regular raids to their homes and arbitrary arrests and detentions; their freedom of movement is suppressed with border crossings, all-encompassing permit and ID-card systems and the so-called *road apartheid*; freedom of residence is curtailed with building restrictions for Palestinians in East Jerusalem; there is a systematic denial of their right to leave and return to the country; their right to citizenship and nationality is constantly denied; their right to work and education is curtailed; the right to freedom of opinion is denied through censorship laws and the Palestinian's right to peaceful gathering is impeded through military orders etc. (Dugard & Reynolds 2013: 895-897).

Reynolds compares this system with South African apartheid and considers Palestinians to be "subject to a system of institutionalized discrimination bearing resemblances to the apartheid system in South Africa that the world came to outlaw as unbefitting humanity and civilization" (2012: 217). He warned, however, that by bringing an example from history of South Africa, the global hegemonic powers often "mute their criticism of an unjust regime long past the point of that regime's illegitimacy becoming apparent to the world. The prohibition of apartheid provides an important normative tool to challenge such hegemonic interests." (ibid.). It took more than half a century before the white rule came to end in South Africa in 1994. But whether or not Israel can legally be considered an apartheid state or not, is a matter of international law and the United Nations.

1.2.4. Apartheid Israel question in the United Nations

The claim of Israel committing apartheid is a legal issue. If Israel were ever found to fulfil the apartheid conditions according to international law, legal, economic and diplomatic consequences are likely to follow, as happened with the government of apartheid-era South Africa. In 2009 the United Nations Fact Finding Mission on the Gaza conflict found in its so-called Goldstone Report evidence of discrimination and differential treatment of Palestinians. In 2012, the United Nations Committee and Elimination of Racial Discrimination censured Israel under the rubric of apartheid and segregation (as prohibited in Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination), declared itself "appalled at the hermeneutic character of the separation

between Jewish and Palestinian populations", and urged to "eradicate policies of racial segregation and apartheid that severely and disproportionately affect the Palestinian population" (Dugard & Reynolds 2013: 912).

In December 2016 the United Nations Security Council adopted a resolution, where it condemned as violations of international law "all measures aimed at altering the demographic composition, character and status of the Palestinian territory occupied since 1967, including East Jerusalem"[19] (UN 2016). It reaffirmed its ten previous relevant resolutions since that time and condemned „the construction and expansion of settlements, confiscation of land, demolition of homes and displacement of Palestinian civilians, in violation of international humanitarian law" (ibid.).

In spring 2017 the United Nations report titled "Israeli practices towards the Palestinian People and the Question of Apartheid" was presented to the world media by its United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA, based in Beirut, Lebanon). The report stated that Israel "has established an apartheid regime that dominates the Palestinian people as a whole" (Falk & Tilley 2017: 1). The report concluded the following:

> "Aware of the seriousness of this allegation, the authors of the report conclude that available evidence establishes beyond a reasonable doubt that Israel is guilty of policies and practices that constitute the crime of apartheid as legally defined in instruments of international law" (ibid.).

According to its presenter to the world media, the United Nation's under-secretary-general and executive secretary Rima Khalaf, this report was the first of its kind published by a United Nations body (Transcend... 2017). The ESCWA report is remarkable in what happened to it after publishing: it was taken down from the webpage after two days and Rima Khalaf resigned in protest (Roberts 2017). The United Nations secretary general Antonio Guterres distanced himself from it[20].

Falk and Tilley referred to several international agreements and law, starting with the Charter of the United Nations (1945) and universal Human Rights Declaration (1948),

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19. Israel annexed East Jerusalem after 1967 war and claims the city to be their capital. Palestinians see it as the capital of their future state.

which proclaimed that everyone is entitled to all rights without distinction of race, colour or national origin (UN 1966: 47). On the basis of Apartheid Convention article II also the ESCWA apartheid report stated that Israel is "purposefully and intentionally applying racial domination over Palestinians" (Falk & Tilley 2017: 1). The report says the accusation is applicable also under the Rome Statue of the International Criminal Court, because of the crime of apartheid being defined as a customary international law and as a species of crime against humanity (Falk & Tilley 2017). The ESCWA Israeli apartheid report expressed the "expert consensus that the prohibition of apartheid is universally applicable and not rendered moot by the collapse of apartheid in South Africa and South West Africa" (Falk & Tilley 2017: 1).

It also stressed that it draws only from the definitions of apartheid in international law, not in "discrete acts and practices" like "apartheid wall", "economic apartheid" or in context of social racism. Instead, it focused on analysis of intentional racial domination "in the doctrine of Jewish statehood as expressed in law and the design of Israeli State institutions" (ibid.: 2). The report brought examples of land policy laws, under which the lands of State of Israel are closed to use, own or develop for non-Jews, and the "demographic engineering", that is institutionalized in keeping Israel as a Jewish state by prohibiting the Arab refugees from returning to their homelands etc.

ESCWA 2017 report found racial oppression of Palestinians in four domains: civil laws, which put restrictions to Palestinian citizens; permanent residency law for Palestinians living in Jerusalem; military law governing Palestinians under occupation, including in refugee camps; and the policies to preclude the return of Palestinians living outside Israel (ibid.: 4). So, apartheid is indeed a legal issue, but even if Israel is not proven to be committing the crime of apartheid in courts, its discourse is still worth an analysis.

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20. Rima Khalef said to France Press news agency that they expected that "Israel and its allies would put huge pressure on the secretary general of the UN, so that he would disavow the report, and that they would ask him to withdraw it" (Roberts 2017). Israel's United Nation's Ambassador Danny Danon said in a statement: "The attempt to smear and falsely label the only true democracy in the Middle East by creating a false analogy is despicable and constitutes a blatant lie" (ibid.).

2. Corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis

In this paragraph I will outline the theoretical framework of the study, where I´ll introduce the interdisciplinary approach of corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis that is brought together from different schools of discourse theory and computational methods of corpus linguistics (see for examples Samaia & Malmir 2017; Kim 2014; Hansen 2016). I will follow also the research design principles of critical discourse analysis framework, Antonio Gramsci's conceptualisation of hegemony and its reconceptualization in post-structuralist discourse analysis and political theory by Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffe and others, which I will explain in detail below. I will then proceed with the overview of corpus linguistics methods employed in empirical studies of language use, which provide quantitative bases for qualitative discourse analysis of apartheid in Israel's English media.

2.1. Discourse analysis

2.1.1. Research design principles

Examining public issues that emerge in public media before they find their way to politics and laws is very effective with critical discourse analysis (cf. Fairclough & Fairclough 2012; Fairclough 2010, 2003, 1992; Weiss & Wodak 2003; Howarth & Stravkakis 2000). In the studies of media discourse it is considered to be the most authoritative line of research (Carvalho 2010: 11). Its main goal of is to understand how social problems arise in public discourse and how they are rooted in the way social life is organized (Fairclough 2003: 209-210). It is a useful approach also in comparative political research, because it explores the relationships or discourses and texts with wider social and cultural structures, including the political ones (Fairclough 2010: 93). Critical discourse analysis is thus oscillating between "focus on texts and orders of discourse, where language acts as a kind of networker for social practices as relatively stabilized forms of social activities" (Fairclough 2003: 205).

Language too is a social practice (Wodak 1997), where questions of power and ideology are constantly discursively negotiated and the semantic meanings of used concepts vary according to the context and the speakers' or social actor's position and interests in

society. This also applies to different media outlets with different value leanings. Linguistic research of media discourse helps to focus on these issues, changes and differences in political meanings closest in progress, because power and ideology are recontextualized, sustained and challenged in media (Bell 2007: 58).

The critical discourse analysis approach is suitable for analysis of apartheid discourse emergence in context of Israel, because the method is designed to investigate critically social inequality as it is "expressed and legitimized by language use or in a discourse" (Weiss & Wodak 2003: 15). As Fairclough suggests, the research focus is on a social problem with a semiotic aspect, e.g. naming Israel an apartheid state, which is nothing else than a radical expression of social inequalities. It is a hegemonic struggle, aiming for political changes at the state level and also internationally (Fairclough 2003: 209-210).

It is not only a media discourse, but also an important global political claim regarding violations of international law, which already has real political and economic implications for the state of Israel–the global call from civil society organizations to boycott Israeli products, universities, politicians etc. is working quite effectively and partly because of this powerful discourse implementation in globally reachable free public media sphere in English. However, even if my aim in this master's thesis is not to evaluate, whether Israel is an apartheid state according to international law or not, it is important to view this aspect in the analyses of media discourse also as a matter of power relations and its political and legal structures, i.e. hegemony, which I will elaborate in the next chapter.

Linguistic analysis of text corpora focuses on finding the most significant characteristics of data–frequencies of word appearances, and on the qualitative analysis of discourse events with the help of concordance analysis (Bayley 2003; Baker 2012; Carvalho 2010; Enery & Hardie 2012 etc.). Discourse event is an observable change in language use, measurable with an analysis of frequencies of written words in large text corpora[21]. Giving explanations to discursive events is also done by providing historical background to the social practices the texts refer to (Carvalho 2010: 12, 13). I have used this advice in composing already the first background paragraph of this master's thesis.

21. *Corpora* is the plural of corpus. A corpus is considered large, if it consists of millions of words.

I will give a thorough overview of corpus linguistics methods that I used as the basis for discourse analysis later, but first I'll elaborate on the understanding of interconnectedness of social practices, power e.g. hegemony, discourses and language use. This is, indeed, an interdisciplinary approach to an interdisciplinary phenomenon.

2.1.2. Creating a discourse by naming it

Norman Fairclough wrote in his "Manifesto for critical discourse analysis" that language has become a crucial aspect in analysing social transformations, which are going on in a society (Fairclough 2003: 203). News texts reflect events that happen in life and politics, at the same time representing and upholding the semiotic and social structures of particular discourses of which they themselves are actively part of (ibid.). Fairclough refers to discourse as language use and at the same time as a form of social practice, shaped by historical modes of social action as organized by social actors, being at the same time socially constitutive of social identities and relations (Fairclough 2010: 92).

Already Michel Foucault found that discourses constitute objects in constrained ways within prevailing orders of discourse. He argued that a political power keeps its balance of power silently and preserves its discursive formation within…

> "...the relations between institutions, economic and social processes, behavioural patterns, systems of norms, techniques, types of classification and modes of characterization" (Foucault [1972](2002): 49).

The view of "discourse as constitutive to the production, transformation and reproduction of the objects of social life" (Fairclough 1992: 41-42) is central to my research, because it entails discourses being actively related to reality by creating their meanings with language use. So, analysing discourses means treating discourses as "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault [1972] (2003): 54). This is also the reason, why the attention of discourse theory is on the creation, disruption and transformation of the structures that organize social life (Howarth & Stravrakakis 2000: 9). Apartheid Israel discourse emergence fits that conceptualization perfectly.

Ernesto Laclau described the process of *naming* a discourse object in the following way: "The name is the transparent medium through which something which is conceptually fully apprehensible shows itself" (2005: 183). To explain the political operation, he created the philosophical concept of *empty signifier*–"a signifier without a signified[22]" (Laclau 1996: 3). When a metaphoric signifier (i.e. *the people, apartheid*) becomes a battleground to be filled with meanings drawn from particular experiences, it becomes a "container for the shifting significations" (Žizek 2000: 224).

Lipping defined the empty signifier as the contingent character of heterogeneous demands, plural identities, different meanings, opposite understandings, principles etc. (Lipping 2015: 449). The understanding of contingency of the historical moments, where political decisions are made and the meanings are temporarily fixed, allows to open up also the alternative choices that could have been made, and to see that there might be some unfinished ideas and unclear meanings that could be brought to public discussion again (ibid.: 438).

This kind of interdiscursive and plural base of all political decisions means that political discourse is fundamentally an argumentative one (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012: 2). Laclau and Mouffe (1985), often termed as post-Marxists, have conceptualised it as articulation of different elements or subject positions, formulated in the process of drawing *the chain of equivalences* between these various heterogeneous issues to make a case for an argument. Fixing an empty signifier to a particular context by naming it means thus that it is universalising, or in other words, a hegemonic operation, which was elaborated into a coherent theorisation of power by Italian so-called neo-Marxist[23] philosopher and leader of Communist Party, Antonio Gramsci, where his political program focused on struggle against the Fascist government and restoring democracy in Italy.

Gramsci said that what is perceived in society as common sense is created by means of language, where metaphors are loaned from other cultures and languages, gaining in the

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22. According to Ferdinand Saussure, language is a system of signs. The build-up of his sign had a binary character – the union of signifier and the signified. The connection between them is arbitrary, having "no natural connection with the signified" (Holdcroft 1991: 53). The changes in the signified are very slow to happen, because language is inherited and those arbitrary signs rest on tradition (ibid.: 62).

23. Gramsci tried to brake Marx's conceptualization of economic determinism.

process various connotations (Gramsci [1971] 1999). According to him, language transforms through the acquisition of culture and absorbing "in metaphorical form the words of previous civilizations and cultures" (ibid.: 816). New metaphorical meanings take over words from other languages as loan-words, "giving them a precise meaning and therefore depriving them of the extensive halo they possessed in the original language" (ibid.: 817). Since metaphors are grounded in some particular experience, when reused in another context, they will also highlight some parts of it and downplay or hide others (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Metaphors are thus like vehicles to understanding the world and arrived at through argumentation, where the truth of a statement is always dependent on the categories employed in it (ibid.: 159, 164). Laclau showed how the unity of the signified is created by the name, the signifier that supports the identity of such heterogeneous object (Selg 2009: 114)[24]. A political force will try to create an empty signifier by rhetorical translation, which then becomes the constitutive instrument of power (ibid.: 117). In analysis of these processes one should describe the elements that are translated, the strategies used to clear their previous meanings and the changes in these elements that occurred after translation (ibid.).

2.1.3. Hegemony and antagonism

A particular social structuring of semiotic difference, e.g. a particular social ordering of relationships amongst different ways of making meaning is an order of discourse (Fairclough 2003: 206). It is the totality of its discursive practices, and the relationships between them (Fairclough 2010: 93). The concept of power as *hegemony*[25] can usefully be implemented in analysing orders of discourses, because a particular social structuring of semiotic difference may become hegemonic and part of the legitimizing common sense, which sustain the relations of domination (Fairclough 2003: 207). Gramsci conceptualized his understanding of hegemony as political legitimacy, gained through the consensual understanding of what is considered common sense in society. By hegemony, he meant an "order in which a certain way of life and thought is dominant",

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24. Selg analysed how political discourses (i.e. Pronksiöö, En. *Bronze night*) are created by naming (Selg 2009), combining the semiotic approach of Essex political school as created by Ernesto Laclau with Juri Lotman´s cultural semiotics and understanding of semiosphere (Selg &Ventsel 2011).

25. Hegemony denoted in ancient Greece the politico-military dominance of one city-state, the hegemon, over others.

informing norms, values and tastes, political practices and social relations (Sassoon 1982: 94). Hegemony is thus domination not only through the means of politics and economy, but also via political legitimacy and persuasion (Lipping 2009: 563).

According to Ernesto Laclau's theoretization, hegemony is an incommensurable universal signification that has been taken up by a particularity (Laclau 2005: 70), because "hegemony of a *particular* social sector depends for its success on presenting its own aims as those realizing the *universal"* (Laclau 2000: 50). Every discourse is always intertwined with power e.g. with hegemony, as its "constitution involves the exclusion of certain possibilities and a consequent structuring of the relations between different social agents" (Howarth & Stravrakakis 2000: 4). That is the reason, why they say that "discourses are contingent and historical constructions, which are always "vulnerable to those political forces excluded in their production", as well as "the effects of events beyond their control" (ibid.). So the "outsiders" of the system have become the outsiders due to historical power-relations, which constituted current power-structures at the time, and in it also the discursive positions of the social actors with socially constructed identities, by logics of discourses (Howarth & Stravrakakis 2000: 10). The social practices form these identities by "articulating together series of contingent signifying elements available in a discursive field" (ibid.).

The shifts in orders of discourses happen in public spaces with the participation of social actors, becoming in the process the main points of social struggles. For example, the feminist discourse research, as practised by Wodak, focused the analysis on the "disorders of discourse", because conflicts in society are constant and mutual understanding rather an exception (Wodak 1997: 7). Already Foucault stated that there is always room for possible discourses, which emerge in a space, where "a system of *real* or *primary relations*, a system of *reflexive* or *secondary* relations emerge" (Foucault [1972](2002): 50). The appearance of a discursive object juxtaposes "itself with other objects, to situate itself in relation to them, to define its difference, its irreducibility, and even perhaps its heterogeneity" (ibid.). That is the reason, why the "issues of identity formation, the production of novel ideologies, the logics of social movements and the structuring of societies" are central objects of investigation in discourse theory (Howarth & Stravrakakis 2000: 2).

A popular challenge to hegemony is called counter-hegemony and worked out by a bringing together multiple antagonisms, where the coalition of different groups or "outsiders" promote global solidarity and emancipatory changes to improve their living conditions (Katz 2006: 336-337). The notion of antagonism reflects here the metadifference in discourse relations, where "antagonistic poles differ in the way in which they define or perceive the difference that separates them" (Žizek 2000: 215).

Laclau and Mouffe see antagonism as a positive internal moment of society, which is a negation or a limit of a given order (2014: 9.56). The main emphasis of counter-hegemonic struggle is therefore on the means of articulation and political mediation, because "now the political dimension becomes constitutive of *all* social identity and leads to a further blurring of the line of demarcation state/civil society" (Laclau 2000: 53)[26]. This kind of appearance of a counter-hegemony can also be interpreted as a dislocation of a discourse, as it's purpose is "decentring" of the dominant discourse structure. "If dislocations disrupt identities and discourses, they also create a lack at the level of meaning that stimulates new discursive constructions, which attempt to suture the dislocated structure" (Howarth & Stravrakakis 2000: 20). The "failure" of a discourse order "compels" its "subjects to act, and to assert anew their subjectivity" (ibid.).

2.1.4. The role of civil society

According to Gramsci, the civil society (and not the state as Hegel sees it), is "the active and positive moment of historical development, the realm of social creativity" ([1971] 1999). Lipping described it as the intellectual space, carrying the function of culture and the essence of the ethics of the state (2009: 563). Gramsci located the civil society between the state and economy, including in it a range of non-coercive, non-state and

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26. The understanding of political action being based on deliberation between different political positions is an Aristotelian idea, which has later been applied by many scholars, for example also Jürgen Habermas. Laclau's and Mouffe's understanding of dialectical essence of democracy is not far from the Habermasian concept of deliberative democracy–both of them stress the crucial role of politics in shaping political subjects (Laclau & Mouffe [1985] 2001: 5.20). The main difference is the theoretical framework of never-ending antagonism, "which forecloses any possibility of a final reconciliation, of any kind of rational consensus, of a fully inclusive "we"" (ibid.: 5.21). Jürgen Habermas and also John Rawls share a common understanding that the aim of a democratic society should be a consensus between rational and particular members of society. Unlike Habermasians, Laclau and Mouffe saw in antagonistic concept of society a condition for possibility, because "any form of consensus is the result of hegemonic articulation, and that it always has an "outside," that impedes its full realization" (ibid.).

non-market institutions, churches, trade unions, schools, professional, educational and cultural associations, parties etc., and distinguished the organic intellectuals from traditional intellectuals like scientific, literary, etc. professionals (Katz 2006: 334-335, 212).

The groups of civil society can coalesce and engage in a counter-hegemonic *war of position*[27] to alter society (Gramsci [1971] 1999). According to Norval, this so-called counter-hegemonic strategy can be interpreted as a political frontier of opposing discourses (1996: 122), or as "a logic of displacement of political frontiers" (Laclau 2005: 153). It is a kind of passive revolution, shaped by hegemony itself and can mean for example boycotts (Gramsci [1971] 1999: 481). Gramsci didn't seek a revolutionary coup as a means for counter-hegemonic movement, but instead a slow transition for the outsider's groups to become "the state" in the widest sense of the term by forming a collective will between these different political subjects (Lipping 2009: 629). The concept of collective will acts as the unifier of different groups, and is developed from Machiavelli. It is based on the "contingent ideological unity of scattered and fragmented elements", which is complicated and uncertain type of unity within different groups, political subjects, societal actors or communities with different identities (Lipping 2009: 629).

In counter-hegemonic movement different objects "assert their equivalence in the common confrontation with the dominant pole", and create a popular discursive position (Laclau & Mouffe 2014: 8.28). The practical outcome of this in contemporary political world is the realm of plural democracy, where social movements with their fragmented identities articulate for common positions, at the same time deepening the "democratic revolution", where democratic struggles for equality and liberty will apply to a wider range of social relations (ibid.: 5.16).

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27. Gramsci investigated in Prison Notebooks how the Moderate party succeeded in "establishing the apparatus (mechanism) of their intellectual, moral and political hegemony" (Gramsci [1971] 1999: 216). He found, that it happened through the social groups of civil society, where the members of Moderates were "the leading stratum, the organic intellectuals" (ibid.). He saw the historical change in: 1) concentration of forces within *war of position* – a political strategy for historical change or a revolution "and at the same time a sociology of revolution"; 2) capacity to extend struggle over time; 3) complex means and fields of struggle; 4) the strategy of attrition in civil society (Filippini 2008: 20, 21).

2.1.5. Articulation and agency

According to Howarth and Stavrakakis, meanings of certain concepts depend on the orders of discourses that create identities, and that a discourse is a social and political construction that establishes a system of relations between different objects and practices, while providing (subject) positions with which social agents can identify (2000: 4). Following Ernesto Laclau's and Chantal Mouffe's line of reasoning they claim that a "political project will attempt to weave together different strands of discourse" to try to "dominate or organise a field of meaning so as to fix the identities of objects and practices in a particular way" (ibid.: 4-5).

Conceptualising political discourse as the articulation of different subject positions of social actors offers an understanding of the way in which order of discourse interacts with agency: discourses give agents[28] reasons for action (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012: 237). They provide the social actors semiotic representations, narratives, explanations and imaginaries that they will integrate within their practical arguments and reasons for action, influencing thus processes of decision-making (ibid.). As Sravrakakis points out, also "Laclau argues that the actions of subjects emerge because of the contingency of those discursive structures through which a subject obtains its identity." (2000: 19). Social agent's choices, decisions and strategies are political in nature, because „they are contested by groups of people with different interests and objectives, who are competing to make their own particular choices and strategies prevail" (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012: 3). Critical discourse analysis is thus concerned with how social experiences are perceived from particular perspectives or subject positions of social actors, which is also one of favourite research objects of linguists working on media analysis (Hardt-Mautner 1995: 11).

2.1.6. Discourse recontextualization

Discourses evaluate social practices, articulate their purposes, justify and try to legitimize them. According to Bernstein's concept of recontextualization (1986), knowledge is actively produced and then objectified to serve the contextually defined (or recontextualized) purpose of the discourse order (Leeuwen 2008: 6). This is a

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28. I use the words *social agent* and *social actor* synonymously.

Foucauldian understanding of discourse as a socially constructed knowledge of some social practice i.e. a social cognition, where discourses classify its objects according to their inner logic and recontextualize them by a sequence of linguistic activities (ibid.).

Media is a well observable place for recontextualization of social practices, because it mediates the representations[29] of popular discourses to wide audiences. As power is concerned with relations of difference, it has to be concerned with "intertextuality and recontextualization of competing discourses in various public spaces and genres. /.../ Language provides a finely articulated vehicle for establishing differences in power in hierarchical social structures" (Wodak & Meyer 2009: 10).

According to van Leeuwen, one should analyse discourse recontextualisations by looking at repetitions of concept formation, reactions to activities of a social practice, evaluations and legitimations of them, addressing the "why" questions to their representations (van Leeuwen 2008: 19-20). Discourse legitimation is discursively constructed "in order to explain why social practices exist and why they take the forms they do" (ibid.: 125). To serve as legitimation, the discourses make references to moral values "to achieve a "strategic-utilitarian morality"" (ibid.). Discourse legitimation tools are also authorization (reference to the authority of tradition, custom, law, and persons in whom institutional authority of some kind is vested), rationalization (reference to goals and institutionalized social action, common knowledge) and mythopoesis (legitimation through narratives) (van Leeuwen 2008: 105-106).

The process of discourse legitimation through its recontextualization is always a matter of power e.g. hegemony. The analysis of recontextualisation in a media discourse can thus be operationalized with looking at attraction of word occurrences in text corpora

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29. Charles Sanders Peirce created the understanding of semiosis, which takes into account not only the sign and its object, but also its interpretant, creating a triadic relation between those three. A sign is „anything which determines something else (its *interpretant*) to refer to an object to which it itself refers (its *object*) in the same way, the interpretant becoming in turn a *sign,* and so on *ad infinitum*" (Peirce 1901-5, in Hoopes 2014: 239). Peirce distinguished the philosophical categories of being and being represented, of which the latter is always ambiguous and that is why „what the real fact will be does not depend upon what I represent, but upon what the experiential reactions shall be" ([Peirce 1901-5] in Hoopes 2014: 243). Michel Foucault said that for the sign to be, it must be presented as an object of knowledge at the same time as that which it signifies (Foucault [1966] 2003: 67). The constitution of the sign is not only inseparable from analysis, but it is also the constitution of it and the binary connection between what is signified and the signifier are only linked in so far as they are represented ("and in so far as the one actually represents the other") (ibid.: 74).

e.g. with tools of corpus linguistics, which I will also use as the main quantitative analytical approach of this research as described in the next chapter.

2.2. Corpus linguistics

2.2.1. Attraction of words in texts

Many linguists see corpus linguistics as an "area which focuses upon a set of procedures, or methods, for studying language" (Enery & Hardie 2012: 1). Corpus-assisted discourse analysis means therefore that texts can be studied through software, which provides information on lexical distributions, regularities and irregularities in patterns of meanings (Bayley 2003: 55). Biber et al. (1998: 9) say that corpus-based analysis should be seen as a complementary approach to more traditional methods of discourse analysis. Combining the two approaches, where qualitative critical discourse analysis is based on quantitative information about most common collocations or the closest companion (i.e. context) words of search or node-words has also been named as CDA-informed analysis of collocational profiles (Kim 2014: 222).

Teubert said in his "Version of corpus linguistics": "If we study the discourse as the container of a culture of a community, then we must have the means to specify what each text or text segment contributes to it" (2005: 13). Taking into account that corpus is a large collection of computerized texts (Baker 2010), a corpus linguistics analyst should be "able to make specific claims" about specific texts and interpret their relationships to other texts (Teubert 2005: 13). To treat texts as unique occurrences, one should analyse the repetitions and reactions to "what has been said before and what is being said elsewhere" (ibid.). This can be done by analysing collocations–very stable indicators of concept formations.

2.2.2. Collocation

Collocation is a "co-occurrence relationship between two words" (McEnery & Hardie 2012: 240). It is Firthian (1957) understanding, that collocations show words with a strong mutual attraction and that "a word is characterized by the company it keeps" (Baker 2010). Thus, when words collocate, it can be concluded that they have a tendency to occur near or next to each other. Linguists describe collocations also as an

epiphenomenon, where associations between words are caused by factors such as clichés, idioms, lexical collocations, cultural stereotypes etc. (Evert 2007)[30].

Collocations are more than just plain words–they show the connotations they have and assumptions they embody (Stubbs 1996: 172). If collocations are used in media, it is also very plausible that people will start to think in such terms and the linguistic categories will become social ones (ibid.: 194-195). As De Bauegrande has said, "the order of discourse partly realizes and is partly realized by the order of language in the actually occurring grammatical colligations and lexical collocations[31]" (2007: 26).

2.2.3. Analysing words as data

The size of context to analyse the search word depends on the purposes of research. Lexicographers often use the span of five words–common practice in English language co-occurrence studies, where "two words are said to co-occur if they appear within certain distance or collocational span" (Evert 2007: 12). This tool is often used to compose dictionaries by linguists, who deal with definitions of words and are "concerned with the meaning and use of language and use of words" (Biber et al. 1998: 21).

To see, what is typical in language and in a particular corpora, one should identify the occurrences of the interested word and its frequency in corpus, keep a record of collocates of these words, and count the joint frequencies of occurred research words and each collocate (Stubbs 1996: 172, 176). To find all variations of specific words in texts, it is common practice in corpus linguistics to lemmatise them (Evert et al. 2004: 907)–bring the words to their canonical/dictionary form[32]. The word lemma is especially appropriate to use in this context, because its etymological meaning in Greek, *lēmma*, was premise or an assumption. In mathematics, lemma means a proposition proved for

30. For example, after a brief analysis of most frequent collocates of the term *bucket,* Evert found different causes that contribute to the formation of associations: idioms, proper names, cultural stereotypes, lexical collocations, reflections of semantic compatibility, semantically similar terms, hypernyms and facts of life (Evert 2007: 7).

31. Colligation means co-occurrence relationship between a word and a grammatical context or category (McEnery & Hardie 2012: 240).

32. *Make* is the lemma for *made, making* etc. The plural of lemma is lemmata. The long stopword list to eliminate unnecessary words from analysis is downloaded from http://www.ranks.nl/stopwords.

immediate use, and in psycholinguistics the theoretical and abstract conceptual form of a word, representing a specific meaning.

Most corpus linguistic discourse analysis focus on the noun phrases–the main carriers of referential information, but also verbs are commonly investigated (Conrad & Reppen 1998: 107). Noun is the word class or category that identifies things, ideas, persons, qualities, places, and states (Oxford Dictionaries: n.d.). In Latin, noun is *nōmen,* meaning "name." It gives answers to basic and simple questions like "Who?" and "What?" It also expresses the objects and subjects of the discourse. *Nomen est omen!*

The verb, Latin *verbum,* means "a word." It functions as the main element of predicate. It expresses discourse action, state and relations of things. Verbs describe what persons do or what happens, referring besides actions to events, situations and changes (ibid.). The discourse events are thus changes in the observed language use of nouns and verbs, which can be measured by frequency counts–scaleable with t-score calculations.

2.2.4. T-score

In analysis of occurrences of words across corpora, statistical association measures are used to compare and to quantify the attraction between co-occurring words. Church et al. introduced to linguists in 1991 the association measure called t-score, which has been used in computational lexicography after that widely (ibid.: 12; Lehecka 2015). T-score measures the signification of attraction between words by counting their frequency data, taking into account the sample size/total number of words in texts (N), marginal appearances (all appearances in corpus) of words (*f*1 of the first and *f*2 of the second component of the word pair) and their collocational appearances, where O is observed frequency of a word pair (in span of five words) and E is their expected frequency. The formula to calculate t-score is:

$$\text{t-score} = (O\text{-}E) / \sqrt{O} \; ; \; E = f1 * f2 / N$$

In analysing t-scores often the approach is used, which places the "word pairs on a scale of collocational strength without strict separation into collocations and non-collocations" (Evert 2007: 6). T-score measures the significance of the association of a word pair, no matter how small the effect size is against the null hypothesis of its

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independence. According to Evert it is not sensitive to frequency thresholds: "There are no low-frequency co-occurrences among the highest-ranking collocates" (ibid.: 35).

2.2.5. Concordance analysis

Looking at the collocations in context of its surrounding words as parts of sentences is called concordance analysis. Concordance is "a table of all the occurrences of a linguistic item in a corpus, presented within their linguistic contexts" (Baker 2010: 21). The contestation of meaning is clearly a discursive process, which involves longer stretches of words so that it can be captured by a concordance (Hardt-Mautner 1995: 22). Computer programs show linguistic reflexes, indicating to the human analyst, where to look for the higher-level process (ibid.). It makes qualitative analysis of quantitative corpus data easy, showing analysed words in a table, lined up with other similar sentences. Concordance of a word is often referred to as KWIC display (Kew Word In Context) (Gries 2017: 18).

2.2.6. Corpora

According to Stubbs, large corpus is a collection of texts, which can be analysed regardless of who has written them, e.g. the word usages can be looked at by concordance or collocation software without regard to authors and their intentions, and focus on the pure discourse (1996: 194). Biber et al. suggest that the corpus should be representative, thoroughly categorized and that the researcher should compose it with focus on investigating the varieties that occur within the texts in the corpora (Biber et. al 1998: 246). This means analysing trends in language use diachronically over longer period of time, within different media and also by sections. In the end of the next chapter I will give a more specific overview of corpora and methods that I used in collecting it. But first I will outline the main research questions of this master's thesis as well as operationalization of empirical analysis of corpora.

3. Operationalization of analysis

3.1. The research questions

The focus of this master's thesis is on describing the naming and drawing of a chain of equivalence between apartheid Israel discourse objects and actions, reflecting the articulation of the subject positions of its social actors and the social practices and the discourse events that it draws from. The recontextualization of this discourse in different media is researched by analysing the use of collocate nouns and verbs of the node-word *apartheid*. This corpus linguistic tool is very insightful in understanding the hegemonic processes happening within the apartheid Israel discourse.

The research questions are based on corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis framework, where qualitative analytical categories of discourse theory are applied in quantitative data analysis of text corpora. This kind of combination of categorically different, but complementing methods is suitable for composing a qualitative discourse analysis based on as objectively collected linguistic data as possible, drawing from statistical evidence of language use.

The main research question of my master's thesis is:

> How is the apartheid Israel discourse recontextualized in Haaretz and
> The Jerusalem Post during 2000-2016?

I will research the political-philosophical analytical categories of hegemonic processes like naming the discourse, the order of discourse and drawing the chains of equivalences in apartheid Israel discourse as described in the theory section of this master's thesis.

I will base this analysis on the following operational research questions:

- a. What are the apartheid Israel discourse objects?
- b. Who are the apartheid discourse actors?
- c. What are the main apartheid discourse actions?
- d. What are the main apartheid discourse events?

I will investigate these questions in Haaretz and The Jerusalem Post corpora from 2000-2016, focusing on News and Opinion sections of these papers. In the next paragraph I will explain the operationalization of these questions with corpus linguistic methods and their application in the analytical analysis of discourse order and hegemonic processes. I will then give an overview of the selected texts in the corpora.

3.2. Connecting discourse analysis with linguistics

The analysis of hegemonic processes in recontextualization of apartheid Israel discourse in Haaretz and The Jerusalem Post corpora are conceptualised thoroughly in the theory section of this research. The combination of critical and post-structural discourse analysis is based on research of discourse objects, actions and events. The empirical research is accordingly operationalized by investigation of most frequently used nouns and verbs collocating with *apartheid*. The apartheid discourse events are detected in statistical changes in the collocational profiles of search word *apartheid* across corpora and its news and opinion articles. This approach is most similar to corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis.

To find this quantitative data about language use in a large corpora, I first lemmatised the words in texts to find all the cases of words used. I then tagged the text corpora in Bitvise SSH Client terminal window with TreeTagger program[33]. It is used to annotate text with part-of-speech information to find the statistics of used word classes like words and nouns.[34] Using a long stopwords list, I deleted from the corpora other irrelevant word classes to this research like conjunctions, adverbs, prepositions etc, except for *against* that appeared on the top list of all frequency lists that I tested. I later marked as nouns also the adjectives, which are used to name attributes to nouns only. In Greek this word class was termed as *onoma epitheton*–an "attributive name".

I then analysed the collocational profiles of *apartheid* within five words span. This tool gives information about very steady language use, because the level of analysis is its definition. To get a list of most frequent collocates of the node-word *apartheid* in the

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33. Downloaded from: http://www.cis.uni-muenchen.de/~schmid/tools/TreeTagger/

34. I saw from the initial corpus analysis tests that the adjective *against* was particularly frequent, so I annotated it as a noun and left it in the analysis as an exception.

selected text corpora, I wrote a special regular expressions script for it[35] and ran it on the corpora in Bitvise SSH Client. I used this statistical evidence to calculate the t-scores of most relevant collocate words of *apartheid* in Haaretz and The Jerusalem Post corpora. I used MS Excel to calculate the t-scores according to the formula given in chapter 2.2. I repeated this operation separately for Haaretz and The Jerusalem Post news and opinion articles.

To give examples of collocational profiles of the discourse, I used AntConc[36] free software to create concordance tables that show the search words in context of parts of sentences and across different articles (the KWIC table view). Additionally to concordance tables, I also used quotations with full sentences from media texts to give examples of construction of apartheid Israel discourse. I will now give an overview of the selection of texts to the corpora.

3.3. The selection of texts

3.3.1. Corpora compilation

In order to analyse apartheid discourse formation process in context of Israel, I collected the articles from two Israeli English newspapers: The Jerusalem Post and Haaretz. I have divided the corpora in two: the subcorpus of Haaretz 2000-2005, and the corpus of Haaretz & The Jerusalem Post in 2006-2016. The reasons are: a) the first corpus of Haaretz 2000-2005 was downloaded manually[37], but the second corpus automatically by using special Python scripts for it[38]; b) the articles published before 2006 in The Jerusalem Post were only available for subscribed readers. I excluded from the selection articles that required payment.

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35. I wrote this script during FLEE.08.141 "Corpus Linguistics" course, supervised by Kristel Uiboaed during 2016/2017. All the scrpits I have written and used in this master's thesis are available and thoroughly described in my Github repository page at https://github.com/marissander/apartheid

36 AntConc is a freeware corpus linguistic program that helps to analyse collocates of search words and the node-word in KWIC view to analyse the concordance lines.

37. I collected this corpus during the course nr. 02555 "Analysis of Political Language," taught by Paul Bayley in the University of Bologna, Campus of Forli in 2015.

38. The scripts were written by Gerth Jaanimäe during the FLEE.08.141 "Corpus Linguistics" course in 2016/2017. He left on the webpages of these papers links with information about the scientific purposes of downloads and his e-mail address (Jaanimäe 2017).

Israel's daily newspaper Haaretz (meaning "the Land" in Hebrew) was founded in 1918. It is the longest running newspaper in print in Israel. When it started to publish an English edition in 1997, it was a challenge to The Jerusalem Post's monopoly in this media segment. Haaretz is known to be left-liberal (Brown 2013) and critical of Israeli government's policies, which means it could be expected to publish many articles that discuss apartheid question. Haaretz has also a very accessible online archive at www.haaretz.com, which has 3,5 million unique visitors each month and 10 million page views per month (Haaretz: n.d.).

The second newspaper that I chose for my analysis is the largest and leading English-language daily in the country, The Jerusalem Post (founded in 1932), which is considered to be politically more right-of-centre (*Encyclopædia Britannica*: n.d.), providing thus useful comparison for coverage of apartheid discourse in diverse media environments, especially for its focus on the Arab-Israeli relations. Their website jpost.com has 3 million unique users every month and 20 million page views per month, of which 13 million come from USA (The Jerusalem Post: n.d.).

3.3.2. Haaretz 2000-2005

I collected the articles for Haaretz 2000-2005 corpus by using Haaretz.com online Search tool, where I typed in the search word *apartheid*. I then clicked on each article separately, copied it and created .rtf files for each year. The corpus is available on my Github page[39]. I collected the articles from all the sections on the newspaper's website: Opinion, News, Features, Sports, Business, Arts and Leasure, Archeology, Diplomacy and Defence, Opinion Letters, Life Books ect.

Table 1. Overview of Haaretz 2000-2005 corpus

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	All
Articles	1	50	104	99	138	103	495
Words	1193	47 525	127 906	110 110	132 744	93 148	512 626

The so-called hand-made subcorpus of Haaretz 2000-2005 consists of altogether 495 articles. Out of 512 626 words in the corpus, 763 are *apartheid*.

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39. https://github.com/marissander/apartheid

Apartheid appeared most frequently in Opinion, News and Features sections. In News, altogether 220 apartheid articles were published, 142 in Opinion, 63 in Features, and 70 in other sections, as can be seen from the Figure 1 below.

Figure 1. Distribution of *apartheid*-including articles in Haaretz sections
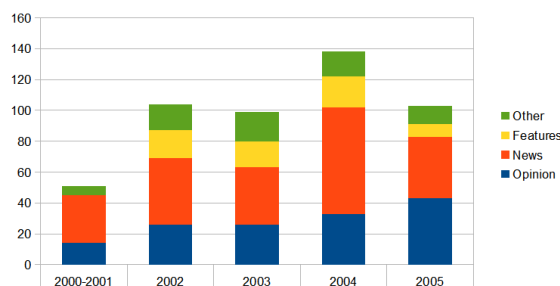
The Opinion section published around 40 *apartheid*-including articles every year, declining slightly only in 2003, when also the News published less articles than in 2002. Year 2004 saw a boom in apartheid discourse. Within this Haaretz subcorpus the largest amount of *apartheid*-including articles appeared almost every year in the News section– so this term was mainly published in context of events coverage, where the discourse was brought up by participants of public events.

3.3.3. Haaretz and The Jerusalem Post 2006-2016

The selected texts include altogether 2 052 967 words, of which 673 030 appeared in Haaretz and 1 379 937 in The Jerusalem Post. The corpus of The Jerusalem Post is double the size of Haaretz corpus. The Python crawler script found that Haaretz published more news articles on the apartheid issue than The Jerusalem Post, but the Jerusalem Post published three times more opinion articles that talked about *apartheid* than Haaretz.

This is an effect of the design of The Jerusalem Post corpus, where the Blog section was also included to the Opinion section articles. The Haaretz 2006-2016 corpus consists of *apartheid-* and *Israel*-mentioning articles from News, Israel-News, News, Jewish News and Opinion sections. The Jerusalem Post corpus includes articles from News, Israel-News, National-News, and Opinion and Blog sections (Jaanimäe 2017). Overview of articles included in the corpus can be seen from Table 2.

Table 2. Haaretz and The Jerusalem Post articles in 2006-2016

Year	Haaretz			The Jerusalem Post		
	News	Opinion	All	News	Opinion	All
2006	41	26	67	30	36	66
2007	61	41	102	34	68	102
2008	52	31	83	30	56	86
2009	74	39	113	25	76	101
2010	72	64	136	35	115	150
2011	51	46	97	17	82	99
2012	31	47	83	8	94	102
2013	35	13	63	6	126	132
2014	75	15	90	22	141	163
2015	47	16	63	73	123	196
2016	51	18	69	65	122	187
All	**590**	**356**	**966**	**345**	**1039**	**1384**

The most *apartheid*-including articles in Haaretz were published in 2010, 2009 and 2007, when accordingly 136, 113 and 102 articles appeared on the website. In The Jerusalem Post, the highlight of apartheid articles was in 2015 and in 2016, when the newspaper published accordingly 196 and 187 articles. The least amount of apartheid articles was published in Haaretz in 2013 and in 2006, when the crawler found only 63 and 67 articles. The Jerusalem Post published least apartheid articles in 2006, 2008 and 2011–the only years, when the total amount of articles didn't exceed the 100 bar.

As can be seen from the Table 2, most of the News articles in Haaretz were published in 2009, 2010 and in 2014, when more than 70 articles were published each year. In The Jerusalem Post, most apartheid news articles appeared in 2015 and 2016 (73 and 65). The least amount of news articles in The Jerusalem Post was published in 2013 and 2012, when only six and eight articles appeared in its News sections. In Haaretz News section the amount of apartheid articles fell to the lowest, 31, in 2012.

4. Apartheid discourse in Israeli English media

4.1. Naming the discourse

4.1.1. The first and only article in 2000

The frequency of usage of the word *apartheid* during 2000 was one. When I checked the Haaretz.com search engine for the year 1999, it didn't find even that much.[40] The lack of apartheid Israel discourse in 1999 and 2000 in Haaretz indicates that there was at least two years silent period in the discourse at the turn of the millennium.

The first *apartheid*-mentioning article in context of Israel appeared in the Opinion section of Haaretz on 24th of September. It was written by Sari Nusseibeh, a Palestinian professor of Al Quds University in Jerusalem. He wrote:

> "Sooner or later, Israel will find itself turning either into a racist state–like the apartheid regime that existed in South Africa–that is unable to bring security or peace to its citizens, or a binational that has lost its Jewishness. Both outcomes represent a strategic problem for Israel and require a pre-emptive measure to prevent them. Thus, strategically, Israel is in need of a solution" (2000).

Applying for political action from the political hegemon, Israel, he argues that Israel will become a racist state like South Africa during apartheid, because after the 1967 war, the Palestinian refugees were denied the right to return to Israel; Israel confiscated the Palestinians' land and built Jewish settlements in the West Bank; and the two communities have insurmountable problems with sharing Jerusalem between the two nations (ibid.). These four arguments are central in many articles arguing for Israel being an apartheid country.

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40. Since this comparison has been around in political debate much longer, going back to at least to 1974, when Yassir Arafat declared Israel to be more extensively racially discriminative country than South Africa in a speech at the United Nations General Assembly, it can be presumed that this comparison *has* been mentioned in Israeli English media and also in Haaretz before the research period of this master's thesis.

Nusseibeh's opinion article appeared simultaneously in Palestinian and Israeli newspapers, where he appealed that Palestinians'…

> "… dream of a national identity within a political entity can only be realized through the creation of a separate (or independent) national state. Allowing such a goal to slip away, or setting a goal beyond this, will simply push the Palestinians toward a demographic and strategic confrontation with Israelis, the best outcome of which, from their viewpoint, will produce a political framework in which Palestinian national identity will not be the predominant political identity of the state. Thus, a solution is a strategic requirement for the Palestinians too." (24th September, 2000)

Thus, Nusseibeh demands changes for the Palestinians, who are not satisfied with Israel's policies regarding their rights and ability to practice their national identity. As Fairclough said, discourses are "shaped by historical modes of social action as organized by social actors, being at the same time socially constitutive of social identities and relations" (2010: 92). It is precisely what is happening also in this context: Nusseibeh refers to the social practices of apartheid to apply for recognition of Palestinians' identity and their problems with practising it. He uses the term *apartheid* strategically to draw public's attention to the Palestinian's problems.

Also Peteet argued that the slogan "End the occupation" doesn't carry the moral weight as "end the apartheid", but also warned that this kind of term, when applied with little precision, could become an "all-purpose buzzword", meaning too many things:

> "Invoking a comparison with South African apartheid, as Arafat did before UN, is a rhetorical device meant to make sense of enforced ethno-religious separation and mobilize action along the lines of the successful anti-apartheid movement" (2009: 17).

She also emphasized that "the comparison need not be exact," because according to the United Nations Apartheid Convention from 1973 "it is a crime wherever it occurs" (ibid).

Appearance of a new discourse refers to social transformations in society and represents "the semiotic and social structures of particular discourses of which they are actively part of" (Fairclough 2003: 203). Already Foucault stated in the beginning of the seventies that a political power preserves its discursive formation within the relations between "types of classification and modes of characterization" ([1972] 2002: 49). So, the appearance of Israeli apartheid discourse can be analysed as a counter-hegemonic act against the hegemon, Israel. It is a radical attempt to bring to public discussion a new type of classification of Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, suggesting that their hegemon practices violations of international law systematically against them.

4.1.2. Discourse boom in 2001 Durban conference

The year 2001 saw an explosive increase in Haaretz's apartheid word usage frequency: it appeared altogether 81 times in 50 articles, mostly in the News section. A large amount of references to *apartheid* started to appear in context of Israel at the beginning of September, when the journalists started to follow political statements made in South Africa, Durban, at the World Conference Against Racism under United Nations auspices and a the parallel NGO Forum. One of the main topics discussed at both events were the political actions of Israel regarding Palestinians.

At the United Nations conference against racism, the Arab League representatives, Yassir Arafat and Cuban leader Fidel Castro compared Israel's discriminating policies to apartheid in South Africa. As one news story reported, Arafat condemned "Israel's racist practices but declined to label Israel a racist state", emphasising his wording nuances. He gave a speech to 16 heads of state, where Arafat described the occupation as:

> "a new and advanced type of apartheid," and "a racist colonialist plot; a plot of aggression, of uprooting, of taking over the land and taking over all that is holy, especially places that are holy to Muslims and Christians, in Bethlehem and in Hebron" (3rd September, 2001).

But even if Arafat didn't refer to Israel as an apartheid *state* in Durban, many pro-Palestinian protesters did. The demonstrators held posters, reading "Israel is an

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apartheid state" and "Zionism is Apartheid"–present...

> "at almost all of the protests surrounding the conference, and some of the old battle cries of the anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa have been adopted at pro-Palestinian demonstrations" (3rd September, 2001).

The same news story highlighted that the Palestinians have enjoyed the backing of the Muslim community in South Africa, and that many black South Africans have sympathy for the Palestinian cause. The different human rights NGOs and protesters from different South African civil society communities were placed on the same side with the Palestinians in the system of hegemonic relations i.e. in the order of this discourse. As demonstrators against Israeli political practices concerning occupied Palestinians, in Durban, they became antagonists to the Jewish hegemon–the state of Israel.

Arafat blamed Israel for violating the United Nations Charter and international human rights. The drafts of resolutions prepared for the United Nations World Conference on Racism depicted Israel as a racist state, systematically discriminating the Arabs. It called Israel to repeal laws based on racial discrimination–the Law of Return, and the occupation, preventing uprooted Palestinian refugees returning to their homes. The draft resolutions emphasized, that the Israeli settlements in Palestinian territories are illegal, and depicted Israel as:

> "a country where laws are based on racial discrimination aimed at continuing control over occupied territory... a violation of internationally recognized human rights... a new form of apartheid, a crime against humanity and a real threat to international peace and security" (17th July, 2001).

That brought major criticism from Jewish organizations and Israeli agencies. A human rights expert Irwin Cotler called it "anti-Semitism in new clothes," and perceived advancing and protecting human rights as "the new fashion," and as a "new civic-secular religion that dictates policymakers in the West"–if Israel were to be viewed "as the absolutely evil violator of human rights, as the Palestinians and Muslim states are trying to do, Israel will end up the "anti-Christ" of our age" (ibid.).

When at the World Conference Against Racism in Durban, the participants voted against an article that had been proposed by the Jewish delegates, Israel and USA decided to walk out from it in a dramatic move. Haaretz news cited the Israeli and American delegates arguing that "the forum against racism is not appropriate for a debate on a political confrontation, which is what the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is being termed by the Israeli and American delegates" (3rd September, 2001). The earlier problematic joint communique was recontextualized as *anti-Israel* by them.

During the racism conference in Durban in 2001, Israel was referred to as *apartheid-style regime* and *apartheid-style democracy of the master race*, *modern-day apartheid*, *neo-apartheid, racist and fascist apartheid regime, neo-apartheid, a new kind of apartheid* etc. The concordance lines in the Concordance Table 1 outline vividly, how the apartheid discourse was recontextualized in Haaretz in 2001.

Concordance Table 1. Concordances with *apartheid* in Haaretz, 2001

of Durban on Friday. "**Israel is an**	**apartheid state**" and "Free, Free Palestine"
protesters shouted "**Zionism is racism**, **Israel is**	**apartheid**," and "You have Palestinian blood on
on settlements...[is] a **new kind of**	**apartheid**, a **crime against humanity**." The draft
Israel as a **racist** and **modern-day**	**apartheid state**. "I feel besieged,
with a slogan that **equated Israel with**	**apartheid**, **colonialism** and a **military occupying**
were similar to the **racist practices of**	**apartheid rule**. When they objected, he smiled
when the **separation** comes dangerously **close to**	**apartheid**, everyone cries out, "How dare you
as creating a system "**very similar to**	**apartheid**. Closure prevents children from going
facing up to its responsibilities for this"	**apartheid**" **state of affairs** in our beloved country
and **racial discrimination** and **new forms** of	**apartheid**." Egypt's ambassador Fayza Aboulnaga
Gaza Strip as "a **new kind of**	**apartheid**, a **crime against humanity**".
onference against Racism (WCAR) **dubs Israel** an	**apartheid country** and stipulates that the
ptember 7 - to **pronounce Israel a racist, fascist**	**apartheid regime**, and refer to the Palestinian
cide, practicing **ethnic cleansing**, practicing **neo-**	**apartheid**." He observed wryly, "I think
the **Bantustans** created by the **South African**	**apartheid government**. 5. How did Israel's
of human rights, as a the **new**	**apartheid state**." World Jewish Congress director
looks like **apartheid**, but also **acts like**	**apartheid**. As an **American NGO** [non-govern
Israel that is Palestinian and has an	**apartheid-style regime.**
genuine democracy, **a dangerous slide toward** an	**apartheid-style "democracy of the master race**

Many of these recontextualizations were concerned with the need to articulate for the new meaning of apartheid Israel, characterizing its new particular situation, but most had the comparison with the original apartheid system in South Africa always on the horizon.

4.2. The meaning of *apartheid Israel*

4.2.1. Main apartheid collocates until 2005

The strongest collocate words of *apartheid* show that the comparison of Israel with South Africa was prevalent in the discourse during 2000-2005. The main collocational discourse objects of *apartheid* in this Haaretz corpus were *against*, *Israel, South Africa, racism, Zionism, state, struggle, occupation, country, policy, fence, day, situation, separation, territory, political etc.* The main apartheid discourse actors were *Africans, black* and *white* people, the *state* of *Israel*, *Israelis* the *Jewish* people and the *Palestinians*. The closest build-up of this concept's definitional meaning in Haaretz in the beginning of the new millennium is presented in the Collocate Table 1.

Collocate Table 1. Apartheid collocates in Haaretz, 2000-2005

T-score	Lemma	N/Vb			
7,5	against	n	3,3	create	vb
7,2	israel	n	3,3	white	n
6,6	south	n	3,3	policy	n
6,4	racism	n	3,3	fence	n
6,2	africa	n	3,2	day	n
4,8	african	n	3,1	situation	n
4,4	israeli	n	3,1	black	n
4,2	call	vb	3,0	continue	vb
4,0	palestinian	n	3,0	separation	n
3,9	zionism	n	2,9	jewish	n
3,8	state	n	2,8	lead	vb
3,7	oppose	vb	2,8	compare	vb
3,6	struggle	n	2,8	territory	n
3,6	occupation	n	2,8	political	n
3,4	country	n	2,6	impose	vb

The main apartheid discourse actions in Haaretz until 2005, as reflected by the used verbs, were *call, oppose, create, continue, lead, compare* and *impose*. These collocations show that this discourse is really a meta-discourse, because the main apartheid discourse action at that time was *calling* the state of Israel an apartheid country. This is an operation of creating a discourse by *naming* it. In the beginning of new century, Israel is said to *create*, *lead* or *impose* apartheid under its *Zionist* policies in its *occupied territories*, to which the *Palestinians* are *opposed* to. The apartheid Israel

discourse in Haaretz in the beginning of the new millennium is thus recontextualized exclusively in political terms, drawing mainly from comparisons with South Africa's racist political regime.

4.2.2. Comparisons with South African apartheid

Since the words *apartheid* and *Israel* associated most importantly with South Africa's racist policies towards black people in Haaretz during 2000-2005, I looked closer at the concordance lines with *apartheid* and *South Africa* during that period. The combination of the words *apartheid* and *South Africa* in the Concordance Table 2 show how the policies of these two countries regarding races or ethnic groups were compared.

Concordance Table 2. Recontextualization of *South Africa* in Haaretz, 2000-2005

Israel is conducting the **same policy** of	**apartheid South Africa**, which disengaged
drawing a **parallel between Israel** and	**apartheid South Africa**. Prof. Yiftachel, who
that Israel **treats Arabs** the **same way**	**apartheid South Africa** treated blacks.
on Israel. Then, what happened to the	**apartheid regime in South Africa** will happen
and **Gaza Strip was worse than** the	**apartheid regime in South Africa**.
"move **modeled after South Africa's defunct**	**apartheid system**. Many commentators in
left-wing Jews to **compare Israel to**	**South Africa.** As it turns out, there is
how Jews are part of the "**new**	**South Africa**," a term used to refer to
careless and tendentious **use of the Israel-**	**South Africa comparison** blurs the major difference
kind of **boycott tactics** that helped **end**	**South Africa's apartheid regime**. "What the Palest
comparison of Israel with white-ruled	**South Africa** was "both disingenuous and

Many articles in Haaretz that mention South African apartheid cite someone referring to it as being similar to Palestinians' situation in Israel. As the above-mentioned discourse actions also imply, this discourse is a comparative one, because other verbs often indicate to *drawing a parallel, modelling after* etc. The news frequently talk about someone making this comparative claim on its own, so this action is important enough for media to recontextualize it in the newspaper's webpages and discuss it.

For example, in 2005 a Palestinian politician Omar Barghouti, who is one of the founders of BDS movement, said after an academic boycott of two Israeli universities by British lecturers the following: "The taboo has been shattered at last. From now on, it will be acceptable to compare Israel's apartheid system to its South African predecessor" (25th April). Barghouti's statement and the movement that he founded is a

very good example of how the apartheid comparison helped to gain support to the goals of Palestinians and their newly created civil society organizations in putting international pressure on Israeli government and its discriminating policies. At that time the boycotting union of British academics for example had more than 48 000 members, as can be read from that same news. The actions in the civil society organizations were inspired by the success model of South African civil society movement to end apartheid.

In an opinion article in 2005, Meron Benvenisti wrote that "The use of the term apartheid and the comparison between Israel and South Africa under minority white rule are taking over public discourse" (19th May). He indicated that besides the separation fence between Israel and Palestine being described as an "apartheid fence," the apartheid comparison was also used in those cases:

> "the amendment to the Citizenship Law limiting Palestinian family unification was described as worse than the apartheid regime; the academic boycott of Israeli universities and faculty members was compared to the boycott of South Africa, which contributed (or not) to the collapse of apartheid; the disengagement plan and establishment of cantons under Palestinian control were referred to as "bantustans," like the homelands that South Africa established in the macro-apartheid era; and an academic discussion on the "demographic threat" was accompanied by loud rallies against "racism and apartheid" (ibid.).

The Israeli political scientist referred to the newly published comparative article on South Africa and Israel by Heribert Adam and Kogila Moodlay, who found "that the personal connection between blacks and whites in South Africa was much more intimate than the connection between Israelis and Palestinians" (19th May, 2005). The research noted that the South African government created the Bantustans, but Israel "destroyed Palestinian Authority institutions, smashed the economy in the territories and put the financial burden on the international community" (ibid.).

In 2004, in context of the International Court of Justice's decision about the so-called security fence being illegal, Yair Sheleg concluded:

"A direct line connects Durban of September 2001 to the deliberations of the International Court of Justice in The Hague last week. It is part of the new Palestinian/Arab strategy: to transform Israel into the latest version of the apartheid regime in South Africa, and in so doing, to isolate and boycott it" (1ˢᵗ March).

4.2.3. Building the security fence

After the first discourse boom in 2001, when a United Nations human rights conference took place in Durban, the News section of Haaretz saw the next apartheid discourse rise in 2004, when it discussed the so-called *security fence* or *apartheid wall* being built on the border of Israel and Palestine. During 2002-2005, *ca* 100 articles mentioned *apartheid* in Haaretz.com each year, except for 2004, when 138 articles were written on the topic and *apartheid* was printed 190 times. Mostly, the discourse was discussed in the News section, indicating that this language use became newsworthy. The social actors of the discourse used the metaphor increasingly to describe the political situation in Israel and occupied Palestine, and the journalists often quoted their claims.

The hundreds of kilometres long concrete barrier, built on Palestinians' territory, was found to be illegal and violating the principles outlined in the United Nations Charter in the International Court of Justice in 2004. It was found to breach the global conventions prohibiting acquisition of territory that way, and the right of peoples for self-determination. The United Nations had asked in 2003 from the International Court of Justice in Hague to give its opinion on the legal implications of building the fence along the so-called Green Line between the occupied territories of West Bank and Israel. The Hague court's advisory ruling came a year later, stating that the barrier violated the human rights of Palestinians, that it was illegal, and called it to be dismantled (Matthews 2011: 7). It also condemned Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza strip. The statement was echoed by a United Nations General Assembly resolution, declaring that the wall is a violation of international law.

Only a couple of weeks later, the High Court of Israel decided to cancel 30 kilometres

of the separation fence route cutting through the Palestinian areas in North-West of Jerusalem. Earlier, the Hamoked Center for the Defense of the Individual and the Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI) had issued a petition against the state of Israel, condemning Israel's decision to declare the seam line areas as closed military zones for Palestinians, but not for Israelis and Jews. The restrictions on movement and residence arising from it created, according to the petition, a regime of "intolerable, illegal and immoral apartheid", because the distinction is based on residents' national background, making it "illegal and per se," and representing "an international crime", as one article summarised (9th February 2004).

The word *fence* appeared in the top list of most frequent apartheid collocate words in 2003 and in 2004. From the concordance table below, one can see that this fence was compared to the *Berlin wall,* it was termed to be *racist,* an *isolation fence, separation fence,* but also a *Nazi ghetto wall*.

Concordance Table 3. Variety of *fence* and *wall* recontextualization in Haaretz 2004

separation fence, turning it into an **apartheid**	**fence**, and that is what he wants to
of his plan, so that the **isolation**	**fence** and the segregation that he is building
protestors carried signs decrying the **"Apartheid**	**fence."** There was also a small demonstration of
fence. Even government ministers referred to the	**fence** as the "**apartheid wall**." South Africa sent
the continuity of the Bantustan concept. The	**fence** creates three **Bantustans** on the West Bank
effort, the hunger strike and **anti-separation**	**fence protest tent** organized by MK Azmi Bishara
Line with the completion of the **separation**	**fence** planned for the end of 2005, a security
a Palestinian group called the **Anti-apartheid**	**Wall Campaign**. On Friday morning the Israeli
ized barrier. Palestinians call it an **"Apartheid**	**Wall**" designed to loop around Jewish settlements a
the South African media as the **"apartheid**	**wall**." If it makes Israelis feel safer, he
described the barrier Monday as **"another Berlin**	**Wall**." In Damascus, courts fell silent for an
Court "decided clearly today that this **racist**	**wall** is illegal to the root and Israel
apartheid wall. It's like the **Berlin**	**Wall**. It separates families. But let's say
sign that read **"stop the Nazi ghetto**	**wall**." The Palestinian and world media covered

One Palestinian parliament member, MK Azmi Bishara, even launched a hunger strike against the building of this fence in 2004, saying:

> "I'm trying to attract local, Arab and world attention to the apartheid wall that is being built in Palestine, and to the crime that is being committed against the Palestinians in Jerusalem by building this wall that separates it from the West Bank villages near it" (4th July, 2004).

Sheleg noted, that also Israel made its defensive maneuvers, by trying to:

> "draft jurists and explainers to prove the difference between the Israeli presence in the territories and the character of that apartheid regime. It emphasizes the principle of self-defense inherent in the separation fence. And when it does attack Palestinian terror, it does so only as a response to Palestinian claims, and then only in arenas into which it is dragged by the Palestinians" (1st March, 2004).

So, building of the wall was recontextualized by Israel as a defence move against Palestinian terror. But as one article from 2004 stated, according to the state of Israel, those, who are tainted with racism...

> "… are the Palestinians, not Israel. The said injunctions were issued because the Palestinians have carried out hundreds of murderous terror attacks of a clear racist nature against Israel and Israelis, and, consequently, only pure security consideration made the distinction between Palestinians and other people in the territories necessary" (9th February, 2004).

4.2.4. Zionism

In 2000-2005 Haaretz corpus, Zionism is the 10th most important collocate word to *apartheid*. The concordance lines below show that the discourse object *Zionism* was often referred to already at the United Nations racism world conference in 2001.

Concordance Table 4. Variety of *Zionism* concordances in Haaretz, 2000-2005

"I consider it legitimate to be **against**	**Zionism**. After all, it has **apartheid-like** character
was speaking about Zionism and **racism**, or about	**Zionism** and **apartheid**. This is the clear
Arab nations will use the conference to **equate**	**Zionism** and **Israel** with **racism and apartheid**.
"Stop the holocaust in Palestine," "**Israel and**	**Zionism** are **racism**" and "Isolate Apartheid Israel
"Many in the ANC have viewed	**Zionism** as a **colonial movement**. Do you?
of "foreign occupation, **apartheid**, [and]	**Zionism**" as a prerequisite for peace a fundamental
Arab politics and intellectual history who sees	**Zionism** as a **racist** and **colonialist** movement
which labeled Israel an "**apartheid state**" and	**Zionism** as "**racist**" is being picked up by some
anchor the entire unbearably heavy burden of	**Zionism**, **democracy**, **racism** and **apartheid**
reference to Israeli "**apartheid**" while leaving a	**Zionism equals racism** clause. "We will not accept
essentially different from other nationalism; that	**Zionism** is a form of racism, apartheid or Nazism

Until 1948, Zionism was the national movement of the Jewish people to establish the state of Israel in Palestine. As one article points out, Zionism was equated with communism by Arab opposition during that time–the Zionist movement at that time had many members, who were emancipated by the rise of workers' movement. After independence it focused mainly on advocating on behalf of state of Israel in political and public spheres globally, especially successfully in USA.

In the Israeli apartheid discourse during 2000-2005, Zionism was often equated with *racism* and *colonialism.* The Jewish state was built to Palestine, operated by British civil administration since 1920. It's occupation by Israel with the approval by the United Nations Partition Plan was seen as a colonial enterprise. However, the United Nations General Assembly condemned Zionism and equated it with racism in its resolutions annually from 1975 until 1991, when the Madrid Middle East peace conference took place. The new millennium brought the Zionism discourse back to public discussion in context of Israel being described as a Jewish state in its Basic Laws.

In an opinion article to Haaretz in 2005, a Zionist Adam A. Salkin from University of Leeds admitted that Zionism had been destroyed for a generation with "fighting, biased news reporting and prejudiced views" (24th January 2005). Less students in UK wished at that time to attend the Zionist educational "Israel Experience" tours and the movement had to ask itself about their identity: "Does anti-Zionism constitute anti-Semitism? And if so, is that right? Is support for Israel a burden worth carrying?" Salkin asked. He saw one possible answer to Zionists' identity crisis in strengthening the fight for Israel by telling stories about why Israel is so important to the Jewish people.

In an interview, the director-general of the Institute of Strategic Studies in Islamabad, Shireen M. Mazari also touches the issue of anti-Semitism: "Criticism of Israel and Zionism cannot be defined as anti-Semitism. Even so, many in Pakistan do think that the Jewish lobby in the U.S. is very influential and does have close relations with the administration. But that is a fact, isn't it?" (12th February, 2004). The UK academic boycott initiative by Britain's Association of University Teachers (AUT) considered it

important to clarify in 2005, that "anti-Zionism is not equivalent to Anti-Semitism, as well as a condemnation of the witch-hunt against colleagues who take part in the academic boycott of Israel" (29th April, 2005).

That same year Meron Benvenisti argued that the use of apartheid terminology has:

"… become a mark of leftist radicalism, and the angry denial of the validity of such a comparison now testifies to Zionist patriotism. It's unnecessary to add that an objective comparison or a discussion on the feasibility of comparing two such different phenomena is nearly impossible to find, and if anyone dares go into those issues, he is judged by his conclusions: If he finds points of similarity he will be pegged as an anti-Semite, and if he emphasizes the differences, he will be defined as a fascist" (19th May, 2005).

4.3. Apartheid discourse in 2006-2016

4.3.1. The main discourse objects and actions

The reconstruction of apartheid discourse in Israeli English media during 2006-2016 clearly shows that it is still a comparative discourse of Israeli state policies with South African apartheid, as the Collocate Table 2 reflects. I still deals with naming Israel an apartheid state. Recontextualization of apartheid Israel during these ten years is strikingly similar with 2000-2005 Haaretz corpus–an indicator of remarkable stability of the discourse in its collocational level.

The analysis of most common words in the span of five words to *apartheid* in Haaretz and The Jerusalem Post during 2006-2016 indicates that the main actors and antagonists of this discourse are also same as before: the *Palestinians* against the *state* of *Israel, Israelis* and *Jewish people*, and comparatively the *Africans* and *blacks* against *South Africa*. It is important to note, that when in Haaretz 2000-2005 corpus the t-score for *apartheid's* main collocate *Israel* was 7,5, it rocketed to 22,4 in 2006-2016 corpus, so the *Israel apartheid* discourse collocation strength nearly tripled. Actually, most of the *apartheid* top collocate words' t-scores doubled in this corpus.

Collocate Table 2. Apartheid collocates in Haaretz and The Jerusalem Post, 2006-2016

T-score	Lemma	N/V			
22,4	israel	n	4,9	describe	vb
12,8	against	n	4,8	genocide	n
11,6	south	n	4,8	black	n
11,2	racism	n	4,8	peace	n
10,4	state	n	4,8	real	n
10	african	n	4,8	system	n
9,6	call	vb	4,7	brand	vb
9,1	africa	n	4,7	bank	n
9	occupation	n	4,6	lead	vb
8,8	palestinian	n	4,6	create	vb
8,4	accuse	vb	4,6	boycott	n
7,6	term	n	4,5	accusation	n
7,5	policy	n	4,3	practice	n
7,3	israeli	n	4,3	include	vb
7	compare	vb	4,1	support	vb
6,7	comparison	n	4	struggle	n
6,2	jewish	n	4	settlement	n
5,6	word	n	3,9	regime	n
5,5	binational	n	3,9	war	n
5,4	year	n	3,9	arab	n
5,3	colonialism	n	3,6	movement	n
5,3	crime	n	3,5	campaign	n
5,2	claim	vb	3,2	form	n
5	charge	vb	3,2	label	vb
5	country	n	2,7	people	n

The word *apartheid* associated in the 2006-2016 The Jerusalem Post and Haaretz corpus strongly with new top list discourse objects such as *term* and *word,* indicating the highly meta-discursive character of this topic. This point is supported by the most important apartheid discourse actions that were taking place in the discourse recontextualization, like *calling, accusing, comparing, claiming*, *charging, describing, branding, labelling* etc. It can be concluded, that apartheid Israel is something that is not yet proven, but still a *term,* a *claim,* a *comparison.* It is an *accusation* and a *charge.* The collocate *brand* refers to its strategical use by the social actors who support the Palestinians' cause, and has a negative connotation like many other above-mentioned verbs. The common discourse actions like *create, lead* and *impose* show that apartheid is often discussed as

a thing that could happen in the future, if Israel continues its *policies* regarding the Palestinians*,* as this table indicates.

Concordance Table 5. Variety of *apartheid* recontextualizations in 2006-2016

authorities are implementing their **racist**	**apartheid policies** throughout historic **Palestine**
Dugard may probe **Israeli**	**apartheid'** in **territories**
difference because there is no	**apartheid** in **Israel**.
BDS Movement and that the denial that	**apartheid** exits in **Israel** is a fate well
veteran **peace** activist, **branded Israel** as an	**apartheid state** and said that a **boycott** was
two options – a **binational state** or an	**apartheid state**, Abbas said in a recorded speech
for the **Palestinian Arabs** were like the "	**apartheid" policies** of **South Africa**. A traitor
used the **words**, "**occupied territory**" and	**apartheid**" in a way that **accused** his fellow
that has already earned the name "**road**	**apartheid**." It violates **international law**, ACRI
"poisonous" club after it endorsed **Israel**	**Apartheid Week** — a string of activities **against**
Jimmy Carter: **Israel's** '	**apartheid' policies** worse than **South Africa**'s
Israel was repeatedly referred to as an	**apartheid state**, engaging in **crimes against**
to criticizing **Israel**, **claiming** it is an	**apartheid state** that perpetuates **genocide against**
The uproar over "**Palestine: Peace Not**	**Apartheid**" recently prompted 14 members
The **Palestinians** refer to it as an "	**apartheid wall**" and say it amounts to

Many other main apartheid discourse objects in Israel's English media in 2006-2016 are the same as in Haaretz 2000-2005 corpus. Besides the *state of Israel* and *South Africa,* it still includes *racism, occupation*, *policy, struggle* and *country.* But also some new discourse objects have appeared to the top list of the collocate top table like *binational, colonialism, crime, genocide*, *peace*, *real*, *boycott*, *settlement, practice, regime, war, movement, campaign*. The drawing of the new discourse objects in the chains of equivalences in recontextualizing the apartheid Israel discourse focused thus more to discussing the policies of Israel, occupation of Palestinians, colonialism and apartheid constituting a crime. It also stated, that Israel could have committed genocide against the Palestinians in its wars in Gaza. New objects of the discourse were also peace between the two nations, the campaign and civil society movement to boycott Israel internationally, building the Israeli settlements to the West Bank etc.

Compared to 2000-2005, a very interesting development is the total disappearance of the collocate word *Zionism* from the top list–it was the 10th strongest collocate word to *apartheid* during the first six years of the new millennium in Haaretz, but didn't make it to the top 50 collocates in Haaretz and Post common corpus, nor to their separate top lists. The second important collocate that vanished from the discourse was the *fence.*

4.3.3. The social actors of the discourse

As noted above, the Collocate Table 2 for the search word *apartheid* showed that the main discourse actors were the *state* of *Israel*, *Israelis* and the *Jewish* people, against whom the *Palestinians* are *struggling*. The parallel *South African apartheid* discourse actors were *black* population *vs* the ruling *whites*. As with the South African protesters, also the pro-Palestinian activists became antagonists to the state hegemon and its *racist policies*. The frequently used noun *struggle,* adjective *against,* and the verb *oppose* show the straightforward split of the social actors into two opposing sides.

Building the 708 kilometres long concrete fence between Israel and Palestine, often on Palestinian territories and deviating considerably from the Green Line, brought many civil society organizations forward to protest against it, and the Israeli and Zionist organizations protested against them in turn. Some social actors next to the Palestinians and their political leaders were South African protesters, anarchists, the academic communities, global social movements like The Palestine Solidarity Campaign, Boycott Israeli Goods, Boycott and Sanctions Movement and Israel Apartheid Week as can be read from the news. The BDS movement was so successful in apartheid Israel discourse popularization, that the collocates *boycott, movement* and *campaign* were among the main apartheid discourse collocations in 2006-2016 in Haaretz and The Jerusalem Post.

Concordance Table 6. Collocates with *boycott* in Haaretz and Post, 2006-2016

the term 'Zionist' was used during the	**boycott campaign** made it into a term
"Alicia Keys, Come Together with Your Sisters,	**Boycott Apartheid**," was removed
British association, encouraging a	**boycott** of **Israeli academics**, touched a raw nerve
not unrelated to the **anti-Israel**	**boycott**, **divestment** and **sanctions movement**.
the US Campaign for the **Academic & Cultural**	**Boycott** of **Israel**, which advocates
ADL said in a statement Wednesday. The	**boycott campaign** "relies on an abhorrent
several different **pro-Palestinian** and **pro-Israel**	**boycott** groups expressed their "concern"
Chomsky is known to **oppose** a **general**	**boycott** on **Israel**. "I was against a boycott
calling on **South Africans** to support the	**boycott**, **divestment** and **sanctions campaign**
Times in which he **called** for an	**boycott** of **Israel** for being an "**apartheid**" **state**
local branch of **BDS** (the **international**	**boycott movement**), which has been boycotting
petition titled 'It's Not Unusual To	**Boycott Apartheid**,' which was put together

As Antonio Gramsci had argued, a counter-hegemony to the hegemon is often born in the civil society movements. He conceptualized the challenge to the hegemon as a passive revolution with several stages, starting with "disillusionment with a current

order that is then challenged by both contrasting social forces and alternative "ideologies", and these serve as counter-hegemonic forces against the existing order" (Worth 2002: 7). This is exactly what is happening also in this discourse recontextualization–apartheid analogy is used by many civil society movements and organizations to mobilize their support to Palestinians' cause against the state of Israel.

4.3.3. The Jerusalem Post *vs* Haaretz

Collocate Table 3. *Apartheid* collocates in The Jerusalem Post and Haaretz, 2006-2016

The Jerusalem Post						Haaretz				
T-score	Lemma	N/Vb				T-score	Lemma	N/Vb		
19,1	israel	n	4	struggle	n	11,8	israel	n	3,1	settlement	n
9,8	racism	n	4	form	n	8,1	against	n	3	reality	n
9,6	against	n	4	practice	n	7,9	south	n	3	describe	vb
8,7	south	n	4	arab	n	7,5	africa	n	3	create	vb
8	african	n	4	label	vb	6,6	african	n	3	condemn	vb
7,5	call	vb	4	black	n	5,9	call	vb	2,9	movement	n
7,4	accuse	vb	4	describe	vb	5,5	racism	n	2,9	risk	n
7,2	africa	n	4	real	n	5,3	state	n	2,9	territory	n
7,1	occupation	n	4	war	n	5,2	policy	n	2,9	similar	n
7	word	n	4	ethnic	n	5,2	occupation	n	2,8	resemble	vb
6,8	state	n	4	gender	n	4,4	palestinian	n	2,8	black	n
6,4	term	n	4	jewish	n	4,3	israeli	n	2,7	boycott	n
6,1	israeli	n	4	promote	vb	4,2	binational	n	2,7	peace	n
5,9	compare	vb	4	portray	vb	4,2	accuse	vb	2,7	separation	n
5,5	policy	n	4	demonize	vb	4,1	comparison	n	2,7	perform	vb
5,3	comparison	n	4	include	vb	4	term	n	2,6	year	n
5,2	accusation	n	4	create	vb	3,9	word	n	2,6	west	n
5,1	palestinian	n	4	water	n	3,8	compare	vb	2,6	solution	n
5	claim	vb	4	false	n	3,7	regime	n	2,4	international	n
4,7	country	n	3	support	vb	3,5	struggle	n	2,3	law	n
4,7	genocide	n	3	fight	vb	3,4	system	n	2,2	form	n
4,7	charge	vb	3	bank	n	3,4	brand	vb	2,2	government	n
4,6	crime	n	3	boycott	n	3,3	colonialism	n	2,1	lead	vb
4,2	colonialism	n	3	year	n	3,3	bank	n	2	time	n
4,1	campaign	n	3	people	n	3,1	segregation	n	1,9	boycott	vb

Looking at the apartheid collocates comparatively in The Jerusalem Post and Haaretz in 2006-2016 in the Collocate Table 3, it can be concluded that the main apartheid Israel discourse objects and actions are still the same. However, collocates *Israel* and *racism* attract to *apartheid* in The Jerusalem Post nearly twice as strongly as in Haaretz.

The Jerusalem Post uses a little more often the verb *accuse* to refer to discourse action of *naming* Israel an apartheid state. Haaretz brings out the option of a *binational state* of Israel *vs* the option of turning into apartheid. The Jerusalem Post discusses *genocide* of the Palestinians during wars in Gaza, Haaretz doesn't. The Jerusalem Post terms apartheid as a *crime* and talks about *wars,* Haaretz doesn't. The Post discusses the apartheid *campaign,* Haaretz uses *movement* to talk about civil society boycotting initiatives instead. The Jerusalem Post also talks about a *false* apartheid claims, but Haaretz doesn't. Haaretz discusses *peace*, and building the illegal *settlements* to the West Bank, but not The Jerusalem Post.

The Collocate Table 4 on the next page shows the differences between opinion and news articles in both newspapers. This table shows again that the apartheid Israel discourse is extremely fixed in terms of its most relevant top 10 collocates i.e. discourse objects and actions also across the newspaper's sections. It's most basic definitional meaning according to this corpus deals in both newspapers' news and opinion sections with *calling Israel an apartheid state* like *South Africa.* The *Palestinians'* struggle *against* the *state of Israel* and the *occupation*. The *policies* of *Israel* are *compared* to the one of *South Africans* during *apartheid*. Here, it is interesting to note that in Haaretz's news and opinion sections the t-score of *apartheid*'s collocate word *palestinian* is much weaker than in The Jerusalem Post's both sections.

This table also shows, that The Jerusalem Post recontextualizes the apartheid discourse quite similarly in both, opinion and the news section. Haaretz opinion section, however, has some differences in its apartheid reconxtualizations–the words *word, regime, binational* and *separation* are not among its news section's nor in The Jerusalem Post's top *apartheid* collocate lists. *Colonialism* is a top news article's term in *apartheid* collocations in both newspapers, but it is not used in neither paper's opinion sections.

Collocate Table 4. *Apartheid* collocates in sections of Post and Haaretz 2006-2016

	NEWS						OPINION				
The Jerusalem Post			Haaretz			The Jerusalem Post			Haaretz		
T-score	Lemma	N/Vb	T-score	Lemma	N/Vb	T-score	Lemma	N/Vb	T-score	Lemma	N/Vb
8,2	israel	n	9,4	israel	n	5,2	israel	n	7,1	israel	n
4,7	against	n	6,8	against	n	4,3	racism	n	5,4	south	n
4,5	call	vb	5,8	south	n	4,1	against	n	4,9	africa	n
4,4	racism	n	5,9	african	n	3,8	south	n	4,5	against	n
4,3	south	n	5,6	africa	n	3,8	occupation	n	3,8	call	vb
3,9	occupation	n	4,0	israeli	n	3,7	call	vb	3,8	state	n
3,8	african	n	4,6	call	vb	3,7	compare	vb	3,7	binational	n
3,7	compare	vb	3,8	state	n	3,5	african	n	3,0	policy	n
3,5	state	n	3,7	palestinian	n	2,9	comparison	n	3,0	word	n
3,3	israeli	n	4,6	racism	n	2,8	accuse	vb	2,9	african	n
3,3	africa	n	4,3	occupation	n	2,7	policy	n	2,9	racism	n
3,1	palestinian	n	4,2	policy	n	2,7	africa	n	2,9	occupation	n
3,1	policy	n	3,4	brand	vb	2,6	colonialism	n	2,8	regime	n
3,0	comparison	n	3,2	accuse	vb	2,5	create	vb	2,7	separation	n
2,9	accuse	vb	3,1	term	n	2,3	impose	vb	2,6	comparison	n
2,8	create	vb	3,2	struggle	n	2,0	term	n	2,6	accuse	vb
2,6	colonialism	n	3,0	bank	n	1,6	israeli	n	2,5	term	n

Discussion

Calling Israel an apartheid state is a powerful act of *naming* a discourse object*,* as in Laclau (2005). According to him, *naming* a discourse is the central operation in constituting the unity of a social formation "in any *conceptually* graspable object" (ibid.: x). In post-structural theory, the articulation for drawing the chains of equivalences in counter-hegemonic struggle between different elements i.e. discourse objects of a discourse is crucial in creating a popular discourse in the first place. The social actors of a discourse participate in heterogeneous discourse actions, and put forward different discourse objects to fill the *empty signifier*–the word *apartheid* with a particular new meaning in context of Israel's political practices concerning the Palestinians.

It is in a discourse-theoretical view also a counter-hegemonic strategy, created by the underdogs, the Palestinians, to the hegemon, the state of Israel, to draw attention to their social and political segregation and violations of their rights. The Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza strip are in this discourse the "the others," the "outsiders", victims of state discrimination just as the black people were in apartheid-era South Africa. The parallel has been brought before 2000, when only one article in Haaretz discussed the topic–the Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization Yassir Arafat started to draw parallels between Israeli and South African political systems already in the 1970s. It took 40 years before this kind of characterization of Israeli political system became actively publicly discussed in Israeli English media, Haaretz. As Bakan & Abu-Laban have stated: "The application of the term 'apartheid' to the policies and practices of the Israeli state forms a flashpoint in contemporary global politics" (2010: 331). They suggest that South Africa is a useful point of comparison for state formations, and that the apartheid analysis serves as a useful contribution in Israel/Palestine studies within the framework of comparative political science, especially because of the transformations in South Africa after 1994.

Newspapers recontextualize discourse objects and actions, events and social actors in

their news and opinion articles. To analyse the recontextualization of apartheid discourse elements, I calculated the t-scores of *apartheid's* most relevant collocate nouns and verbs in Haaretz and The Jerusalem Post corpora during 2000-2016. I also looked at the concordances of node-word usage in context. I found that at the collocational level of five words, the recontextualization of apartheid Israel discourse is strikingly similar across corpora.

The main definitional meaning of apartheid discourse in Israel's English media is: *calling Israel an apartheid state like South Africa*.

There are some nuances in differences of the discourse recontextualization, but not much on the top ten lists of the most relevant collocates. The other main objects of the discourse are policy, racism, occupation etc. and the main discourse actors are the Palestinians against the state of Israel. This is a straightforward antagonism, popularized in the global civil society anti-apartheid movement BDS, that calls for international boycott of Israel.

One of the main discourse events during the first years of the new millennium was building the so-called security fence or apartheid wall between Israel and Palestine, and in 2006-2016 the disappearance of this discourse object from *apartheid*'s top collocates list. In 2006-2016, the focus of the discourse fixated on comparing the occupation and Israeli policies to an apartheid system, such as in South Africa. The discourse still dealt with the meta-discursive operation of *calling* Israel with the word *apartheid*.

One of the main results of this thesis in my opinion, however, the applicability of interdisciplinary approach of discourse linguistic analysis. In my opinion, corpus linguistic analysis of discourse objects, actions, actors and main events by measuring the search word's collocate nouns and verbs is a great method to analyse formation and change of a political idea in its definitional level. The statistical analysis of collocational profiles and concordance analysis proved to be a very stable reflector of apartheid Israel discourse recontextualization in its definitional level.

Kokkuvõte

Teise aastatuhande algusest saati on Iisraeli inglise keelses meedias jututeemaks süüdistus, et Iisraeli riigi poliitikad okupeeritud palestiinlaste suhtes meenutavad Lõuna-Aafrika apartheidi. Mõiste apartheid tekkis Lõuna-Aafrika vabariigis, kui sealne valitsus viis ametlikult 1948. aastal sisse rassistliku poliitika, kus mustadel elanikel puudusid paljud poliitilised õigused, nagu näiteks valimistel osalemine ning kinnisvara soetamine väljaspool nn. Bantustane ehk getosid. Tänaseks on apartheid ÜRO hartades liigitatud inimsusevastaseks kuriteoks, nii et apartheid on muutunud universaalseks terminiks. See on rahvusvahelise õiguse objekt, mida rikkuvate riikide tegudele peaksid järgnema juriidilised ja poliitilised tagajärjed.

Iisraeli apartheidi küsimust on küll ÜROs ja Rahvusvahelises Kriminaalkohtus arutatud, kuid mingeid olulisi ametlikke otsuseid selle kohta vastu pole võetud. Diskursus elab aga edasi. Globaalsel Iisraeli boikottimisele üles kutsuvatel kodanikuühiskonna liikumistel, eriti BDSil on õnnestunud muuhulgas ka inglise keelsetes Iisraeli väljaannetes Iisraeli apartheidi diskursuse diskussiooni üleval hoidmine. Nii konservatiivsemaks peetavas The Jerusalem Postis kui ka vasakpoolsemaks tituleeritud Haaretzis on Iisraeli apartheidi diskursus pidevalt kõneldav teema, mis tõusis pildile 2001. aastal ÜRO rassismi vastase konverentsi ajal Durbanis, Lõuna-Aafrikas. 2004. aastal kõneldi muuhulgas palju ka nn. apartheidi müürist nn. Rohelisel joonel Iisraeli ja Läänekalda vahel, mis kulgeb paljuski siiski mööda palestiinlaste alasid.

Iisraeli okupatsioon Läänekaldal ja Gazas on kaasaja pikim sõjaväeline okupatsioon, ulatudes juba 1948. aastasse, mil sionistlik liikumine lõi ÜRO nõusolekul Iisraeli riigi Palestiinasse. Seni oli seal kehtinud brittide administratsioon. 1947-1948 sõja tagajärjel tekkinud pagulakriis pillutas Palestiina põgenikud maailma laiali, neil puudub siiani õigus kodumaale naaseda ja seal oma kodakondsus taastada. Palestiinlaste vabadus liikuda okupeeritud aladel Läänekaldal ja Gazas, nende vahel ja riigist välja on oluliselt piiratud. Need on vaid mõned näited argumentidest, mida Iisraeli apartheidist kõneledes välja tuuakse.

Diskursuse nimetamist saab post-strukturalistlikus poliitilises filosoofias ja kriitilise diskursuse analüüsi kategooriates vaadelda kui antagonistliku vastu-hegemoonia loomist. Nagu Gramsci juba möödunud sajandil välja tõi, tekib selline kollektiivne vastu-ideoloogiline liikumine valitseva hegemooni vastu kodanikuühiskonnas. Laclau ütleks, et diskursus luuakse selle objektide samaväärsusahelas, kus paljud erinevad nõuded hegemoonile muutuvad puhtalt juba sellele vastandumise tõttu üheks antagonistlikuks pooleks. Selle operatsiooniga muutuvad nad ideoloogilise keti võrdväärseteks osadeks. Sellist nähtust saab tekstianalüüsis uurida korpuslingvistika võtetega, kus mõõdetavad andmed on sõnad ise. Juba sõnade peamiste klasside tunnuste vaatlusel ja mõõtmisel saab diskursuste kohta järeldada nii mõndagi.

Olen kasutanud uurimislähenemist, mis sarnaneb kõige enam korpusepõhise kriitilise diskursuseanalüüsiga. Ma uurisin apartheidi diskursuse objekte nimisõnade alusel ning diskursuse tegevusi verbide mõõtmisel. Diskursuse osalisi või tegutsejaid näitavad nimisõnad ning diskursuse sündmused tulevad välja suurematest muutustest sõnade kasutamise statistikas. Valisin Iisraeli apartheidi mõiste kõige tavalisema ja täpsema definitsiooni või rekontekstualiseerimise leidmiseks kollokatsioonide analüüsi meetodi, millega mõõtsin apartheidi ja selle kollokaatide vahelise seose tugevust viie sõna ulatuses.

Uuringu tulemustest selgus, et aastatel 2000-2016 tegeles Iisraeli ingliskeelne meedia apartheidist kõneledes peamiselt küsimusega, kas Iisraeli võib kutsuda apartheidiriigiks nagu oli Lõuna-Aafrika. Seega, Iisraeli apartheid on riikide poliitikaid võrdlev diskursus. Diskursuse peamised osalised olid palestiinlased *vs* Iisraeli riik ja juudid, ning võrdlevalt mustanahalised lõuna-aafriklased *vs* Lõuna-Aafrika apartheidiriik.

Peamine apartheidi diskursuse tegevus ongi Iisraeli *nimetamine* apartheidiriigiks. Ajalehtede autorid tegid sageli uudise isegi sellest, kui keegi ütles: "Iisraeli apartheid". Seega, tegemist on tõelise meta-diskursusega, kus kõne all on uue diskursuse loomine ise. Kahe lehe, Haaretzi ja The Jerusalem Posti diskursuse objektide võrdlusest võib näiteks välja tuua, et The Jerusalem Post räägib rohkem rassismist, kolonialismist ja küsib ka, et kas apartheidi süüdistus või võrdlus on vale. Haaretz räägib aga rohkem

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asundustest, rahust ning kahe rahvusega riigist. Mõlemad ajalehed räägivad palju Iisraeli okupatsioonist, apartheidi poliitikast, kuid näiteks sõna võitlus (*"struggle"*) on kasutusel vaid Haaretzi uudiste tippkollokaadina. Sama lehe arvamuskülje kasutatavamaid unikaalseid kollokaate on aga kaherahvuseline riik (*"binational"*) ning lahusus või eraldatus (*"separation"),* mida uudiste tekstides ega ka mujal tabeli tipust ei leia.

2000. aastate alguses on apartheidi diskursuse üks jututeemasid nn. apartheidi müür Palestiina ja Iisraeli vahel, kuid ka sionism. 2006-2016. aasta korpuse tipp-kollokatsioonide seast on need teemad kadunud ning asemele on asunud uusi sõnu, mis rõhutavad endiselt selle võrdluse loomise akti, süüdistust ja sõna apartheidi kasutamist iseeneses. Küsitakse, kas Iisraeli poliitikad on võrreldavad apartheidiga nii, nagu Lõuna-Aafrikas. Enam räägitakse ka kodanikuühiskonnas loodud boikottidest ning apartheidi-vastasest liikumisest. Nagu Gramsci ühiskondlikke vastu-hegemoonilisi liikumisi uurides analüüsis, on ka Iisraeli inglise keelses meedias apartheidi diskursuse antagonistid kodanikuühiskonna liikumised *versus* riik, antud juhul Iisrael.

Üks selle uurimistöö olulisemaid tulemusi on aga minu arvates hoopis see, et diskursuseanalüüs on korpusanalüüsi meetodeid kasutades väga efektiivne viis, kuidas uurida ja mõõta ideede ajalugu. Sõnade märgendamine infoga nende klasside kohta võimaldab mõõta diskursuste objekte, tegevusi ja sündmuseid miljoneid sõnu sisaldavates korpustes. Konkordantside ehk lähemas kontekstis otsingusõnade vaade võimaldab aga efektiivselt vaadata just mõistekasutuse variatsioone ja täpsemaid sõnastusi. See võimaldab leida mõistete definitsioone nii, nagu seda otsivad sõnaraamatute koostajad – mõõtes sõna kasutussagedust tavakeeles ning avalikes allikates, sealhulgas meediaväljaannetes. See lähenemine tundub poliitiliste ideede tähenduste uurimisel väga perspektiivikas, sest võimaldab diskursuseid mõõta sõnade kasutuse ühikutes, lingvistiliselt.

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