

## **DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS**

**Name and Surname:** Qanita Bassier

**Student number:** 2254040 (MA-Structured-2808)

**Module:** MINI-THESIS- LIN 804

**Mini-Thesis Title:** Media Representations of Reporting Techniques of Four News Houses Related to Two Mediated Events During the Trump Administration

**Supervisor:** Professor F. Banda

**Submission date:** November/December 2019

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## **Acknowledgements**

My research would not be complete until I have thanked everyone who made the submission of my Master's mini-dissertation possible. Firstly, and lastly, I am forever grateful to my Creator, who assisted me by making my goals achievable. This was mainly through continued effort of sweat and tears, on my part, and exceptional guidance from Professor Felix Banda, who apart from his warm nature, has a reputation in academia which speaks volumes. The collective support of the Linguistics Department at the University of the Western Cape, from the Chairperson who believed in me, to staff, students and all the lecturers who took time to educate me, and help get me to this point, I would like to thank you. Each one contributed to this mammoth task and assisted me so gracefully when the need arose. I am deeply grateful.

The social support of all my family and friends in times where I needed it the most, were immense. I am humbly indebted to my parents, whose love and continuous support without whom I would not have been the person I am, and strive to be. To my husband, your love and support of discipline and time management, consistently kept me focussed on my goals. To my children, without whom my motivation to proceed with this venture, would not have been pursued with such vigour.

The results are the submission of my collective research work over three years. Based on my efforts, I could complete a mini-dissertation based on two media events within critical media studies.

May you all be blessed.

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## **ABSTRACT**

Media representations, embedded in reported media events, play a pivotal role in the propagation of beliefs, ideologies and establishing the status quo. The media events are given coverage by news reports on newsworthy topics, and in this case, politics. In this mini-dissertation, two particular media events, namely the Travel Ban instituted by President Donald Trump, and making Jerusalem the official capital of Israel, were analysed based on the different viewpoints writers portrayed on the same media events. Being contemporary political events related to the current President of America, it was evident that a standard news structure was common and spatial positioning of texts was a noticeable key feature of news report. The use of pronouns as the subject in headlines, including nominalisations, clause embedding and speech acts, clarified implicit and underlying meanings of the text. The linguistic choices made by the writers had a direct link to the text, which propagated Trump's social and political ideologies positively and negatively based on these choices. The textual construct of four online news reports from four American-based newspapers presented both positive and negative revelations about Trump's political aims. The stance of writers pronounced subjective views in three of the four the news reports. The contentious issue of Jerusalem proved to be sensitive one, in that the religious sensibilities played a major role in the dispute of Palestinian lands. The linguistic choices most utilised were non-cohesive use of grammar rules as opposed to other texts; linguistic techniques, such as the discourse of exclusion; and the choice of wording, particularly understood within the Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) framework. PDA clarified the intended meaning writers portrayed in underlying messages which otherwise would not have been apparent. I explored how writers made use of similar linguistic devices on the same media events, through inclusion and omission of relevant texts, and by validating information by using quotes of experienced and distinguished persons with titles of authority. Yet, despite similarities of linguistic choices on the same media event, writers presented the facts in contrasting ways. This, among other strategies, critically assessed the stance of writers in their objectivity regarding Trump's ideologies, and the manner in which President Trump was represented.

**Keywords:** newspapers, news reports, texts, ideologies, political discourse, representation, media events, speech acts, exclusion, interpretation

# CHAPTER 1

## 1.Introduction

### 1.1 Background

President Trump said in his inauguration speech that he will be putting “America first”, and that he will make America “safe” and “great” again (The Telegraph, 2017). Based on his political ideologies, the method he chose to enact his speech was by certain promises he made. He promised that he would build stronger borders between America and Mexico. He also promised to end “radical Islamic terrorism” (Washington Post, 2017). This gave rise to a “Muslim ban” to prevent Muslims from coming to the United States of America. Despite the fact that the above-mentioned terrorist groups were in fact not a representation of the majority of Muslims all over the world, Trump viewed every Muslim as a potential threat to national safety. As a result, Trump gave the executive order of the travel ban primarily on Muslim majority countries whose immigrants he believed were threats to the safety of other USA citizens. These countries were namely, Syria, Iran, Yemen, Libya, Somalia, and although Venezuela and North Korea do not have a Muslim majority, yet their foreign nationals and government officials were also included in this ban (CNN report, 2018).

In addition to the above statements, he wanted an electronic ban on 10 major airports. According to al Jazeera (2017), Trump barred seven Muslim-majority countries from entering the United States by way of an executive order by “protecting the nation from foreign terrorist entry”. However, a federal judge later blocked Trump’s executive order, ruling that travellers who had already landed in the United States with a valid visa should not be sent back. According to the CNN report (2018), critics accused Trump’s executive order on immigration as being xenophobic since the prevention of entry of refugees also applied. Trump also advocated for all embassies to be based in Jerusalem. After moving the American embassy from Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem, Trump further asserted his commitment to Israel. Trump’s political ideology affirmed his allegiance to Israel in making this statement, but in so doing, was in direct conflict with not only Muslims, Christians and Jewish ideologies, but also the contentious issue of the occupation of Palestinian lands of which Jerusalem forms part of (BBC News, 2014). This is an ongoing conflict in the Middle East since Jerusalem is considered to

be part of the Palestinian territories of the West Bank (Vox, 2018). This is a major geographical position for political control which rests in the Middle East issue over Jerusalem and its political marginalization of minority groups which infringes on the land rights of Palestinians. Hence, these two media events are symbolic in illustrating how an ideology can be supported or opposed through the linguistic choices made within news reports in their coverage of these media events.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

Media coverage of political issues on local, national and international levels largely impact presidential elections and the views of the greater public in who they choose to support. News reports are one such medium used to provide information about governmental issues. Presidential administrations need accessibility to mass media when disseminating information related to presidential matters. Greer (1999) says regarding local government reporting, politicians rely on the media to broadcast official information which affects the larger public. In this mini-dissertation, a news report is the medium selected to illustrate how information, and in this instance, political media events, related to the Trump administration, are written about in news reports. This paper is based on the critical analysis of linguistic tools within specified news reports.

Within a political discourse, the selected media events indicate how linguistic resources play a role in the interpretation of written texts in news reports. The manner in which these texts are meant to be understood can be determined by linguistic choices used in a news report. It can also allow possibilities for different interpretations on the same media event to come to the fore depending on how language is used to propagate a message. The media events chosen surround the contentious relationship of the United States of America (USA) and the Muslim world based on their different ideologies. It is a well-known fact that the USA and Muslim world have always had a tense relationship because of its support for Israel, a country many Muslims and non-Muslims feel is oppressive, and are occupying the lands of Palestinians. The act of terrorism and killing innocent people, were carried out by people such as Osama Bin Laden and organisations such as ISIS and Boko Haram. These terrorism acts have incorrectly been blamed on all Muslims, majority of whom do not condone such behaviour. As a result, some



news outlets have openly supported Trump's travel ban of people from countries known to be predominantly Islamic and of making Jerusalem the capital of Israel.

By using a political discourse framework in the analysis of the selected media events, it is important to grasp how the use of linguistic resources play a role in the interpretation of written texts in news reports.

### **1.3 Significance**

It would be interesting to establish how news reports use certain linguistic tools to construct the same media events, but with contrasting messages. This, in turn, creates an understanding of what the social actors involved are propagating and how they are represented by it. It is worthy of academic investigation since the dissemination of information through newspapers, whether physically or online, is a major link to the broader public and presidential campaigns in their interpretation of media events. It assists in making information accessible to the larger public, and also indicates how information, such as political ideologies are being propagated through the media and how readers interpret these communicative events.

### **1.4 Aims and objectives**

The research is a text-based analysis of text documents. It attempts to analyse written news reports and the linguistic choices being used and how it represents certain ideologies of the Trump administration. It is based within a political discourse and will explore what effects linguistic choices can create and how news reports represent Trump's ideologies. The Travel Ban and Palestinian-Israeli issue of making Jerusalem the capital of Israel are the chosen media events due to the direct link it has to President Trump and its ability to encapsulate some of Trump's political ideologies. The study was restricted to the following objectives:

- To examine how news reports are constructed textually based on their content structure in relation to coverage of the media events outlined above.
- To explore how particular linguistic choices within news reports create certain effects in the interpretation of the political media events.
- To explore how the linguistic choices made represent the ideologies of the Trump administration.

## 1.5 Research questions

- How are news reports textually constructed and organised to put forward particular viewpoints on the media events?
- What are the particular linguistic choices used in these news reports and what effects do they create?
- How are the ideologies of the Trump administration represented based on the linguistic choices used?

It is important to critique news reports so as to unravel how linguistic techniques are used to either manipulate and/or propagate certain social and political ideologies, and in so doing, help readers in their critical interpretation of news reports.

Both media events took place during the period after President Donald Trump was inaugurated as the President of the USA, and the four news reports being analysed textually fall within the political landscape of the year 2017.

## CHAPTER OUTLINES

**Chapter 1** introduced the research scope and gave a background to the chosen media events by establishing the research topic in relation to its aims, objectives and significance and timelines.

**Chapter 2** comprises the Literature Review and Analytical Framework. The Literature Review expounds on the type of primary and secondary sources that have been used and that the actual data collected was used for analysis and was sourced from secondary sources. It explains the link of the media events and their sources. The Analytical Framework is defined by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and PDA's process of analysis in relation to these media events with particular focus on politics, representation, news values, and ideologies.

**Chapter 3** discusses the Research Design and Methodology chosen for the research topic and the research tools used when the data was analysed. Information on the background of the relevance of the news houses used and why they were chosen as data collection for the analyses.

**Chapter 4** covers the analyses of the news reports by firstly introducing the news houses chosen and the analyses. It was based on the linguistic choices made and how they relate to PDA. It further explained how President Trump was being represented by interpreting the texts.

**Chapter 5** is a conclusion of the analysis and I also offer my personal reflections on the topic and conclusions made.

## **Summary**

This chapter introduced the historical background and current political status of the media events chosen, and their link to President Trump. It highlighted the aims and objectives, and the focus area of the research questions. The textual construction based on linguistic choices and their effects were the primary focus areas in analysing how President Trump was being represented. Chapter One gave a brief outline of the content expected in each chapter and its conclusions based on the PDA framework.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **2.Literature Review and Analytical Framework**

#### **2.1 Literature Review**

The literature is based on two contentious media events linked to concepts related to the research of certain linguistic tools found in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Political Discourse Analysis (PDA). There have also been articles and online information such as journals which have been used in this literature review, and is in line with the research scope of these two media events. The topic of these media events is widely written about in news outlets and by journalists covering the topics in mainstream media.

The media events are non-fiction events and are primarily based on secondary sources since news reports and online articles are narratives of actual events and the interpretations thereof. They provide an interpretation of what transpired during media events and how it relates to ideology and politics, which is the framework within which this research falls. This analytical framework which derives secondary information explaining the linguistic angles in textbooks and journals related to critical and political discourse, include prolific writers such as Van Dijk, Mahadeo and Mckinney, Heywood, Tyson, and Fairclough, to name a few. In a book about ISIS by Weiss and Hasan (2016), it is a primary source of literature since it gives first-hand accounts of known ISIS fighters, a former ISIS spy and US officials, who were directly involved in the events discussed in the book. Hence, based on the media events being directly linked to ideology and politics, the chosen literature expounds on the analysis of news reports and their use of linguistic tools in CDA and PDA.

##### **2.1.1 The Travel Ban and the Trump administration**

The travel ban was instituted on five predominantly Muslim countries. The ban can be said to represent the ongoing strenuous relationship between the USA and countries with a Muslim majority. In a book about ISIS, Weiss and Hasan (2016) discuss the rising of this extremist group in Syria and Iraq in 2012 and their role in terrorist attacks, including the role of groups like the Taliban and Al-Qaeda. They shed some light on the military operations on how ISIS fought ‘wars’ using the Islamic injunction of ‘*jihad*’ to validate their attacks. The book gave

first-hand accounts of known ISIS fighters, a former ISIS spy and former US officials. The book expounds on the ideology of ISIS, what they believed in and what their understanding was of the religion of Islam regarding so-called non-believers and the Islamic State. The ideology of ISIS was that any group who was in opposition to their ideology of a holy war against the Americans, Zionists and non-practicing Muslims, were not practicing Islam correctly, and were viewed as non-believers or apostates. Based on their interpretation of a holy war, they believed such groups should be killed unless they submit to their ideology. ISIS and such extremist and terrorist groups saw acts of terrorism as being religious acts, and the only solution to what they believed was protecting their belief system of Islam. Hence, the start of a so-called Islamic state with the new Caliphate was an injunction they believed to be created under the pretense of Islamic rulings.

This was, however, not the correct interpretation of such Islamic rulings related to a holy war. Many reputable and knowledgeable Islamic scholars were in disagreement to ISIS's practices and interpretations of a holy war, since the conditions of such a major religious injunction were not being adhered to, and neither was coercion into following the religion of Islam a legitimate claim. Killing of innocent people was in no way a religious injunction of Islam and ISIS was in gross violation of such an unreligious act. Based on the history of such terrorist groups, Trump's institution of a travel ban was based on the ideology that terrorist groups were made up of all practicing Muslims in the world, not only those known to be involved in such terrorist groups.

This gave rise to a "Muslim ban" to prevent Muslims from coming to the United States of America. With hordes of coverage of the travel ban, information through mass media sparked many debates about what the ideologies of the Trump administration represented about the American government. An article titled, "Trump's Travel Bans-Look Beyond the Text", was written by David Cole who is the National Legal Director of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). In his article dated May 2017, he says that although security measures used by previous and current American governments in restricting rights of foreign nationals is a deep-rooted tactic, of which the reception experienced in previous governments was far different to that of Trump. The American public, as well as the courts, displayed a clear opposition to the travel ban being implemented.

Although Trump wanted the travel ban to be viewed as a security measure to protect American citizens, the response he received was surprising, since Americans themselves were protesting against the travel ban, and even more astonishing was that the same sentiment was expressed by the courts. This was an unexpected phenomenon in American history, since previous governments have a consistent track record of positive responses being in support of this tactic from both the American public and the courts. This shift in opposing a political ideology linked to the American government is a noteworthy change, since such this type of opposition indicates how the social injustice of exclusion is not welcomed and such an ideology not supported. For the purposes of this study, the ideology of exclusion of minority groups and the quest for political power through bold political moves, forms part of the evaluation of Trump's ideologies.

### **2.1.2. Trump's claim that making Jerusalem the capital of Israel will create peace**

In the second media event, namely the Palestinian-Israeli issue of viewing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, Trump announced that Jerusalem should be recognized as the capital of Israel (New York Post, 2017). Trump moved the American Embassy from Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem in May 2018. This statement, he claims is the best solution for the USA, Israel and Palestine in the ongoing quest for peace. This political ideology of Trump is widespread in news reports in the USA and abroad. This is evident in South Africa, such as the Muslim Views in Cape Town and their numerous articles on this media event, which include the one titled, "The Palestinian Struggle is Universal", written by Auwais Rafudeen. Other mediums of coverage are visible in international online articles as mentioned previously, as well as social media accounts such as Twitter, Facebook, who have extensive coverage on these media events (Politico Magazine, 2017). Based on the political strategy of Trump, he feels that having Jerusalem as the capital of Israel is central to any peace agreements (New York Post, 2017). However, the chief Palestinian and representative to Britain, Manuel Hassassian, said it was a declaration of war against Muslims, Christians and Jews, and their holy shrines (New York Post, 2017). It is evident that this media event has specific religious links to Muslims, Christians and Jews alike. Trump created more tension by stepping on religious territory which had a long history of political and social tension around the position of Jerusalem. Jerusalem is viewed as a holy site for Muslims, Christians and Jews. This is apart from the land issue that Jerusalem forms part of East Palestine which is considered Palestinian lands (The Times of Israel, 2018). In an article by Michael Koplow (2018) for the Global.com, he

says that the Trump administration is claiming that by making Jerusalem a capital of Israel, it would bring about peace between the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, when in reality, this is not the case. It will instead, create more resistance to the American policy on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict over possession of lands. Although the mainstream media is flooded with accusations of the Trump administration being biased toward Israel, according to an article by Amir Tibon for Haaretz.com, more than 75 percent of the religious group of Evangelicals were pleased with voting for Trump as the President. This is due to Trump's stance in making Jerusalem the capital of Israel which is a testament of his support of Israel, and hence, the Evangelicals were seen as being in favour of this due to the possession of lands.

Trump's political and social ideologies related to Jerusalem are viewed as being supportive of Israel, since he also promotes other embassies to be moved to Jerusalem. Although an ideology is not viewed as being a negative belief system, the imposition of an ideology which infringes on the rights of other social groups is negative and oppressive. Trump's ideology is represented in a way which imposes a political ideology and thereby marginalizes social groups who hold different ideologies on the position of Jerusalem. It indicates a level of disregard of Jerusalem's sanctity in light of the religious symbol it has for Muslims, Christians and Jews. Trump, however, firmly believes that his proposal to move the American embassy to Jerusalem, and recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, is a peaceful solution to the ongoing conflict (New York Post, 2017). Hence, for the purposes of this paper, the four news reports illustrate whether coverage of this media event was to promote or contradict Trump's views, and whether they are in line with his ideologies, and how use of linguistic tools within the texts of these news reports can interpret a message to represent different or similar views of Trump.

### **2.1.3. Ideology and Politics**

The media events being reviewed are namely, the Muslim Travel Ban and the official statement made by Trump stating that he recognizes Jerusalem as the capital of Israel as covered in news reports of 2017. Currently, the media event of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel has been actualized and has had even more coverage since the proposal of Trump to move the American Embassy to Israel was officially relocated on the 14<sup>th</sup> of May 2018 (Israel 21c, 2018). As per the news report this day of the official move from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem was noted as a "historic day for our people and for our state", as quoted by Prime Minister Benjamin

Netanyahu (Israel 21c, 2018). This is based on the political ideology that Jerusalem is viewed as the Jewish capital of the Jews and has been for the past three thousand years. Van Dijk (1988, 1989) explains that context of power relations rests on how society views the information imported by the media. Making declarations within news reports in this manner affirms the message which is being propagated and indicates which ideology it supports (Van Dijk, 1991).

Hence, news reports have a long-standing relationship with readers and how information around topics such as politics are communicated. Language is the vehicle used to reconcile our understandings of the world around us and to know our identity. So coverage of news reports uses language to interpret information on events which can affect who the larger public chooses to support. In effect, information being shared on a large scale, can shape one's beliefs which does affect the ideologies one chooses to support.

Tyson (2006) has noted that language is considered to be “ideological” since it is made up of several different and “dynamic ideologies” which are functional in all types of cultures in any particular time. Ideology can be defined as “a system of ideas, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours that usually operate to the advantage of a particular (more powerful) social group” (Bock, 2014:19). According to Heywood (2007:45) he describes ideology from a social-scientific point of view as a “coherent set of ideas that provides a basis for organised political action”. In relation to debates around the understanding of the term ideology, Heywood (2007) says that it is a contentious political term which can mimic different political philosophies such as Marxism, for example, which was seen as an open enemy of western capitalism in the 1920's.

With reference to this research topic, there is a clear correlation between what drives a political ideology linked to a particular religion. In the media events I chose, there is a link to the ideology of fundamentalism, particularly religious fundamentalism, in relation to the religion of Islam. Heywood (2007) says fundamentalism is usually linked to the propagation of certain religious beliefs and political ideologies. Heywood (2007: 66) describes the term fundamentalism as “a style of thought in which certain principles are recognized as essential ‘truths’.” As in the case of the Islamic fundamentalism, the Arabic term of *jihad* which in terms of the translation of the *Qur'an* means an Islamic holy-war or holy-struggle, was driven by a political ideology which is attributed to Islamic terrorism in America. Majority of Islamic scholars have agreed that Islamic fundamentalism which was being practiced by people such



Osama Bin Laden and organisations such as ISIS and Boko Haram, were practicing an Islamic injunction with a completely incorrect belief of what constituted a holy-war in Islam. Based on the book written by John Calvert titled, *Sayyid Qutb and the Origins of Radical Islamism*, establishing an Islamic state through militant efforts formed the basis of his writings and the concept of Islamic fundamentalism. Calvert (2009) said that Qutb transformed the religion of Islam into a “political discourse of opposition”. This directly relates to the ideology which Trump supports in that Islamic terrorism is a national threat. The promise President Trump made to protect the USA from Islamic terrorism is linked to the understanding that this political ideology forms part of the Islamic faith. Based on the *Qur’an* and documented Islamic literature such as *Aḥādīth* which are the teachings of the *Qur’an* centred around the life of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). Only these books are the acknowledged authentic sources of Islamic literature with valid Islamic injunctions. Any other scholarly works which have not been authenticated by the renowned scholars of Islam, cannot be seen as valid injunctions. Hence, writings on Islamic fundamentalism by actual terrorist groups on which they base their actions and claims of religious injunctions, are not accepted by Islam. Hence, a practicing Muslim is one who only follows valid injunctions taken from the *Qur’an* and authentic traditions of the last Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), also known as the *Sunnah*. My interest is to unravel how ideologies are constructed in the news reports based on the linguistic choices, and to evaluate how they relate, advance or contradict Trump’s ideologies on the topics.

## **2.2 Analytical Framework**

### **2.2.1 Political Discourse Analysis (PDA)**

In this study, I used PDA as my analytical framework. PDA is a sub-category of CDA. In order to better understand PDA, I would like to touch on the definition of CDA. Fairclough (1993:135) describes CDA as discourse analysis: “ ... which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor in securing power and hegemony.” This denotes that CDA and PDA are similar in practice except that PDA is set within a political

context. As Van Dijk (1992/7) explains, the difference is that political discourse is presented within categorically political contexts and are the texts and speech acts of politicians.

Politicians or members of parliament on international, national and local levels are considered role-players within political discourse. This could also include the larger public, such as citizens and those involved in political activities or events which pertain to parliamentary decisions, laws, regulations, social resources and so forth. Hence, there is a specified time, place and circumstance in which a political setting is created. As per Van Dijk (1997), political discourse deals with the critical, descriptive and psychological aspects of politics. He further adds that political discourse deals with “the reproduction of political power, power abuse or domination through political discourse, including the various forms of resistance or counter-power against such forms of discursive dominance (Van Dijk, 1997: 11).” As mentioned earlier, political discourse not only involves politicians but also includes “the various recipients in political communicative events, such as the public, the people, citizens, the masses, and other groups or categories (Van Dijk, 1997: 13).” According to Van Dijk (1997: 30) those involved in political discourse tend to emphasize all meanings that are positive about themselves and their own group (nation, party, ideology, etc.), and tend to emphasize negative meanings about others and other groups.

Linguistically, PDA unravels political discourse organized around particular topics. This involves evaluating superstructures or textual ‘schemata’, local semantics, lexicon, syntax, rhetorical operations, expression structures and speech acts of politicians for meanings and ideological stances. For example, political slogans have clear, eye-catching and musical slogans that easily stick to one’s mind due to their special rhythm and sound when chanted. As in the example of the Arab Spring, the youth are described as the ‘good people’ in their slogans of “*al-shabab al- ħilu*”, and their enemies are seen as the ‘bad people’ when they chant, “*al-waħish*” (Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda, 2015). The use of parallelism, alliteration, assonance, colloquialism and antimetabolites and antithesis project particular ideologies and meanings in these political slogans (Van Dijk, 1997; Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda, 2015). Slogan creators often do not adhere to the common rules of organization. This is in order to create communicative and ideological effects.

### **2.2.2. Representation**

In the book titled *Media Studies* (Fourie, 2009), I would like to highlight the chapter by Stefan Sonderling titled *Media, Language and Discourse*. Some points of his discussion relate to the

relationship between language and thought within society, the main elements of a text, language and political discourse. His angle of discussion is to critically understand how language can influence society and vice-versa. This is with particular reference to the mass media which he says deals with the “communicational, social and ideological aspects” in critically understanding language (Sonderling, 2009:84). This in turn, Sonderling (2009) says, can be used to either lobby support for certain ideologies or oppose them and their political powers. As in the case of my research study of political discourse, the idea is to critically understand a message in news reports through language. Stefan (2009:84) further says that: “...language creates meaning or representations (such as images and ideas) of the society in language.” In other words, language and society both influence each other. This, in turn, leads to the meaning or representation of what is considered acceptable or not, within a society based on the language being used. According to Mahadeo and Mckinney (2007:15) omission of information, that is when something is not presented, is just as significant and maybe even more so, than information that has been included in the meaning process. Stefan (2009) adds that language can be used to inform or misinform others, as in the case of politics, and can either represent or misrepresent information. Language can be used to create an ideology which rallies support or causes opposition in political power. When discussing language, power and ideology, Stefan (2009:111) says: “The ability of certain discursive practices to define our reality should make us aware of the close relationship between language and social relations of power and ideology.” Hence, the use of words in a political discourse creates meaning which is understood and interpreted based on the linguistic choices. This can create an ideology which is either supported or opposed through interpretation of the text by that society. In effect, the manner in which texts are structured, as in this case study, within news reports, play a major role in the interpretation of texts and what the message represents.

In the case of speech acts which is a sub-field of pragmatics, it indicates the relation between how words present information and how they carry out the actions related to it (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). It is based on the book by Philosopher John Langshaw Austin (1962) titled: “*How to Do Things with Words*”. Speech act theory was introduced by Austin (1962) who said that people use language as means to not only make an utterance, but also to create an action attached to it. He says it consists of three types namely: the perlocutionary act which is related to the how the causative effects are brought about through an utterance; the second one being the locutionary acts which is the construction of meaningful utterances such as expressions from a syntactic point of view; and thirdly, the illocutionary act which refers to either a

command or request which is the result of a communicative force attached to it. Hence, speech acts are utterances seen as being the result of performing locutionary acts such as promising, informing, ordering, warning and so forth. In the case of perlocutionary acts, it produces a communicative effect such as scaring, persuading, convincing, and so on. The speech act theory was further developed by Searle (1969), who believed that the main function of speech acts was to study the levels of action at which the utterance made performs. This is commonly used within a political discourse by politicians, and in this case of President Trump, in order to represent his political view on media events and assert his ideologies by means of speech acts.

How texts are interpreted, the structure of the text, the use of news values, speech acts, the political discourse of its setting or media event, and the use of linguistic tools, all form part of Trump's representation of the facts. The underlying and inherent meanings of surface structures of Trump's expressions, functions of words, sentences, paragraphs or complete texts can be analysed through the semantic component of a linguistic theory of PDA (Van Dijk, 1997). Surface forms are construed as meanings and references which in addition to underlying messages equate to specific 'speech acts' or social acts such as questions, promises, threats and assertions, such as Trump's promise to "Make America Great Again", for example (Austin 1962; Searle, 1969).

The following are structural components that are noteworthy when questioning the authoritative levels of how macro-level aspects of discrimination and power are possibly simulated at micro-level of news-making and news reports (Van Dijk, 1997; Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda 2015). Additionally, the referral to certain voices in specific orders and its spatial position impacts the meanings of the text. As per van Dijk (1997), a number of morpho-syntactic features such as the use of pronouns, variations of word order, the use of specific syntactic categories such as active and passive constructions, nominalizations, clause embedding, sentence complexity, are used to express underlying meanings in sentence structures. He further adds how the concept of "topica" refers to diverse discourses, as to what they mean, the situations surrounding them, and the contexts in which they occur (van Dijk, 1997: 26). The concept of topicalization is where the actors and actions are put in the initial position in a sentence by way of either making the actors involved to be viewed as active agents of either positive or negative actions (Van Dijk, 1991). An example is by using "Illegal Aliens" as the first words positioned in a sentence. It generates an immediate response of a negative action by making immigrants active agents of negativity (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). This is

how positioning of the text within a sentence can impact the ideology related to that specific group (Van Dijk, 1991).

With reference to the discussion earlier on CDA, news values play a role in the interpretation of the ideology and how it is represented in the text, as it refers to the values of newsworthiness such as negativity, proximity and prominence, to name a few (Bednarek and Caple, 2014). Within news writing and reporting moral panics form part of the discourse as a linguistic choice in lexicon are deployed to depict others as threats to national safety, as stated by Banda and Mawadza (2015), in their article about discourse and communication on the topic of xenophobia and Zimbabwean immigrants. In the article, Banda and Mawadza (2015) also discuss prejudiced discourses and moral panics as a “discourse of exclusion”. Issues of exclusion in this case of political discourse were related to status or class, race, stereotyping, ethnicity and religion.

Similarly, according to Mahadeo and Mckinney (2007:15): “There is the dominance of certain types of imagery/story angles in all mainstream media, which create and reinforce assumptions, and structures of subjugation and domination; ‘them’ and ‘us’.” Meaning, immigrants are viewed as negative agents by certain governments who blame foreigners and immigrants for social, economic and political problems of countries, and create the idea that citizens of the country need to be protected from them (Banda and Mawadza, 2015; Mahadeo and Mckinney, 2007). Similarly, in the case of Trump’s promise to keep Americans safe, he uses Muslims and Mexicans in his inauguration speech as active agents of negativity by creating moral panic of issues in national safety within news reports.

## **Summary**

Chapter Two discussed the Literature Review in relation to the two media events. It explained the key concepts related to ideology and representation within a PDA framework. It included the role of news values and newsworthiness based on the two media events. It focussed on how linguistic devices were used to represent Trump’s ideologies in relation to his political aims, by creating the perception that immigrants and refugees are negative agents.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **3. Research Design and Methodology**

#### **3.1. Text-Based Approach**

The research is text-based and is an analysis of a text document of online news reports written in the text format and forms part of the qualitative design for this research. The reason was because the analysis of the data is based on the written text only.

#### **3.2 Data Collection**

A physical or hard-copy of newspapers was one of the primary sources in which news was communicated to the masses in the past. According to Butler (1989) newspapers have been around since 1702. Hence, news reports have a long-standing relationship with readers and how information around topics such as politics are communicated. Currently, the mainstream media has advanced technologically, hence, many other mediums are available for news reports to be sourced. Thus, I chose to use online news reports that I downloaded from the internet. I have chosen four popular news outlets in America, namely the Wall Street Journal and the Washington Post, which is based on the Travel Ban media event; and The New York Post and the New York Times whose news reports are based on the Palestinian-Israeli issue of making Jerusalem the official capital of Israel. This is not a physical copy of a newspaper report as it is in online format. I chose timelines from January 2017 to December 2018 to coincide with the dates when the media events took place. The analyses are based on four news reports in total, hence, each media event has two news reports each. I have chosen news reports which have contrasting interpretations of the same media event for improved analyses.

#### **3.3 Political Discourse Analysis**

The textual analysis of the four news reports was conducted based on the analytical framework as discussed earlier. The discourse falls within a political setting and PDA is the framework from which the texts are analysed. Textual construction and linguistic choices for online news reports was focussed on in my analyses. Hence, this research focussed on the structures of headlines, leads, thematic organization, explanatory background information or lack thereof,

and particular linguistic choices and style. This involved the PDA of text ordering, syntax, lexical chains, and the use of certain verbs or adjectives among other linguistic devices (Van Dijk 1997; Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda,2015). Additionally, following Banda and Mawadza (2015), representation will be focussed on with reference to the news value of negativity, topicalization and the discourse of exclusion.

### **3.4 Data Sources and Sampling Procedure**

My research analysis was based on online news reports from four different American news houses. Firstly, I would like to give some background on the news houses used in my analyses and their position in relation to the political landscape of America. As mentioned earlier, the first two news reports are from the Wall Street Journal and the Washington Post, and will be based on the Muslim Travel Ban media event. The other two news reports are namely, The New York Post and the New York Times, whose news reports are based on the Palestinian-Israeli issue of making Jerusalem the official capital of Israel. In an article in the Atlantic (2017), Clare Foran writes, that although there has always been a political divide between Republicans and the Democrats, during the Obama administration it reached record levels and, even more so, during the first year of Trump's presidency. This division, Foran says, is according to a report which states that the record levels of the preference divide have plummeted as per the Pew Research Center. In addition, the latest report on the favourability of views harboured against each other, the majority of Republicans and Democrats alike, rest at 81 percent (2017).

The result of such a political division within a political landscape creates an environment for mainstream media to have more than sufficient news to discuss due to the likelihood of public debates fuelling the media on issues related to strongly supporting either the Democrats or the Republicans. This, in turn, results in constant debates with opposing views and ideologies which largely affects public opinion. This manifests further, when political topics are related to diverse issues, such as race, religion, age, gender, social status, and so forth, which affect policy making decisions and the larger public. As a result, the amount of coverage within news reports which support contrasting views can bring about numerous amounts of information being imported by mainstream media. This is particularly true for political media events related

to the American government and public opinion, of which the platform for disseminating such views are either through newspapers, online news reports, television, social media and even satirical platforms. In this case study, I focus on the news reports of four news houses and I have analysed them textually to understand the types of ideologies they support in relation to that of Trump's administration, and how this was done through the linguistic choices they made.

These news houses were deliberately chosen due to their link to the media events and the statistics given on Statista.com (Dec, 2018) by using Statista's Digital Market Outlook as forecasts (July, 2018). I wanted to give a little insight as to why the news houses I chose were the best suited and why the news reports chosen were online. The Statista Research department stated that as of 2015, there were four billion newspaper readers of which 1.3 billion of these readers were recorded as digital readers (Dec, 2018). This meant that the predicted forecast from 2015-2020 saw an increase of 9.8 percent of digital readers every year and a decline of non-digital readers by three percent for the same period. Statista.com also stated that the New York Times has the largest online presence on Facebook and together with the New York Post, forms part of the five biggest daily newspapers read in America.

With regards to newspapers in circulation, they stated that The Wall Street Journal is the number one leading newspaper in America (Dec, 2018). Although the Washington Post did not feature in the statistics above, due to the undeniable link to constant coverage of Trump's administration, the results of another survey by Statista.com stated that regarding the issue of trust, only 34 percent of readers trusted Trump as opposed to 66 percent who sided with the Washington Post in giving more trustworthy news in relation to Trump.

Another reason for choosing the Washington Post is that although it did not feature as one of the top five newspapers in Statista.com (2018) it came in eighth in the Top 15 newspapers as of June 2019, by way of circulation, which was recorded by another public relations company known as Agility PR Solutions. Their record of statistics pushed the New York Post down to number ten as opposed to the top five as listed earlier, and the New York Times still ranked in the top five at number four, with The Wall Street Journal upholding its position as number one, with an impressive 2.2 million subscribers or more to date. Statista.com also indicated that the newspaper publishing revenue in America dropped by ten million dollars in 2017 since 2010, while online newspapers showed more positive growth in this seven-year period (May, 2019).



### **3.4.1 News house 1- The Wall Street Journal**

The first news house I will discuss is the Wall Street Journal (WSJ). For the purposes of this research time period of the media event linked to the Muslim Travel Ban, according to Statista.com, the WSJ had a daily circulation of more than 1.18 million readers as at September 2017.

The WSJ is known as a strong supporter for the Republicans, or another commonly used term, the Conservatives. It is also considered the most reputable and is still the most highly rated news house in America, as stated earlier by Agility PR Solutions (May, 2019). It is a well-known fact that Rupert Murdoch, being the major media power figure he is, is behind the financing of news houses such as this one (Business Insider, 2019). Other such news houses also include the editorial pages of the Chicago Tribune, the New York Post, the Las Vegas Review-Journal and the Dallas Morning News. Hence, it would be probable to assume that Murdoch, being the conservative supporter he is, would support news which speaks more favourably to the opinions of Republicans. As a result of the news houses which Murdoch finances, it would be safe to assume that this can impart a degree of biasness on the basis of how political views are being propagated through these mainstream media channels. It is also evident that catering for the type of readers you attract, must be taken into account when writing news reports which may affect political affiliations. It is important to note which news houses are being financed by whom, and more importantly the impact their political affiliations can have on news which are produced from such news houses.

### **3.4.2 News house 2- The Washington Post**

I would now like to introduce you to the second news house, namely the Washington Post (WP). The WP is considered to be more favourable towards the Democrats or are also commonly known as the Liberals. Some of the other news houses who are considered to fall in the same category in support of the Democrats are the Huffington Post, the New York Times and Boston Globe. Hence, I have deliberately chosen news reports which support different views when it comes to the political parties and their reports on news related to the same media event. The current ownership of the WP is Jeff Bezos, who is also the founder and chief

executive of Amazon. He bought the WP in 2013, and has seen constant attacks from Trump since 2015, as stated in an article by the New York Times (April, 2018). Trump hurled many claims of the newspaper being the “Amazon Washington Post”, although Mr Bezos has no role in the ownership of the newspaper.

### **3.4.3 News house 3 –The New York Post**

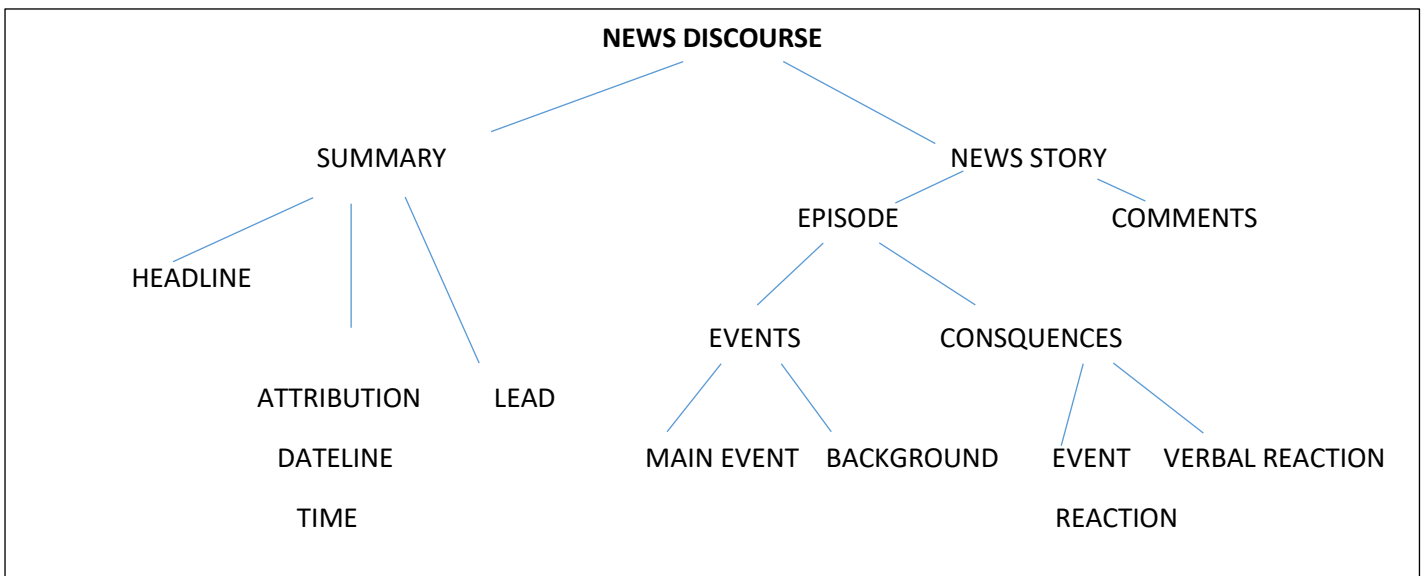
As mentioned earlier, it is evident that the New York Post (NYP) considers the Conservatives favourably (Business Insider, 2019). In an article in the New York Times they stated that Trump and Mr Murdoch have had a patchy friendship for decades, but since June 2016 have been appearing together at public events where Mr Murdoch introduced President Trump as his “friend” (December, 2017). This means that the NYP has a unique association with Trump in that its owner, Mr Murdoch, has a very close friendship with Trump. This gives an indication of how coverage of media events can be influenced due to association. However, at the same time, due to the NYP having a New York audience, it is noted that their news reports may at times criticize and not necessarily support Trump (Vanity Fair.com, February 2019). Based on the media event, I chose a particular news report from the NYT in which more Conservative views were being projected.

### **3.4.4 News house 4- The New York Times**

Arthur O. Sulzberger, Junior is the chairman of the board of the New York Times Company. He was a publisher of the New York Times (NYT) since 1992 until 2017, and was most instrumental in the NYT being awarded 61 Pulitzer prizes and transforming the newspaper into an international digital organization. He boasted an international audience of over 130 million readers and 3.5 million paid subscriptions as stated on the Nytco.com website (2017). According to Statista.com, the digital only news product is the most important division of the NYT and experienced an increase in the somewhat dreary market since they successfully obtained 880 million dollars in revenue in 2016 alone (2017). According to an article by Mediabiasfactcheck.com they stated that based on the media events covered by the NYT and the choice of wording used in their news reports, they favour the Liberals with a slight to moderate bias (2018).

### 3.5 Process of Analysis

In order to better understand the analysis process in this research, I would like to briefly touch on the discourse involved in online news reports with reference to its news structure. Based on an introductory course book titled *Critical Reading and Writing in the Digital Age* by Andrew Goatly and Preet Huradhar (2016), the diagram listed below gives a concise summary of the generic structure in news discourse. I thought this would be interesting to note as it assists in understanding the basic structure related to this research topic on online news reports.



### Summary

Chapter Three is about the Research Design and Methodology explaining the data sampling procedure and why online reports were used. Based on a textual analysis, the standard news discourse and its structure was highlighted. The data collection methods and timeframe for the scope of the research were also given in relation to the media event dates. The chapter also gave background information about the reasons for choosing these four news houses and their respective type of affiliations related to President Trump and how it relates to PDA.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **4. Textual Analyses of the two media events**

#### **4.1 MEDIA EVENT 1- The Muslim Travel Ban**

The first report I have analysed is titled: “Trump Signs New Travel Ban in Bid to Avoid Original Order’s Legal Pitfalls”. It was taken from the WSJ and can be found in the appendices (Appendix 1) of this dissertation and on the following link:

<https://www.wsj.com/articles/president-trump-signs-revised-executive-order-restricting-travel-to-the-u-s-1488818000>

##### **4.1.1 Highlighting and Indentation as Textual Tools**

As per Statista.com (2017), my first news report was chosen due to the WSJ being the most popular and most read newspaper in America. I felt that using it would be most appropriate for this research scope. According to Crystal and Davy (1969), and Van Dijk (1988), news stories have syntactic features which are not normally found in other discourses. Van Dijk (1988) also says that sentences in news texts often make use of nominalisations and embedded clauses as opposed to other written texts. Hence, there are more complex sentences used within news reports compared to other written texts. Furthermore, within a political discourse, it is evident that messages often contain various speech acts (Austin 1962; Searle 1969). These speech acts include promises, threats, questions and assertions within a political setting from politicians and political role-players.

The WSJ is the longest news report of all the four reports chosen, as it consists of twenty-six paragraphs in total. Each paragraph averages four to five lines with the longest being three paragraphs using six to eight lines in length. As per the structure of a news report, it conforms to a standardized construction as illustrated above. Whilst some news reports do not make use of a sub-headline, this news report has a headline, a sub-headline, the lead paragraph, the body of the news report and the last paragraph. Since a news report has spacing indentations, each paragraph is independently structured, which allows for different themes to emerge. Hence, the

paragraphs are not confined to standard cohesiveness (Van Dijk, 1988). Halliday and Hasan (1976) state that the paragraph is a collective set of ideas which come together as a whole complete unit, using pronouns and conjunctions in a sentence, to form what is referred to as “cohesion”. Each paragraph gives meaning to how the ideology is represented based on the interpretation and underlying messages made through the use of certain linguistic choices.

In the *Travel Ban* news report, I immediately noted the use of the textual tools of highlighting, insertion and indentation (Van Dijk, 1977). In the statement made by State Secretary, Rex Tillerson, his support for the order highlights the notion that this is the best method to keep Americans safe and that President Trump has the legal authority to keep Americans safe and in this manner. The link to using authority by way of titles makes the facts more believable (Banda and Mawadza, 2015).

Following Van Dijk (1980), in between paragraph six and seven this construction of information is written in bold with a bigger font than the rest of the news report. The writer deemed this bit of information as very important, since he placed emphasis on it by using the textual tool of highlighting (Van Dijk, 1977). Hence, he created more awareness around this information for readers. The same textual tool was used between paragraph thirteen and fourteen which I will discuss later on, for a more impactful read (Van Dijk, 1977). The use of this textual tool also made the news report seem less drawn-out due to it being lengthy, and brought about a curiosity surrounding these highlighted statements. It could attract readers’ interest to want to read the entire news report. The use of highlighting also created a preconceived idea about the message in order to better understand these statements. However, this was not visible in the other three news reports as they did not make use of this specific textual construct and spacing indentation (Van Dijk, 1977).

In order to fully understand these highlighted statements, one would have to read more about them. The positioning of the social action such as a message of assertion is highlighted in this news report and makes the news report more appealing to read (Van Dijk, 1977). The highlighting of these texts in bold and repeating the exact information again but without using bold and bigger fonts within the body of the news report, gives an automatic signal that it is important and that much attention should be given to these specific statements (Van Dijk, 1980).

Another aspect of a news report in an online format is that there are often links to other news reports which are linked to the media event in the current news report. This can impact readers in their opinions if read in conjunction with other such reports. As noted by Goatly and Hiradhar (2016), when inferences in the texts are made by omitting information or linking information to other texts found elsewhere, it creates space for readers' thought processes to formulate immediate conclusions and assumptions about a particular ideology. This linguistic tool was frequently used in this news report. This technique can assist in being more influential in gaining support for a particular ideology (Stefan, 2009). Following Van Dijk (1977), it can be viewed as a strategic placement of links to further feed the reader's curiosity and to cement a particular view or idea linked to the travel ban.

#### **4.1.2 Headline**

The genre in this news report is in the category of a serious news report of a political nature and discusses a media event of a travel ban linked to discrimination based on religion. As per Bednarek and Caple (2014), with the news values of negativity and prominence, it is considered a newsworthy topic. In the case of the WSJ news report, the headline is printed in a large and bold font with each first letter capitalised (Van Dijk, 1980). It is standard for headlines to stand out from the rest of the news report in this manner, since the rest of the news report is not written in bold and big fonts with uncommon use of capitalisations (Van Dijk, 1988). Not following the standard rules as listed by Van Dijk (1980), the headline instead is written in a much smaller font than the usual headline and takes the same standard formal stance of other sentences. The headline starts with the naming of "Trump" first, illustrating the central point of the news report (Van Dijk, 1980). In this way the use of nominalisation makes Trump the first word in the headline. Van Dijk (1997), states that using the pronoun of "Trump" first indicates the importance of President Trump as the main social actor.

Hence, President Trump is the main social actor within this political discourse and is placed in the beginning of the headline. His action was that he signed a document regarding a travel ban, hence, the word "Signs" is the verb used to indicate the action attached to President Trump (Van Dijk, 1997). According to Bednarek and Caple (2014), this projects the news value of prominence and proximity, since President Trump is the President of the USA, and as per the status of his position, exudes a certain level of authority. This adds to the credibility of his statements (Banda and Mawadza, 2015).

As in this case, signing the executive order for the Muslim Travel Ban is a verbal reaction linked to a position of power. Hence, the executive order is the official document of the travel ban and the use of the adjective “New” indicates a specific change of importance is being introduced in it (Van Dijk 1997; Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda, 2015). Within PDA, the writers used the executive order and the travel ban interchangeably when interpreting the texts. “Legal” is the noun linked to the lawfulness which is used to describe the validity of the travel ban’s order with an inference of endorsement by the legal fraternity to validate it (Van Dijk 1997; Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda, 2015).

I would like to point out a particular use of the noun, “Pitfalls”, which means “dangers or drawbacks”, and are linked to the executive order” (Van Dijk, 1997; Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda,2015). The choice of this word by the writers as the noun, indicates that major legal issues are linked to the executive order based on its intended meaning (Van Dijk, 1997). Following Bednarek and Caple (2014), this word choice represents a news value of negativity and indicates that difficulties and/or consequences are attached to the word “legal”, which is the adjective describing the type of “pitfalls”. The choice of words can affect the interpretation of the meaning within PDA (Van Dijk 1997; Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda,2015). The discourse of negativity, following Banda and Mawadza (2015), has been linked to the executive order. The executive order is which is placed at the end of the headline and positioned as the last text of the headline (Van Dijk, 1991). The headline and the lead gives a summary of the topics discussed in the news report (Van Dijk, 1988). It also gives an account of the media event from the writer’s perspective, and this can be seen by the words used and the positioning of the texts chosen by the writers within the headline (Van Dijk, 1991).

The topic in this news report is, firstly, centred on the newly signed travel ban and how it differs from the original one and the comments and verbal reactions related to them. Secondly, the topic discusses how the legal obstacles and its consequences regarding this travel ban have been dealt with. The social actions of President Trump and his administration are represented as either supporters or opponents based on the political ideology being promoted (Van Dijk, 1997; Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda, 2015). By the social act of signing an executive order for a Muslim travel ban, supporters of this action are by default supporting President Trump and his ideology of religious discrimination. This will be discussed later on after further analysis.

### **4.1.3 Sub-Headline**

Immediately below the headline is the sub-headline which elaborates more on the headline and gives a particular stance on the direction of the news report (Van Dijk, 1991). Before any reservations can be raised, the writers clarify two things based on their topic of discussion (Van Dijk, 1988). In the structured sentence a phrase and clause in the sub-headline is used to indicate some of the social actors affected by the travel ban through the positioning of the texts in this manner (Van Dijk, 1991). Firstly, travellers with valid visas are being exempted from the revised travel ban. Secondly, Iraq has been removed from the list of “targeted nations”. Here, following Van Dijk (1997), the use of the word “targeted” can be associated with a country “besieged” or a nation that has some political issue with the USA, but has since been removed as a potential threat. This attaches a negative connotation to those countries listed in the travel ban. Thereafter, the names of the two writers of the report are listed in separate lines, with the date and timeline of the news report just below. The writers are Laura Meckler and Brent Kendall, and the date of the news report is 6 March 2017. At the end of the article Felicia Schwartz is listed as a contributor.

The traditional format of a news story or news report is somewhat modified to take a different structure to the previous format of a news report. This is due to online news reporters making use of different syntax and lexical features; more visual textual constructions; and multimodal methods of representation when covering a news story, such as videos, digital images and so forth. For the purposes of my research scope and following Van Dijk (1997), I have only focussed on the textual construction by way of grammar, clause embedding, complex sentences and structuring of the actual texts as part of the analysis of linguistic tools used for interpreting the text within the news report.

### **4.1.4 The Lead**

The lead paragraph opens by naming the physical location where the signing of the travel ban took place. It was held at the office of the White House in Washington. This formalises the media event in that it took place within a political setting such as the official residence and workplace of President Trump (Van Dijk, 1988). The first sentence of the lead starts by stating that a “scaled-back” travel ban was signed by President Trump. Following Van Dijk (1997),



the choice of the writers to use this word gives the understanding that there is a delay around the travel ban. This meant that some of the original concerns in the executive order were legally challenged. The original concerns were that all refugees and non-citizens from seven Muslim-majority countries were banned from entering, travelling to and from the USA (CNN report, 2018). The first obvious change is that there are now six Muslim-majority countries on the list, however, immigrants coming from these countries would still be blocked and any applications for admission to the USA would be halted.

#### **4.1.5 Body of the news report**

The second paragraph stated that the new executive order will still be subject to a legal outcome based on whether the new travel ban has made a valid claim to put measures in place for the sake of protecting American citizens from terrorism, or whether the new travel ban still has underlying issues that could get the travel ban rejected again. I would like to look at the concept of topicalization, which according to Van Dijk (1991), is used here by placing social actors and their actions at a position within a sentence that can make them either active agents of negativity or positivity. If the claims are viewed as valid, this would make refugees and immigrants active agents of negativity due to their positioning in the texts from the writers' perspective (Van Dijk, 1991).

The writers called the travel ban the "Muslim ban", which presents President Trump as regarding Muslims as threats (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). The writers also stated that the new travel ban could possibly be a "dressed-up" version of the original one. The writers used the words "dressed-up", which further mocks President Trump, as this indicates that nothing significant has changed from the original order. This could suggest that Muslims are instead victims of the discourse of exclusion as per Banda and Mawadza (2015), and are not the perpetrators of terrorism. Similarly, inferences are made that the new executive order could still have the same existing legal pitfalls from the original executive order, but written in a more receptive way (Goatly and Hiradhar, 2016). Here, following Fairclough (1995), the writer makes an implicit inference to the fact that not much has been changed from the original executive order. If, in essence, the original grounds for its rejection are still evident, it could still retain the same issues for further legal challenges which could cause it to be rejected again.

Paragraph three is different to paragraph two as it goes on to discuss how the new executive order varies from the original one. In this instance, the perspective of the writers is given when they appear to justify President Trump's actions for the revised executive order (Van Dijk, 1991). In the first sentence, the writers make mention of the fact that the original order was signed during President Trump's first week in office. Mentioning this fact gives readers the understanding that there is room for error. As per Van Dijk (1991), this is a linguistic technique used to position the text in this manner where one is more empathetic towards mistakes on the part of President Trump. According to Fairclough (1995), an implicit meaning is given and is left open to interpretation. The fact that stating this occurrence was not a needed point of reference indicates that the writers made mention of this fact in order to give readers a background inference through the use of subtlety (Van Dijk, 1991). The writers created an excuse on the part of President Trump by referring to the fact that the first order was signed at a time when he had just begun his presidential duties. The inclusion of this observation, that President Trump was commencing presidential duties within his "first week in office", indicates the stance the writers have adopted towards President Trump (Van Dijk, 1991).

The underlying message is that President Trump was fairly new to his duties, and that there should be much room for error, since this implies that faultless decisions should not be expected during the teething stages of his work (Fairclough, 1995). This takes away some type of accountability from President Trump, and that readers should be more understanding as to why the original executive order had legal challenges in the first place. By default, this places Muslims in a negative light. According to Van Dijk (1997), President Trump emphasized all things positive about the travel ban and their own group (nation, party, ideology, etc.), and in so doing, created the adverse effect by giving negative meanings about Muslims.

The writers further assert that the difference in the original order is how the officials responsible for administrative procedures in immigration and security were involved in the vetting processes (Van Dijk, 1991). This begs the question as to whether previous internal administrative procedures were administered correctly, and if not, why was it signed off in this manner before proper consultations had been concluded. It also begs the question as to whether this would affect how the original legal pitfalls will be addressed in the new executive order and whether the level of confidence is somewhat affected by this disparity. The writers referred to the new executive order as the "revised version". Using this choice of words indicate that a better version of the travel ban is available and should be viewed as an improved edition (Van Dijk, 1997). This suggests that a new travel ban was signed and the assumption is that there

are no valid reasons for it to be rejected for a second time (Fairclough, 1995). The writers also stated that there is a waiting period of ten days before taking effect, in which administration officials will use this time to avoid logistical hitches which might adversely affect airports in the original order. The inclusion of this information makes it apparent that the travel ban should go forward without objections as per the stance taken by the writers (Van Dijk, 1991).

Paragraph four elaborates on the more negative effects of the original travel ban and why it was rejected. The linguistic tool of quantification and intensification was used when describing the amount of resistance that it received by using “widespread” as the adjective describing the “protests” and “multiple” describing the “court challenges” (Van Dijk, 1997; Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda, 2015). This intensity of numbers in opposition to the executive order grabs the attention of readers as to the extent of discord surrounding the executive order (Van Dijk, 1997). The writers then create an emotive effect of empathy when describing “refugees” as being “desperate” (Van Dijk, 1997; Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda, 2015). This adjective is an exaggeration of “refugees” since the connotation attached is that refugees are large in number and pose huge threats (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). The writers used these words to create a more negative effect around fear of refugees. Hence, “desperate” amplifies its negative meaning which the writer associated with the sad state of refugees, which could cause them to engage in terrorist acts (Van Dijk, 1997; Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda, 2015).

In the same spacing of this paragraph, the writers include the notion that the opponents of the travel ban condemn America for not providing a safe place for immigrants and claim to have evidence to suggest that this course of action by the Trump administration is not necessary. As per Van Dijk (1977), the writers use this textual tool of spacing to support the travel ban’s validity by diffusing claims in opposition to it, by mentioning it in the same paragraph. Following Banda and Mawadza (2015), by including this evidence it gives the claims more credibility. The WSJ says this is based on “data” which projects a notion that a scientific approach of record keeping was used to prove there were no real threats from these countries. It also excludes the possibility that immigrants pose any real threat of carrying out acts of terrorism than any of the other nations not included in the travel ban. According to Banda and Mawadza (2015), this technique is used to make information more believable and factual.

The writers used the spatial indentation of a tab as a linguistic tool indicating the importance of the next topic (Van Dijk, 1988). The paragraph ends off on a positive note, in that the need

for a “travel pause” is highlighted in the sentence after the first part of the paragraph. This creates a setting to soften the negative effect by mentioning the “travel pause” as a type of consolation to the concerns around better vetting measures (Van Dijk, 1997). This would allow for some temporary relief to the logistical difficulties when implementing the travel ban. The specifics around the type of relief and how it will affect travel concerns positively, have however, not been detailed in this news report. According to Mahadeo and Mckinney (2007), omission of facts gives a different representation of the information. Hence, the writers use this technique to make the travel ban appear more positive.

Paragraph five opens with a statement quoted by the Secretary of State, Rex Tillerson, which by way of his title labels him with a degree of authority in this matter. To create more support for the travel ban, the writers strategically place the quote of Mr Tillerson after paragraph six and seven to highlight the sincere intention of President Trump as listed earlier, and to reiterate this sentiment (Van Dijk, 1991). Mr Tillerson’s speech was included by the writers, as it supports President Trump’s ideology that as the President, Trump has the “rightful authority” to protect the American people, and validates his act of protecting them (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969).

Following Van Dijk (1997), and Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda (2015), by using “rightful” as the adjective, the writers attach a degree of confidence in the lawfulness of the executive order. The writers authenticate the validity of President Trump’s motive behind the executive order. The same can be said where the writers included the quote which had words like “solemn duty” and “with the order”, which makes certain inferences (Goatly and Hiradhar, 2016). This inference is linked to other texts which indicate that a sincere intention to protect American citizens is implied by implementing President Trump’s executive order. In so doing, it negates the idea that any type of religious discrimination on the part of President Trump could be a possible reason behind the executive order. According to Fairclough (1995), it implicitly provides an interpretation which advocates support for the new executive order and opposition to refugees and immigrants who are considered a risk.

In paragraph six, information about refugees who could pose a possible threat of terrorism were listed by labelling them as being “investigated”. This displays a degree of concern based on the choice of this word to describe how threats are being dealt with (Van Dijk, 1997). The fact that “300” was stated as the figure given to those refugees who are considered threats, should be

viewed as a substantial number of refugees being singled out and could present a state of fear around them (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). Despite the huge number of refugees under investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation(FBI), the writers said that they “declined” to give any type of details around these investigations. From the writers’ angle this gives a representation of the FBI in a somewhat negative light, since information around these investigations are vague and unclear (Van Dijk, 1991). These investigations were based on possible fears only, since the writers used the words “potential terrorism-related activities” as the reason for these enquiries (Van Dijk, 1997). This could suggest that whether the investigations are warranted or not, the lack of information could be interpreted as there being no real threat of so-called terrorist attacks. As per Mahadeo and Mckinney (2007), the omission of information represents facts in a certain way. The lack of information gives a general representation that although there is no proof, there is still a real danger of terrorist activities.

If, in the event that the FBI found a real concern around these refugees, it begs the question as to why the FBI have not made such information available to the public. Due to the national safety and security issue being projected by writers as the sole purpose for the travel ban, this could make some citizens believe that it is the best way for them to feel safer. This is based on the technique of omitting such formation on the part of the writers (Mahadeo and Mckinney, 2007). Hence, the ideology promoted here is that the Trump administration should deal with such “potential” terrorist refugees vigorously, since the lives of innocent people could be at stake. This creates a type of propaganda, that in order to feel safe, American citizens should be in favour of the travel ban, even if it meant excluding refugees who have no real proven links to terrorism. The lexical arrangement here reinforces ideas of power and suppression by creating the assumption that such refugees are already a threat to national safety even before they have been proven to be one (Banda and Mawadza, 2015; Mahadeo and Mckinney, 2007).

As in the case of the travel ban, President Trump’s response to the possibility of terrorist attacks meant that he assumed all Muslims are likely to be terrorists following the writers’ perspective (Van Dijk, 1991). The writers’ use of the discourse of exclusion create a state of fear around refugees, and that the possibility of terrorist acts makes immigrants, particularly Muslim immigrants, active agents of negativity (Banda and Mawadza,2015). As per Heywood (2007), this can be linked to fundamentalism being the actual problem and not Islam itself. However, President Trump generalised the sentiment by stereotyping all Muslims as being negative agents based on the propagation of certain Islamic religious beliefs and political ideologies.

The number given by the writers for refugees (300) under investigation is considerably high, since stating such a high number amplifies this emotion of fear and makes this fact more believable (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). By instilling this sentiment of fear, the writers could present information in a manner which is in support of Trump's ideology (Van Dijk, 1991). The effect is that citizens would be more in favour of a travel ban.

Paragraph seven starts off by stating that those in opposition said that they "promised" to resist the revised order in court and are adamant in their resistance (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). Following the speech act theory of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969), the assertion of making a promise indicates a type of resistance to the travel ban. The writers have included the political slogans chanted by protesters outside the White House. The use of alliteration and assonance in the political slogans creates an ideological effect (Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda, 2015). This is audible by way of the rhythmic sounds which rhyme at the end of each verse. This was evident from the chant which read: "No fate, no fear! Refugees are welcome here!". The grammatical use of the exclamation mark indicates that the chant is being sung loudly and phonetically, "fear" and "here" have the same rhythmic sound and assonance. The chant displays a discourse of inclusion in that, despite not being born in America, refugees are not considered to be threats, but instead are viewed as fellow citizens.

This contradicts the ideology which the Trump administration propagates, which is that refugees should be feared regardless of whether they are real threats or not. It implies that having a refugee status automatically links you to being involved in possible terrorist attacks (Fairclough, 1995). These anti-travel ban protesters in the news report were being supportive to refugees by way of their slogans (Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda, 2015). The slogan's message was that being a refugee does not mean automatic exclusion and blame for possible terrorist attacks. Following Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda (2015), the ideological effect was that all refugees were considered innocent and oppressing them was immoral and oppressive. The previous chant of, "We are all Muslim, now", further supports the ideology of inclusion of refugees by way of the religion of Islam. Here, the opposition to the travel ban is viewed with such fervent resistance and support for the protection of refugees, that if it meant American citizens should be labelled as "Muslims" to be considered lawful citizens, protesters were willing to be placed in the religious category of being a Muslim in order to show their support. This is completely opposite to Trump's ideology, as per the explanation by Heywood (2007), regarding Islamic fundamentalism and how it differs from the actual ideologies in Islam. As

per Calvert (2009), Qutb transformed the religion of Islam into a “political discourse of opposition”. This is how Trump used it to support the travel ban and by using a discourse of exclusion (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). The chanting of the aforementioned slogans is a huge show of solidarity with refugees, since it resonates with a discourse of inclusion and equality. The writers indicate that a strong resistance to President Trump’s new travel ban is evident, since protesters believe Trump’s ideology discriminates against those practising the religion of Islam; and immigrants seeking asylum from Muslim-majority countries, which is based on the discourse of exclusion (Banda and Mawadza, 2015).

Directly after paragraph seven, the writer inserted a link to another report regarding the rank of countries banned from the USA (Van Dijk, 1977). It was listed for readers who want to know more about the ranking system of the USA. This, however, does not form part of the actual information in the news report. As mentioned earlier, by including a link in the news report in such a manner, and writing the same information again after paragraph seven, it is a strategic arrangement of texts which promotes support for President Trump’s reason behind the travel ban (Van Dijk, 1991). According to Van Dijk (1997), it is a means of projecting information about the travel ban positively, and those who oppose it are to be viewed negatively.

Paragraph eight goes on reiterate the sub-headline, which is that Iraq is removed from the list of banned countries. In this paragraph, the writer states that the remaining six countries send the bulk of refugees, yet only make up a small part of those immigrants linked to terrorist attacks. Following Fairclough (1995), an implication is made that the countries banned according to the travel ban are more likely not to be guilty of having terrorists. The fact that the writers again mentioned the removal of Iraq here, indicates its news value of prominence (Bednarek and Caple, 2014). The paragraph ends with a statement that relates to “other opponents” which separates them from the opponents discussed in the previous paragraphs. This indicates that there are a number of other groups who also oppose the travel ban. These “other” opponents declared a small triumph in opposing the original order in that the revised order had removed Iraq from the banned list, and that a small amount of terrorist links were evident in the refugees from the remaining six countries. As per Van Dijk (1991), by repeating the removal of Iraq, the writers are lobbying more support for the travel ban.

By including the inconsistency of information regarding the number of refugees who come from the countries listed on the ban, the writers said that there is no proof of how many of these

countries are actual threats. It indicates a lack of validity in fears of these countries which, following President Trump's claims, have involvement in terrorism acts (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). Following Mahadeo and McKinney (2007), this represents questionable information on the reason why these countries are listed in the ban as opposed to others. In this instance, it also places the Trump administration in a negative light due to the discourse of exclusion being evident (Banda and Mawadza, 2015).

Paragraph nine mentions a very bold statement from a person in authority regarding President Trump's original executive order. Using this linguistic technique makes the statements more factual and believable (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). The writers included the statement of state attorney, General Bob Ferguson, from Washington, and he used "indefensible" as the word to describe the legal, constitutional and moral flaws of the executive order. Following Van Dijk (1997), the choice of this word provides a strong resistance to the idea of a faultless travel ban. In this manner, General Ferguson criticizes President Trump for the fact that he was forced to rescind the original order. This suggests a strong force of opposition and is further acknowledged by the fact that Mr Ferguson was successful in blocking the initial travel ban.

Paragraph ten goes on to state Mr Ferguson's political affiliation as a Democrat, which is a clear indication of his political opposition to President Trump who sides with Republicans. As per Van Dijk (1997), projecting information about the resistance in this way gives a more positive outlook to President Trump and those who oppose him are to be viewed negatively. The inclusion of this information present Mr Ferguson as someone who is bound to have resistance towards President Trump from the view of the writers (Van Dijk, 1991). This gives readers more insight as to why there would be reservations about the travel ban and though Mr Ferguson commends the new order for alleviating many issues to thousands of travellers, he still questions the motive behind the travel ban. As a result, he says that there might still be a need for further legal challenges to be instituted. The writers indicate that there could still be an issue with the new executive order, but the implicit meaning is that despite the issue, resistance to it should be viewed negatively (Fairclough, 1995).

In contrast to opposing views to the travel ban listed above, in paragraph eleven, the writers dedicate one sentence to assert that "several major changes" have been made to the original order. Following Van Dijk (1988), it singles out the topic that changes have been made to the original order. It is an emphatic statement to represent the travel ban in a different light to the



original one. As per Van Dijk (1991), the fact that it is placed with a spatial indentation in the previous paragraph. This technique is used to single out information by affording it its own paragraph. It also indicates the news value of prominence in the news report (Bednarek and Caple, 2014). Based on the structure of a news report, this spacing of each paragraph indicates the topic of discussion and thereby highlighting its importance in this manner (Van Dijk, 1988).

More details are discussed in paragraph twelve which lists each country America banned by name, and stating again that Iraq is removed from this list. This is a key issue that has been mentioned three times in the news report already which indicates the stance of the writers (Van Dijk, 1991). The constant mention of this fact by the writers is a linguistic tool to give the writers' perspective in viewing the travel ban more favourably (Van Dijk, 1991). It was noted that the banning of Iraq by President Trump was a positive move, since Iraq formed part of the original list of countries banned during the presidency of Mr Barack Obama. The mention of this fact by writers took away some degree of accountability on the part of President Trump and gave the impression that removing Iraq is a really big factor used to determine how the revised executive order should be judged (Van Dijk, 1991). Following Fairclough (1995), the implicit meaning is that President Trump is being reasonable, since removing Iraq was a positive political move and the revised executive order should be viewed in this light.

The time period for the ban is listed as ninety days starting 16 March 2017. After using a spatial indentation of a tab as a linguistic tool (Van Dijk, 1977), the writers expound on why Iraq was removed to emphasize this fact. The reason given was that current hostilities between America and Iraq could worsen if Iraq was still included. After Iraqis, diplomats and senior administration officials lobbied for the exclusion of Iraq, and based on an agreement for more cooperative sharing of information for future immigrant applications from Iraq, America have thus excluded Iraq. Following Van Dijk (1988), the writers gave an entire paragraph and afforded space to fully explain the topic on the exclusion of Iraq, placed this fact on an important scale in relation to positive facts surrounding the new travel ban. As per Bednarek and Caple (2014) the news value of prominence is highlighted here. It indicates the writers' stance on the travel ban as being supportive (Van Dijk, 1991). The writers project a positive stance on the travel ban and lobby more support for cooperation, since a previously banned Muslim-majority country like Iraq, has been excluded in the revised travel ban. This can be viewed as the writer dealing with the psychological aspect in creating more positivity around the revised travel ban (Van Dijk, 1997).

Paragraph thirteen talks about a significant change in that the current legal immigrants and valid visa holders which included permanent residents and green-card holders, were exempted from the new travel ban. This is a positive fact to view the travel ban more favourably (Van Dijk, 1991). This is a considerable deviation from the original order which as the writer stated according to the State Department, initially saw over sixty-thousand people with visas from these seven countries banned from travelling to and from the USA, and which left green-card holders in a bout of uncertainty. Following Van Dijk (1997), the linguistic tool for quantification and intensification creates an intense effect by stating the number of immigrants who were negatively affected by the original travel ban. As per Stefan (2009), language can be used to inform or misinform others, which represents information in a certain way. In this instance, based on Van Dijk (1997), the writers' choice in words and grammar places the travel ban in a positive light.

Before paragraph fourteen is another paragraph written with a bigger and bold font which stands out from the rest of the news report (Van Dijk, 1980). Following Bednarek and Caple (2014), this displays a degree of importance and prominence as the news value attached to it. As illustrated previously, in the earlier part of this new report, the writers single out this speech by a person of authority to create more credibility around the facts (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). It is a central statement made by a person with the title of Deputy Director of the ACLU, denoting a high level of authority, since it focussed on the constitutional problem of the new executive order and how information is presented in this way, following the speech act theory of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969). As per Banda and Mawadza (2015) this technique makes the information more believable. Following this fact, it indicated that the problem was that the new executive order was based on the religious discrimination. By implication this represents the travel ban in a negative light (Fairclough, 1995).

Hence, the Deputy Director of ACLU, Lee Gelernt, said that he will continue to legally challenge the executive order. Some of the aforementioned opponents felt a minor triumph was attained due to the exclusion of Iraq and more ease for immigrant travellers with visas and green card holders, as well as permanent residents. The writers gave a positive perspective by including this fact (Van Dijk, 1991). However, it is clear that Mr Gelernt felt that the ethical grounds of the travel ban were still unconstitutional and have yet to be resolved. Following Fairclough (1995), there is an implication that despite the positive reasons given earlier, the

opposition to the executive order is still prevalent. Following Van Dijk (1977), the technique of singling out and highlighting the sentence which is stated again in paragraph twenty-one, creates an intriguing effect to attract readers to want to read further. It also indicates its importance and news value of prominence (Bednarek and Caple, 2014). In order for the highlighted quote to be fully understood readers would need to read more and to see how this statement fits in with the rest of the news report. This is another linguistic tool used for the purpose of newsworthiness (Bednarek and Caple, 2014).

Paragraph fourteen makes a comparison of figures related to the original number of refugees admitted by the travel ban and the number given in the revised one. Using this comparison creates a more factual effect to the information (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). The writer first mentions that the USA still suspends admission of refugees to the USA for one hundred and twenty days and has given a limit of a total annual admission of fifty thousand refugees only. This is fifty-five percent less than the figure given by the Obama administration in 2017. The use of quantification intensifies the fact that the writers are pointing out the number of refugees allowed into the USA during the Obama administration as opposed to the much reduced number during Trump's administration (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). This places President Trump in a positive light in relation to his ideology of advocating the travel ban.

The writers state that the new executive order applies the same rules to Syrian refugees, whereas in the previous one, the suspension for admission was indefinite. An implicit meaning becomes apparent here (Fairclough, 1995). The writers list this at the end of this sentence, the fact that Syria is a "war-ravaged" country. The use of this word indicates the severity of the status of Syria (Van Dijk, 1997). This is also a strategic positioning at the end of the sentence for effect (Van Dijk, 1991). This implies that as bad as it might sound to have Syria singled out differently from the other countries, it should be understood why Syria's case is different to that of other countries. Using "war-ravaged" brings about a negative connotation to the status of Syria, and hence refugees are viewed as active agents of negativity (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). As per Bednarek and Caple (2014), the news value of negativity is highlighted here. One interpretation could mean that they are more likely to be potential perpetrators who could carry out possible terrorist attacks as opposed to the other banned countries. The question here is whether this assumption and stereotypical approach to Syrian refugees can be proven as factual, and if not, it is yet to be proven.

This gives a somewhat biased representation of what Trump officials feel might be real threats to national security and creates the idea that the citizens of the country need to be protected from them (Banda and Mawadza, 2015; Mahadeo and Mckinney, 2007). Based on paragraph sixteen, the writers indicate that the FBI declined to give any details of such investigations. This suggests that the likelihood of any real terrorists being held accountable from the banned countries have yet to be confirmed. Here, the discourse of exclusion as per Banda and Mawadza (2015), comes into play regarding who is to be seen as accountable for terrorism. This also gives a negative representation of authorities under the Trump administration, since their motive for the travel ban is based primarily on the fear of terrorist attacks from these countries, however, there are no concrete facts to support it. In addition, the writers stated that no other proven cases have been made public, other than the terrorist groups who have already been held accountable. Following Fairclough (1995), the implicit meaning here is that there is no real evidence to support Trump's ideology.

In paragraph fifteen the writers' perspective on what constituted the main obstructions to the original order are uncovered (Van Dijk, 1991). The writers stated that President Trump said that the legal charges were based on "violated constitutional guarantees of due process". This meant that the main reason for opposition to the original travel ban was because basic securities, early notices regarding the travel ban, and the chance for immigrants to challenge it, were not given due process and time. The writers emphasize this as being the actual reason for the first travel ban's failure which indicates their positive stance to the travel ban (Van Dijk, 1991). Following Fairclough (1995), the writers implicitly state that it was mainly due to an administrative failure on the part of the Trump administration which caused the rejection of the original order.

As per Mahadeo and Mckinney (2007:15) omission of information can be as significant, as formation that has been included, maybe even more so, since it gives a particular interpretation in the meaning process. The writers have chosen not to include information around this constitutional issue. By excluding the constitutional issue linked to the travel ban, the writers represent the travel ban more positively by highlighting the administrative errors of the Trump administration, and by excluding information about the constitutional issue in this paragraph.

Paragraph sixteen further supports this notion of deficient administrative processes, as listed earlier. The writers introduce the reason for this administrative process as being based on a

“10-day-phase-in-period”. The writers again highlight the fact that inadequate administrative processes are the main reasons for the problem with the executive order (Van Dijk, 1991). They said that the new executive order has been changed in order to give refugees time to legally challenge their applications. From the perspective of the writers, this places the travel ban in a positive light (Van Dijk, 1991). The writers also state that immigrants with greencards and visa holders will no longer be banned from travelling. This notion is supported when the writers mention a statement that Ms Susan Cohen, Chair of Immigration practice at the law firm Mint Levin made, that the new executive order has improved in their administrative processes. The inclusion of this statement brings credibility to the statements supporting the revised executive order (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). This fact was mentioned immediately after paragraph sixteen as a linguistic technique of positioning the text to make the travel ban appear more favourable (Van Dijk, 1997).

Another strategic placement of a statement with the positioning of the text is being used as a textual tool (Van Dijk (1991). The writers added in paragraph seventeen, that Ms Cohen challenged the original ban and now subsequently felt positive about the changes made by due process. This takes away some negativity attached to the travel ban. Based on the context of this statement, it was meant only for the administrative changes to be free of errors, but not necessarily the executive order. The manner in which the writers have positioned this sentence makes a more favourable suggestion that the travel ban is not completely defective (Van Dijk, 1997). The inclusion of this statement creates a perception that the travel ban is, in essence, not problematic (Van Dijk, 1991).

The focus on due process is further mentioned in paragraph eighteen where the concerns of Ms Cohen are around the issue of waivers for foreign travellers who have been in the USA, and the need to travel from the USA to other countries. In response to this issue, the writers included information by the White House who did a “case-by-case” waiver process subject to each individual situation. This makes the information appear more factual and believable (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). Ms Cohen was recorded as saying that litigation cases could be the end result if obtaining waivers are problematic. In response to this concern, the writers immediately state that multiple entry visas were still valid according to Trump officials. In this paragraph, it is evident that the problems listed are mentioned because they have solutions attached to them indicating the positive stance of the writers to the travel ban (Van Dijk, 1991). It is also evident that the failure of due process is highlighted (Van Dijk, 1997), in order to become a

focus point when addressing the travel ban and its issues. Again, as per Mahadeo and Mckinney (2007), the omission of the constitutional issue represents the travel ban in a more positive light.

In paragraph nineteen, the writers talk about the problem, which is the main issue opposing the travel ban. It is the constitutional issue based on religious discrimination. Although the writers stated that a new paragraph was added to the new executive order which disproves any claim for religious discrimination, it was explicitly evident that Muslims were originally singled out, and this act was unconstitutional. The writers' inclusion of information about a new paragraph indicates their support for the new executive order (Van Dijk,1991). As per Banda and Mawadza (2015), it is based on a prejudiced discourse through the discourse of exclusion, which singled out Muslims who follow the religion of Islam. This was proven by a federal judge in Virginia, Leonie Brinkema, whose verdict stated that the constitutional clause was in fact "violated". As per Van Dijk (1997), using the word "violated" indicates religious discrimination on the part of President Trump based on this provision which treated Muslim foreigners differently to Christian ones.

Following Banda and Mawadza (2015) the inclusion of the verdict from a federal judge gives more credibility to the writer's statement. The constitutional clause forbids governments from, as the writers said, "making religious preferences". The fact that the original travel ban was unofficially named by critics as "The Muslim Travel Ban", bears testament to the fact that religious preferences were made (Van Dijk, 1997). This was proven, since Muslims were treated differently to other religious groups by way of this provision. As a result, the new travel ban has removed this provision which gave preference to Christian refugees as opposed to Muslim ones from these Muslim countries. As per Van Dijk (1991), this paragraph indicates the negative side of the travel ban and represents the Trump administration as negative agents implementing Trump's ideology.

The verdict is further explained in paragraph twenty which is based on undeniable evidence. This substantiates the claims and using this linguistic technique makes it more factual and believable (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). It states that the anti-Muslim sentiments were widespread in campaigns for President Trump, and through statements by Mr Giuliani regarding President Trump and his objectives for the travel ban. Following Van Dijk (1991), the writers add a comment from their perspective stating that nothing in the new travel ban has changed

this fact, since no statements were made to refute it. This is concerning, since the previous statement citing religious discrimination was given an additional paragraph for additional effect. As per Van Dijk (1977), the fact that no provision by the Trump administration was made to discredit anti-Muslim sentiments could propose one other meaning. Following Banda and Mawadza (2015), it is evident that the discourse of exclusion was used to discriminate those based on the religion of Islam and to single out such minority groups through instituting the travel ban. This supports Trump's ideology of exclusion based on religion and nationality, which alludes to the fact that President Trump's ideology is in support of religious discrimination, particularly against Muslims.

As a result, paragraph twenty-one repeated the highlighted paragraph mentioned previously as a textual tool (Van Dijk, 1977). The writers state that the initial motive for the legal challenge by Mr Gelernt was based on religious discrimination against Muslims, since it was the crucial constitutional dispute in the original travel ban. Mr Gelernt further asserted that altering administrative discrepancies was predictable, yet the actual issue was not addressed. Following Fairclough (1995), the writers make an implicit assertion that the real issue with the travel ban was not the constitutional issue. Due to the continued resistance of the travel ban and Trump's ideology of the discourse of exclusion of Muslims and immigrants, the writers gave considerable coverage to overlook the constitutional issue and highlight the administrative one (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). Hence, the technique of backgrounding information about the constitutional issue was used (Fairclough, 1995).

In paragraph twenty-two, Mr Gelernt said that before the travel ban is implemented, a new legal challenge will be filed. From this perspective, the writers give an indication that there could be a reason for the travel ban to be rejected. This does, however, place the travel ban in a more negative light, since opposition is evident.

However, from the writers' perspective, in paragraph twenty-three, based on a "non-discriminatory explanation" listed in the travel ban procedures, President Trump would not be easily challenged. To bring more credibility to this fact, the writers mention that the Dean of the University of Illinois law school, Vikram Amar, said that based on a voluntary disclosure offered by President Trump himself, challenging him in court by implying that he is still being dishonest, would not be as easy a task (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). Mr Amar said that from a legal standpoint, the Supreme Court would be less than willing to discredit President Trump

and to call the president, “a liar”. This brings an understanding that the position of presidency and the level of authority it denotes, presents an unquestionable reliance on the fact that the person in the seat of presidency took an allegiance to honour that virtue.

Hence, subjecting a president to such a level of questioning would be treading on questionable motivations on the part of the opposition, and thereby not tackling the actual issues in the travel ban. This could be seen as somewhat of a deterrence for carrying out the ends of justice in wanting to ‘call a spade a spade’. This leaves the question as to whether the justice system would be favourable toward Trump’s ideology and whether this can be a determining factor in approving the new travel ban. The inclusion of this information creates a positive standpoint for the travel ban and creates the perception that President Trump’s position of presidency is not likely to be challenged. As Sonderling (2009) said earlier, this can be seen as a powerful strategy to lobby support for President Trump’s travel ban, and by asserting his honesty as a president, it could create support for his political ideology.

Paragraph twenty-four starts with conflicting claims which the Trump administration made regarding the rescindment of the original executive order. The writer alludes that due to “mixed messages”, the most prevailing part of the messages given by Trump officials was that the original order would not be withdrawn. Following Van Dijk (1991), the use of the positioning of the text within this paragraph indicates which ideology is being supported. In the same paragraph, however, the writer ends off with information that the Justice Department, and not Trump officials, have informed courts about the issuing of the new order. This, the writer said, that Trump officials said, revoked the first order as soon as the new one took effect. As per Fairclough (1995), it is being implicitly implied that the different interpretations given by Trump officials could not be trusted, since their support for the original travel ban was still evident. The writer mentioned the fact that the original order was rescinded, which proved that there was a need for changes to be made and that legal challenges surrounding the original order were being acknowledged.

Supporters of Trump’s ideology called for the exclusion of Muslims, refugees and for the preferential treatment of Christian refugees, based on the discourse of exclusion (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). This could be an indication of some bias on the part of the Trump administration, even at the expense of a constitutional issue. As per Stefan (2009:111), the close link between language and social influences in power and ideology come to the fore here.



It questions the moral fibre of those within the Trump administration as to where their loyalties lie. This presents a choice. Either you choose to be constitutionally fair or you choose to forego this virtue and instead agree with an ideology which supports President Trump.

Paragraph twenty-five points out how President Trump did not publicize the signing of the new executive order, yet advertised signing the original one on a visit to the Pentagon. Following Fairclough (1995), this creates a perception that President Trump could be less in favour of the revised travel ban than the original one. This can pose the question as to why less preference was given to the revised travel ban from a publicity perspective. The writer said that instead Mr Tillerson, Homeland Security General John Kelly, and Attorney General Jeff Sessions made brief statements to the media about the new executive order. This, the writer says is quite opposite to the treatment given to the original executive order.

The news report concludes in paragraph twenty-six with a statement from Mr Kelly saying that there should be “no surprises”. The use of an informal approach creates a more relaxed sentiment around a statement from the writer’s perspective (Van Dijk, 1991). This is intended to give some type of assurance that the travel ban should go forth without any hiccups and that sufficient time was spent discussing the travel ban with members of Congress. As the writer stated, the inclusion of the statement by Mr Kelly was done in order to rally support for the new executive order. The fact that less attention was placed on the revised travel ban gives the perception that it is a more acceptable one, and is less likely to be challenged.

#### **4.1.6 Conclusion of Analysis 1**

It is clear that the news report has paragraphs which equally draw contrasting conclusions when interpreted since half of the news report presents the positive facts and the other half presents the negative facts around the travel ban. The *Travel Ban* article is also the longest news report of the ones selected for this study, which is partly due to a number of writers listed as contributors. Of the twenty-six paragraphs thirteen of them discuss the positive aspects of the revised executive order and how the due processes regarding the travel ban have been changed for the better. The news report also talks about the reasons for the travel ban being more for protection based on President Trump’s sincere intention to keep Americans safe. This represents President Trump and his administration more positively, since the main objective being projected in the news report is protecting American citizens.

The news report had limited information about details regarding the potential threats of terrorist attacks. In other words, no specifics were given regarding investigations and no proof of potential terrorist individuals or groups have been confirmed. This is unclear and can seem insincere on the part of the Trump administration since there is no clarity on the actual threats, therefore the potential risks could still be there. Similarly, the news report covered information about the constitutional issue which is a major reason the revised travel ban could be challenged again. It also discussed the logistical issues and how travel was negatively impacted. It discusses how information from the Trump administration regarding the previous executive order was vague, which led to some opponents questioning the motive for the travel ban in the first place.

I feel that the news report was written more objectively than subjectively, given that both the positive and negative interpretations around the travel ban were equally discussed. There were, in some instances, information which supported President Trump's ideology through repetition of a particular change to the travel ban, such as the exemption of Iraq. By repeating a noticeable factor, readers could be inclined to view the travel ban more positively. However, critically analysing the fundamental drawbacks such as religious discrimination, could also negate positive interpretations.

The news report also relied on moral and religious values as the supporting grounds on which readers would either be in favour of a travel ban or not. This placed a considerable amount of trust in readers regarding their religious affiliations and their moral compasses. A supporter of President Trump, for example, would in this case, have to assume the position of having the discourse of exclusion being viewed positively, since instituting the travel ban would exclude refugees and particularly Muslim refugees, if it was only viewed as a sincere intention to protect others (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). This would, however, be a narrow-minded approach since those innocent people being accused of terrorism acts would have their rights violated. It would automatically create the perception that refugees from the six banned Muslim-majority countries would have to be active agents of negativity and treated as such. Adversely, opponents would view the travel ban as the negative discourse of exclusion and stereotyping.

Based on the constitutional issue supporting the travel ban in this manner it would be upholding a social injustice through the discourse of exclusion. The correct view on how to protect

American citizens need not be at the expense of innocent people based on their differences in religion or nationality. This would depend on whether President Trump's ideology is being viewed as correct or not. In order for readers to make an informed decision about whether or not the revised executive order should be accepted or whether it should be legally challenged, more facts presented elsewhere would need to be sought, since there is a lack of sufficient information in this news report. As a result, it is not conclusive enough for proper opinions to be formed. Supporting information should be sought from other news reports for a more holistic view.

## **4.2. MEDIA EVENT 1- Second news report on the Travel Ban**

The second news report on the travel ban which I have analysed is titled: "Trump argues for revised travel ban by citing attacks carried out by U.S. citizens. President Trump speaks to a joint session of Congress on Tuesday. (Pablo Martinez Monsivais/Associated Press)". Taken from the WP and can be found in the appendices (Appendix 2) of this dissertation and on the following link:

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2017/03/01/trump-argues-for-revised-travel-ban-by-citing-attacks-carried-out-by-u-s-citizens/>

### **4.2.1 Implicit and Explicit Meanings in Texts**

The second news report in relation to the travel ban is the *Washington Post*. The news report consists of twenty-two paragraphs in total and follows the same standard structure of a news report as illustrated in the diagram of Chapter 3 under the heading numbered 5.3. It made use of a headline, sub-headline, lead paragraph, the body and concluding paragraph at the end. As per Van Dijk (1988) embedded clauses are common in news texts and this is evident in this news report. Sentence complexity also allows for implicit messages to be understood when interpreted. It is true that the lexical choices made can have semantic aspects which are exposed due to the choice of words (Van Dijk, 1997). The specific choice of words also gives an indication as to what the writer's view of that particular ideology is (Van Dijk, 1991). This was done frequently in this news report. The paragraphs are, as in the previous news report, structured independently with spacing indentations between each paragraph which allows each paragraph to keep to their topics as independent themes within different parts of the news report

(Van Dijk, 1988). External links have also been inserted three times in between paragraphs to create more curiosity around topics within the news report.

Following Fairclough (1995), the assumption created by a specific ideology is often implicit instead of explicit and is considered more effective when used as a linguistic tool to promote or contradict an ideology. This was often used to relay underlying messages in this news report. One of the main topics that was focussed on in this news report was the arguments in support of the travel ban from the Trump administration based on their version of evidence to support their claims. The other topics focussed on scientific data detailing previous terrorist attacks and the investigations, opinions and evaluations surrounding these claims. A focus on the discourse of exclusion by noting immigrants as the main culprits in perpetrating terrorist attacks represented any person who was living in America and was not an American resident or citizen as a potential threat to national safety. This meant that foreigners and immigrants were viewed as being the cause for social, political and economic problems in America. Hence, it created the ideology that only citizens of the country were viewed as innocent and in need of being protected from foreigners (Banda and Mawadza, 2015; Mahadeo and Mckinney, 2007).

#### **4.2.2 Headline**

The headline is written with a bigger and different bold font in order to stand out from the body of the news report (Van Dijk, 1980). It begins with using Trump as the pronoun and subject of the sentence which is indicative of the linguistic tool of positioning of the text (Van Dijk, 1991). According to Van Dijk (1991), the concept of topicalization is where the actors and actions are put in the initial position of a sentence by way of either making the actors involved to be viewed as active agents of either positive or negative actions. This gives an understanding which links President Trump to the social act of arguing in favour of the travel ban and making him an active agent of a positive action. The news value of proximity is presented here (Bednarek and Caple, 2014). The verb “argues” describes the social action done on the travel ban, which is placed at the end of the sentence to project a position of power (Van Dijk, 1997; Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda 2015). Due to President Trump being a political figure, the news value of prominence is associated with his action of arguing and the referral to “citing US attacks” (Bednarek and Caple, 2014). This carries much weight in how the headline can attract readers and the positioning of this text (Van Dijk, 1991).

### **4.2.3 Sub-Headline**

The purpose of the sub-headline was to clarify “who”, “where” and “how” they would be addressed when the act of arguing was done (Van Dijk, 1988). Following Van Dijk (1980), the sub-headline is positioned immediately below the headline with a different font and size and smaller than the font of the body of the news report. Here, the textual tool of indentation and different fonts have been used, which indicates its importance in being listed as separate to the body of the news report with the purpose as mentioned earlier (Van Dijk, 1977). As the writers have stated, the audience being addressed is “Congress” in a “joint session” on “Tuesday”. This denotes an audience with a respected degree of authority as being present which creates more credibility around the meeting (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). The aim was to discuss a political event in support of the travel ban which is based on President Trump using past evidence to strengthen his claim of why the revised travel ban is necessary. The writers have included those invited to the meeting in order to give more validity to President Trump’s claims in the news report due to the status of the political role-players involved in decision-making (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). The sub-headline thus gives a basic outline of what the news report is expected to contain and the timeline surrounding it.

Directly below the headline are the writers’ names, Mark Bennan and Matt Zapotsky with the date as 1 March 2017. Note, this news report is a five-day difference from the first news report in WSJ, which was written on 6 March 2017 and covers the same media event.

### **4.2.4 The Lead**

According to Van Dijk (1988), the lead is the first paragraph and gives a short summary of the news report which states that President Trump did not discuss any details about the blocked travel ban, nor the revised immigration order, but was clear that the purpose for the meeting was to provide legitimate grounds to support his argument for instituting a new travel ban. As the headline suggested, he used previous US attacks as the motive for arguing his case. The question is whether the motive mentioned can be viewed as legitimate or not. Again, an assumption is created that President Trump’s motive is legitimate and this assumption is done implicitly (Fairclough, 1995).

#### 4.2.5 Body of the news report

The second paragraph comprises of one statement where President Trump is quoted as saying that vetting procedures were being enhanced. This indicates the importance of this speech act (Austin 1962; Searle, 1969), and how this action of “vetting” should bring about an understanding that the travel ban has been improved. When describing how he will protect America, President Trump referred to it as, “new steps”, which signifies a potentially new travel ban. The em-dash (-) was used as the grammatical symbol to create a less formal approach which is common in news reports (Van Dijk, 1997). This places emphasis on this part of the sentence since it is positioned as part of the conclusion of the sentence and this makes it more prominent (Van Dijk, 1991). The wording was placed in the second part of the sentence and after that it states that these “new steps”, would prevent potential perpetrators from entering and living in the USA. The lexical arrangement of the sentence in this order creates more attention and focus on the fact that the revised travel ban is an improvement to the original one and should be supported (Van Dijk, 1997).

In paragraph three, President Trump reinforced his conviction by listing past attacks in the USA, which according to the writers’ perspective, would not have been prevented had there been a travel ban before these attacks (Van Dijk, 1991). Following Fairclough (1995), the writers give an implicit meaning that the travel ban would not have served a purpose had it been approved before. Thus, what the writers point out should make readers question how having a travel ban to prevent such attacks, would have been or would not have been helpful in preventing attacks. The fact that writers mention this contradiction indicates a sarcastic use of information which diminishes the credibility of a travel ban under the pretence that it would be safer (Van Dijk, 1991). Following Van Dijk (1997), by using words such as “certainly wouldn’t”, the writers disprove this need for a travel ban claim in a mocking and assertive manner as to their viewpoint on the matter.

The writers also state that in the beginning of this complex sentence the same political tactic was used previously as part of a political strategy (Van Dijk, 1997). According to Fairclough (1995), this creates an implicit impression that there might be some underlying political motivations for dominance and political control, which are not based on trustworthiness, and were used to promote the travel ban in order to implement such ideologies. As per Banda and Mawadza (2015), and Mahadeo and Mckinney (2007), the dominance of subjugation is evident

by separating foreigners and immigrants from the other American citizens. The ideology projected here is that these foreigners and immigrants are not innocent until proven guilty. This indicates a discrimination by way of the discourse of exclusion on the part of the Trump administration, since only American citizens are viewed as innocent (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). The opposite effect is that his notion makes foreigners and immigrants active agents of negativity since they are viewed as guilty until proven innocent.

Paragraph four contains two quoted speeches with opposing revelations about the travel ban and Muslims. The writers included these statements with both opposing views which gives a more critical look at these statements based on these speech acts (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). The first quote is taken from President Trump in which he openly blames “radical Islamic terrorism”, as the reason for heavy security measures to be instituted. By assertion the speech acts as listed per Austin (1962) and Searle (1969), indicate that President Trump’s statement is a clear accusation that all acts of terrorism are linked to fundamentalists who are Muslim only even though this is not the case as per the definition given by Heywood (2007). Here, the writers indicate that President Trump singles out the Muslims as being the terrorists who are responsible for all such acts and labels them as active agents of negativity in his statement (Banda and Mawadza, 2015).

It is clear how the discourse of exclusion, by way of the religion of Islam is explained (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). This was linked to fundamentalist Islamic beliefs without separating other Muslims who were not fundamentalists. Hence, all Muslims would be considered blameworthy of acts linked to terrorism regardless of their actual involvement or not (Calvert, 2009). In the same paragraph, however, the writers present this as a contradiction to the notion of fundamentalist Islam, since an opposing ideology is evident. Based on the scientific collection of data, the writers included this information which was proven by the Department of Justice. Since the 9/11 attacks, the majority of convictions for terrorism acts were committed by people within their own country. By including this fact, the writers create more credibility around these statements (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). According to Fairclough (1995), the impression created is that based on factual evidence the notion of blaming Muslims for terrorist attacks are farther from the truth. Inclusion of scientific facts makes the information more credible, which is a linguistic technique the writers used to validate this discrepancy (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). This, in turn, creates a strong opposing view to President Trump’s ideology.

Immediately after this paragraph, a strategic link (Van Dijk, 1991), is placed between paragraph four and five. It is a statement which says that President Trump is referring to past attacks which could not have been prevented through instituting a travel ban. Here, indentation as a textual tool is used to highlight the fact that President Trump had no scientific information to support the travel ban (Van Dijk, 1977). This creates less credibility for the travel ban, since there was no inclusion of scientific evidence to support President Trump's ideology. Again, the travel ban is not seen in a positive light and further links have been used to include other news reports have been listed by the writers which supports this notion.

Similarly, in paragraph five, Trump confirms by way of his speech act that his ideology regarding the travel ban would ensure "terrorists" are kept outside the USA (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). However, the writers listed all the countries which President Trump banned as being in contradiction to this assertion. Here, again the credibility of President Trump comes into question since there is no scientific information to support this notion. As per Banda and Mawadza (2015), the use of scientific data would make the information more believable. Hence, the absence of this linguistic technique could have the opposing effect. To support this lack of credibility, the writers stated that the attacks in Boston, San Bernardino, California, and the 9/11 attacks, were all carried out by American citizens (Van Dijk, 1991). Hence, their statements assume more credibility than that of President Trump due to their inclusion of proven facts (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). Another fact is that none of the attacks came from people who were from the countries listed in the travel ban. The discourse of exclusion is presented here (Banda and Mawadza, 2015), since no American citizens were included in the travel ban, yet they were the ones who were convicted of such terrorist attacks. This could bring President Trump's motivations for the travel ban into question, based on the other information which the writers have included in the article.

The question remains as to what President Trump's actual motivations behind a travel ban are. The writers mentioned that President Trump stated that he relies on the enhancement of vetting procedures to provide better protection to American citizens. Yet, a fact pointed out by the writers earlier, was that the real terrorists are American citizens and not Muslims, nor those included in the travel ban. The writers further included a confirmed account of an attack, by citing the FBI, who stated that the San Bernardino shooter, was in fact, born in Illinois, and that his wife who assisted him in the attacks was from Pakistan. This creates more credibility



around their statements which the writers included in the new report (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). Illinois is in America and Pakistan is not listed in the travel ban as a risk, yet it is an actual account of terrorism. The implicit meaning here is that President Trump could have questionable reasons for supporting the travel ban without credible facts to support his claims of better vetting procedures. Following Fairclough (1995), the implicit meaning sheds light on the underlying messages being presented. Following Van Dijk (1991), President Trump has not given sufficient information to disprove the writers' claim that there is no credible evidence being presented to support the travel ban.

Similarly, in paragraph seven, the writers mention the Boston Marathon bombers were brothers from Russia and Kyrgyzstan, and again, not listed as a banned country in the travel ban. In addition, the convicted younger brother had already become an American citizen at the time of carrying out these attacks. Hence, it was an American citizen who carried out the bombing. The writers gave details stating that the 9/11 hijackers responsible for the World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks in 2001 were again, not from the countries listed in the travel ban. As per Van Dijk (1991), this creates an impression which questions President Trump's sincerity in his motivations, since there is no concrete evidence to base his claims of radical Islamic terrorism and nor are there reasons to ban countries with no accounts of terrorism related activities. Even less so, is the need for the countries he listed to be on the travel ban as opposed to those other countries with actual accounts of terrorism, yet have not been listed. Again, the discourse of exclusion (Banda and Mawadza, 2015) is presented here, and highlights the fact that no real evidence was given to support claims for instituting the travel ban on the countries listed. The explicit meaning implied by the writers was that the opposite ideology was proven to be more factual, in that American citizens were convicted of acts of terrorism. Hence, the implicit meaning as per Fairclough (1995), is that the travel ban would not be a viable means of protecting American citizens.

Another link is strategically placed between paragraph seven and eight, highlighting the fact that Iraq has been removed from the list of banned countries (Van Dijk, 1977). The textual tool of indentation was used to highlight this fact and sheds light on its importance (Van Dijk, 1977). Paragraph eight substantiates the claim by the writers, stating that the seven countries in the original ban and the revised version was lowered to six due to the removal of Iraq. The writers included this bit of information in order to bring attention to the fact that only one of the seven countries has been removed. The meaning implied here is that despite the removal

of one country, six other countries with no record of actual links to terrorism are still listed in the travel ban (Fairclough, 1995). This creates a negative perception around the motivations for the travel ban and questions its purpose.

Paragraph nine starts out very interestingly with the writers giving another negative perspective of President Trump's promise to protect American citizens (Van Dijk, 1991). Following Fairclough (1995), the implicit meaning is shown when the writers imply that President Trump's reasons for the travel ban are unfounded. Furthermore, the writers included more evidence which suggests that every "jihadist attack" which happened in America, was done by an American citizen or a legal resident and not a foreigner. This is further substantiated by proof the writers included to add to its credibility (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). This evidence was given by a non-profit organization called New America. The inclusion of a non-profit organization renders the idea that there is no monetary motivation around the information supplied, which gives further credibility to information on facts in favour of rejecting the travel ban (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). This provides strong opposition backed by factual evidence against the travel ban and Trump's ideology.

Again, paragraph ten states, that the majority of terrorist attacks by jihadists have either been committed by American citizens or legal residents. Hence, the accusations based on the Trump administration's reasons for the travel ban and the countries listed do not coincide with President Trump's theory. The writers are implicitly negating any positive motivations for the travel ban by including factual information and making President Trump's motivations questionable. Following Fairclough (1995), the implicit meaning surrounding President Trump's motivations are that they are not based on facts, hence the question of its authenticity comes to the fore. By presenting the facts in this manner, the writers continue to represent the travel ban and President Trump in a negative light.

Paragraph eleven further confirms the evidence in opposition to the travel ban by referring to a report by an open-minded group, called the Cato Institute. Following Banda and Mawadza (2015), including information from reputable institutions validates facts and makes it more believable. The writers state that no refugee has succeeded in terrorist attacks in the USA between 1975 and 2015. The mention of four decades of no successful terrorism attacks intensifies the effect of having so many years gone by without factual evidence to support the ideology that there was a real threat of terrorism from the countries listed on the travel ban.

Following Van Dijk (1991), by including this historical information, the writers solidify the scepticism around the need to ban these countries.

As per Banda and Mawadza (2015), the news report indicates how President Trump is using the discourse of exclusion to single out Muslims and the Muslim-majority countries without supporting facts. This meant no refugees from the banned countries have ever committed a terrorist attack, except for one case of a Somalian, as stated in paragraph twelve. The writers included the statement by the Senate Judiciary Chair, who felt that better vetting procedures should have been done when the Senate Judiciary Chair and his family were seeking refuge in America. This is a linguistic technique used to make the facts surrounding opposition to the travel ban more believable by way of the Senate's title of authority and experience (Banda and Mawadza, 2015).

Again, a link is inserted between paragraph twelve and thirteen stating a difference in the new travel ban. The use of this indentation (Van Dijk, 1977), before the continuance of the actual news report, gives readers a preview of future developments for the revised travel ban. It also creates more curiosity around the topic (Van Dijk, 1988). Despite only one such case being documented, President Trump is quoted as saying in paragraph thirteen that for most of the terrorism-related cases since 9/11, they were not from the USA. This is being supported by a statement made by the Justice Department who said this could be correct and has credibility based on the legal status of the Justice Department (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). President Trump makes assertions that most of the terrorist attacks were not from the US. These are specific speech acts linked to his position of power and how he plans to implement his ideologies (Van Dijk, 1997; Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda, 2015). By using the Justice Department as a reference the writers further assert the validity of President Trump's assertions (Banda and Mawadza, 2015).

The statement in paragraph fifteen comprises of a direct quote which substantiates President Trump's claim that five hundred cases, a "substantial amount" were from foreign countries. Following Van Dijk (1977), the use of "substantial amount" as the numerical value attached to foreigners is unclear, and the writers have not given specific details, which makes this statement somewhat vague and questionable. It also allows for an implicit assumption to be made that leans towards a large number of cases rather than a small number (Fairclough, 1995). Hence, it also gives an immediate conclusion related to President Trump's ideology of

separating Muslims from other American citizens (Goatly and Hiradhar, 2016). This, in turn, could create more fear around the safety issue for American citizens (Banda and Mawadza, 2015).

Based on information given by a spokesperson in paragraph sixteen, some details stated that since 9/11, those people charged included people who planned to carry out attacks but have not done so; those who funded terrorist groups; those who sought to travel abroad; and that the potential terrorist investigations were not directly linked to terrorism. Again, the perception the writers created about the perpetrators are unclear and vague. The writers give an underlying meaning in the message, that based on the lack of clarity, it is not sufficient to establish who the actual perpetrators are (Fairclough, 1995). This also creates an immediate conclusion that it would be fair to oppose President Trump's ideology based on this discrepancy (Goatly and Hiradhar, 2016). It places the reliability and integrity of President Trump under scrutiny regarding the establishment of facts and whether those linked to terrorism are real threats or not. The underlying message in this paragraph is that there is no clear confirmation as to the involvement of those people linked to terrorism, and the extent to which they pose a real threat.

In paragraph sixteen, the writers again mention that the countries in the travel ban were not explicitly implicated in terrorist activities. The fact that this information was repeated in another paragraph indicates that the news value of importance was linked to this fact (Bednarek and Caple, 2014). This is in relation to insufficient information regarding the reasons why these countries are still listed as risks. The positioning of this information in the paragraph and its repetition indicate this discrepancy from the writers' perspective (Van Dijk, 1991).

However, the Homeland Security Department gave a report of the risks these countries pose by way of analysis. To provide more validation for President Trump's claims, a report based on a scientific analysis was provided (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). This is also, however, based on possible implications and not an actual account of facts. The inclusion of this type of information by the writers could indicate that there is a possible risk for those implicated, but that the actual evidence is yet to be proven (Van Dijk, 1991). This does not provide sufficient validity of the claims due to the lack of more detailed information. This could discredit President Trump's ideology based on the underlying message that the credibility of these claims are based on analysis only and those accused of being involved in terrorist activities are still speculative (Fairclough, 1995).

Paragraph seventeen gives details of a report which looked at the Syrian war dated back to March 2011. Again, it maintained that those who were convicted or going to be charged were working with foreign terrorist groups and were “native-born” American citizen, were roughly over forty-one in number. The implicit meaning here is that refugees or immigrants were not linked to acts of terrorism and were not American citizens (Fairclough, 1995). By including this fact, the writers are substantiating claims that the motivations for a travel ban are yet to be proven (Van Dijk, 1991). In so doing, it again places President Trump in a negative light and shows resistance to the travel ban.

As per Stefan (2009:84), the values of a society, creates the understanding of what is considered acceptable as truth or not, is due to the social link between language and society. The inclusion of such information could make readers question the validity of President Trump’s claims and the motive around his travel ban. This, in turn will question the value system of President Trump and express doubt around his ideology. Depending on the values of that society, this could lobby support in favour of or in opposition to Trump’s ideology.

In paragraph eighteen, the writers clarify that the analysis was a review of the press statements released by the Justice Department. By mentioning how the analysis report came about, it gives an implicit meaning that press statements were the basis of such information, and not necessarily scientific facts. This could portray the analysis as a less credible source of information, since there is an absence of scientific data which would make a report more believable (Banda and Mawadaza, 2015). In the analysis report, only eight people were found to be foreigners from the countries listed in the travel ban and none came from Syria. This is a marginal number of defendants compared to the notion projected by President Trump that they are a larger number of defendants involved in terrorist activities.

The writers indicate that, according to the Trump administration, these countries are viewed as the main culprits based on the degree of security procedures that was put in place. The implicit meaning in the message portrayed by the writers, is that President Trump has despite the marginal number of defendants involved in terrorism, still laid claim that a travel ban was the solution to keep these possible perpetrators in check (Fairclough, 1995). The question remains as to why Syria is still implicated as a risk, despite no foreigners listed in the analysis came

from Syria. The inclusion of this fact by the writers can lead one to question the ideology of President Trump based on their stance (Van Dijk, 1991).

Another strategic link placed was in the middle of paragraph eighteen and nineteen, by using spacing and indentation (Van Dijk, 1977). The link stated that there was a constant change in the number of people being investigated for terrorist attacks. It also gives the link to show that there is more information in the other news report as to why. This plays on the curiosity of readers who want to know more about the facts surrounding this change. It is a strategic positioning of the text (Van Dijk, 1991). Changing the numbers constantly in another news report, meant that, if it is possible to present the numbers as factual ones, how is it possible for the numbers to keep changing? This creates a degree of doubt to the credibility around the reasons why these countries could pose a risk. The inclusion of this link by the writers with no scientific data could sow further doubt and resistance to President Trump's travel ban. This could also create more doubt in the credibility of the Trump administration and President Trump's ideology surrounding the travel ban, since including concrete facts would have made the claims more believable (Banda and Mawadza, 2015).

Paragraph nineteen affirms the reasons which the judges gave for doubting the actual intention for a travel ban. By the title of authority given to judges, it represents an amount of lawfulness and credibility which gives much weight to their statements (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). Hence, if they felt the need to question the motivations of the travel ban, the inclusion of this fact could instil a considerable degree of concern as to the accuracy of claims and reasons given by the Trump administration for accepting the revised travel ban. Hence, the Trump administration is represented negatively, since a degree of doubt in their credibility and trustworthiness is implicitly implied here (Fairclough, 1995).

This doubt was further supported when it was listed as being "counter-productive" by the USA District Judge, Leonie M. Brinkema. To make President Trump's motivations more doubtful, the writers gave accounts by ten former national security officials and "high-ranking" diplomatic officials who signed an affidavit stating there was no real purpose for a travel ban for the countries banned by the Trump administration (Van Dijk, 1991). This further affirms previous doubts which the writers had cast by including the fact that a legal document was signed by those officials, who, based on their level of authority, made a legal statement in support of their opposition to the travel ban (Banda and Mawadza, 2015).

Despite this response, in paragraph twenty, the writers indicate that the Trump administration still advocated for the aforementioned countries to be listed in the travel ban. Following Banda and Mawadza (2015), the inclusion of this fact affirms Trump's ideology and his support for the travel ban through the discourse of exclusion. The writers said that the Trump administration were convinced that these countries were rightfully banned, so much so, that they were willing to blame the court system if a terrorist attack did occur. Making a statement with such conviction indicates how a legal entity such as a court with a high-ranking status of justice and fairness, would be placed under scrutiny in order to assert the validity of President Trump's claims. Following Van Dijk (1991), including this statement question the level of trust the Trump administration has in the justice of the court. Another underlying message could place President Trump under more scrutiny, since he is seen as questioning the motivations of a legal court, thereby making himself and his administration appear less credible and his motivations more questionable (Fairclough, 1995).

As per Van Dijk (1991), writers have included the blaming of the courts by President Trump strategically. The courts carry a prominent legal status, which, if challenged for inaccuracy in this manner, could have an adverse effect on the credibility of President Trump. This can be viewed as a scare tactic in the form of a statement of confidence to instil fear in those who doubt the credibility of President Trump's claims as opposed to those of the court (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). This is a brave presentation of confidence in the face of opposing a legal court whose legal status is based on justice and fairness of the highest degree, in order to prove a point. By using a scare tactic in this way, it can be viewed as a means of lobbying more support and to make others believe that the travel ban is the only solution to prevent terrorist attacks. This was affirmed by a statement from the Homeland Security Council, John F. Kelly, who claimed that freezing the travel ban could increase the risk of terrorists entering America. The inclusion of this fact by Mr Kelly, and based on his level of authority, could assert real security concerns if the travel ban is not instituted (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). The writers have included this statement to indicate who is in support of President Trump's ideology.

In paragraph twenty-one, the writers add more doubt around President Trump's claims by stating that the real intention around the travel ban still appears elusive. This is due to the fact that Mr John Kelly was not able to give one example with proof of an actual terrorist attack nor confirmed accounts of who the culprits are. The writers produced a strong opposition based on

the number of statements included in the news report and the levels of authority from whom these statements were taken (Banda and Mawadza, 2015).

The news report ended with paragraph twenty-two stating how the revised travel ban has yet to be signed and was being postponed for the third time. This again, questions the need for deliberations and the number of times it has been delayed so far. Following Fairclough (1995), the underlying message is that the travel ban has much room for improvement and the constant delays makes its execution less possible. The writers gave significant information surrounding reasons for a considerable amount of doubt from reputable groups and especially from the Justice Department and legal professionals. President Trump and his administration are more negatively represented since their level of credibility has been continuously challenged in this manner.

#### **4.2.6 Conclusion of Analysis 2**

It is evident that the writers wanted to illustrate the degree of credibility around Trump's administration and their motivations for the revised travel ban. The fact that previous attacks were enacted by American citizens and not terrorists from outside of America, posed no real risk to national security as claimed by the Trump administration. Hence, motivations for the travel ban represented the Trump administration as being either impractical or contradictory. The headline is ironic as it represents President Trump's ideology as being contradictory and questionable to the solemn motivations for national security. The Trump administration has also not given sufficient reasons to lead others to believe that their need for security measures according to the countries listed in the travel ban, was justified based on previous terrorist attacks. The news report makes it clear that the motivations of the Trump administration did not serve the purpose they were advocating for. In so doing, it instead marginalized foreigners and Muslims in particular, which the Trump administration are yet to prove are the major culprits involved in terrorism related activities. The attempt to create fear around these groups only were part of the lexicon choices to create a degree of fear and panic around refugees, and have been the building block for rallying support for the travel ban (Banda and Mawadza, 2015; Mahadeo and Mckinney, 2007).

Within the news report, the amount of evidence given by the writers assisted in casting considerable doubt around the actual motivations of the Trump administration. This was



evident since the writers dedicated ten of the twenty-two paragraphs to this information. The rest of the paragraphs gave information on why the Trump administration felt the need for the travel ban. Towards the end of the news report, the writers illustrated how scare tactics were used to reinforce this notion. The factual evidences given to support the travel ban in Trump's administration's evaluations came with no actual figures and the implicit nuances through the use of linguistic tools made it clear that there was no reasonable purpose for a travel ban to be instituted (Fairclough, 1995). Following Van Dijk (1991), it was evident from the writers' perspective that they were inclined towards opposing the travel ban. This was due to the fact that President Trump's ideology of having security measures to protect American citizens as the reason for his sincere motivations, remained questionable and was proven to be more doubtful based on the lack of sufficient information.

#### **4.2.7 Comparison of Analyses 1 and 2**

Both news reports followed the same standard news structure. Both had a sub-headline. The WSJ made use of highlights and indentation of paragraphs where information was repeated in the body of the news report as the textual tool (Van Dijk, 1977). As per Bednarek and Caple (2014), this emphasized the news value of prominence in these statements as opposed to other statements in the news report. The WP did not make use of this linguistic tool other than the inclusion of links to other news reports related to the same topic. Both news reports discussed the media events based on information which included reported speech by those in levels of authority and their credibility. In the first news report there was an equal number of quotes which gave positive information and negative information of the travel ban and its revised order. The use of these speech acts to make assertions, promises and threats were part of the linguistic tools which portrayed Trump's ideology in both negative and positive ways as indicated in the analysis above (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969).

In total there were eight quotes included in the news report. The first quote was words, and as per Van Dijk (1997), using the grammatical and syntactic features of the inverted commas highlighted the importance of what the travel ban was actually known as. The fact that a travel ban was labelled the "Muslim travel ban", indicated that Muslim-majority countries were targeted and that a negative connotation was linked to them and Muslims. If the countries in the travel ban did not comprise of only Muslim-majority countries, it would not have been labelled as such. This basic fact that six Muslim-majority countries were being viewed as

dangerous countries could not be separated from the discourse of exclusion based on its links to the Islamic faith (Banda and Mawadza, 2015).

It is evident that as soon as a negative statement regarding the revised travel ban was made within the WSJ, it was followed up by a positive one. In the WP news report, however, this was not the case. From the start of the headline, it was evident that the writers were clear about their perspective regarding the travel ban (Van Dijk, 1991). Substantial information regarding data about previous attacks not linked to any of the countries, nor refugees or immigrants, other than the recent Somalia case, were consistently followed up in the WP report. This gave a different perspective to the WSJ news report which covered the same media event, but with different approaches to the same information. The approach was different in that no data was given in the WSJ news report to clarify why the six Muslim-majority countries were listed as banned in the first place. This gave the assumption that based on trusted information, readers would believe that there is an 'unknown' reason of some sort and, hence, was understood as such, based on the omission of information (Mahadeo and Mckinney, 2007). It gives an immediate conclusion related to President Trump's ideology (Goatly and Hradhar, 2016). President Trump mentioned refugees and immigrants only as active agents of negativity (Banda and Mawadza, 2015), yet there was no statement made by the writers in the WSJ news report to discourage that. As a result, the Trump administration was more positively represented in the first news report since the overall attitude was unbiased and objective to this fact. The fact that the writers remained objective even when the constitutional issue of religious discrimination came into question meant that there was a more encouraging approach to President Trump's ideology, since there was no actual sign of opposition to this discourse of exclusion.

The second news report, however, had ten quotes and words in quotation marks, and had the same number of positive and negative quotes regarding the travel ban, but the choice in words and sentence arrangement was different (Van Dijk, 1991). Following Van Dijk (1997), the use of lexicon and syntax were mainly based on exposing the credibility of all facts presented. The fact that some of the positive quotes were stated gave clarity to significant information surrounding the media event of the travel ban. The negative quotes were based mainly on establishing whether the motives of President Trump were sincere or not, based on the supporting statements and evidence from skilled experts in their fields. The writers designated paragraphs which gave a completely negative view of the reasons why those countries were

listed. This placed the travel ban and Trump's ideology in a negative light. The overall attitude in the WP news report gave an oppositional representation of the motivations behind the travel ban and presented the Trump administration as unduly biased and discriminatory.

It is evident that both accounts of the media event agreed on one negative aspect related to President Trump. It was his questionable motivations for a travel ban, since only Muslim-majority countries were implicated. This is based on the facts given by the writers following their stance that the travel ban was discriminatory in essence, regardless of whether there were sincere intentions for the protection of American citizens or not (Van Dijk, 1991). Although the WSJ gave supporting facts as to why the Trump administration's reasons for the travel ban's was rejected based on the administrative errors of due process, it did not give the same coverage on the constitutional issue of religious discrimination that has also been challenged. Although the mention of voluntary disclosure on the part of President Trump added to his integrity, it was not enough to diffuse the notion that a pressing constitutional issue was discriminatory in nature, and that it was directly linked to the travel ban. The presidential position of President Trump was given such authority, that questioning his motivations by challenging him in court would not be feasible, since he possesses a status of undisputable honesty. According to Van Dijk (1991), the motivations behind President Trump's travel ban was made questionable based on the stance of writers in the WP.

**I would now like to look at the other two news reports namely, *The New York Post* and the *New York Times*, whose news reports are based on the Palestinian-Israeli issue of making Jerusalem the capital of Israel.**

#### **4.3 MEDIA EVENT 2: The Palestinian-Israeli issue of making Jerusalem the capital of Israel**

The third report is based on Media Event 2. The media event is another example of how President Trump is represented based on his ideologies. The news report I have analysed is titled: "Trump: Recognizing Jerusalem as Israeli capital is best move towards peace". It was taken from the *New York Post*, and can be found in the appendices (Appendix 3) of this dissertation and on the following link: <https://nypost.com/2017/12/06/trump-says-us-will-recognize-jerusalem-as-capital-of-israel/>

### **4.3.1 Syntax and Lexical arrangements for Thematic Organization**

According to van Dijk (1997), a number of morpho-syntactic features are used to express underlying meanings in sentence structures, such as the use of pronouns, variations of word order, the use of specific syntactic categories like active and passive constructions, nominalizations, clause embedding and sentence complexity. This is particularly so within PDA, and more often than not it is used to give meaning in a message. Hence, the use of text ordering, syntax, lexical chains, and certain verbs or adjectives among other linguistic devices analyse the messages portrayed within the PDA framework (van Dijk 1997; Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda,2015).

With reference to the *New York Post* news report, the media event of Jerusalem being recognized as the capital of Israel has been analysed in conjunction with the subsequent media events linked to it, and by way of the linguistic tools chosen (Van Dijk, 1988). The moving of the American embassy to Jerusalem and the occupation of Palestinian lands have become subsequent events linked to the recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital. This means that recognizing Jerusalem as a capital of Israel not only meant moving the American embassy from Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem, it also meant requesting all other embassies to move to Jerusalem, and in so doing, the issue of Palestinian lands and the religious implications of such a move came into being. I have analysed this news report based around these three themes.

The news report has twenty-seven paragraphs in total. The spatial positioning is that each paragraph is separated by a large space indentation as part of the format, indicating a spatial distance and the start of the next paragraph (Van Dijk, 1977). This is also a textual tool to indicate which topic or sub-topic is being discussed or, as per Van Dijk (1977), the discourse topic. Spacing of paragraphs indicates the importance of each theme or topic (Van Dijk, 1988). It also indicates where attention should be given. According to Fairclough (1995), combining clauses and the arrangement of clauses is subject to the topic being discussed.

### **4.3.2 Headline**

As stated above, the summary of the topic(s) of a news report is comprised of the headline and lead. Van Dijk (1988) states that the lead is considered to be the introduction of the news report, which is a summary of the main events. It is important to note the construction of power and

prejudice in the ordering of the text (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). The use of “Trump” as the opening for the headline gives a level of power to the statement by using a pronoun and strategically placing it in the first part of the sentence (Van Dijk, 1997). The fact that he is the President means his level of authority carries weight and credibility (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). The news report begins with the media event as a definitive one with no room for doubt and applauds the media event as such, due to the use of clause embedding based on the words used such as “Recognizing” (Van Dijk, 1997). The headline is in bold font with a bigger font for the title as opposed to the rest of the news report (Van Dijk, 1980). The rest of the news report is in a plain, similar font and but not in bold, which is standard for online news reports. The headline highlights the focus of the story and states what the news report’s topic is about (Van Dijk, 1988). It begins with the name of Trump as the subject of the headline. Nominalisations and passive constructions form part of constructing the text strategically to indicate the direction of the news report (Van Dijk, 1977). This attributes the speech and social acts to President Trump, indicating his importance in the news report, and thus reveals the news value of proximity (Bednarek and Caple, 2014).

Due to President Trump being a political figure he is associated with specific speech acts (Austin 1962; Searle, 1969). Hence, any news coverage related to him is seen as newsworthy (Bednarek and Caple, 2014). President Trump is the main political actor in this media event, as it is based on his presidential decisions and how he is represented in the media. Following Van Dijk (1997); and Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda (2015), the writer used ‘Recognizing’ as the verb used in the present tense to make claims of a statement linked to a political decision by President Trump. It also indicates the media event’s main action, since it is positioned immediately after the introduction of Trump and is used to create an interest for potential readers (Van Dijk, 1977). Following Van Dijk (1997), Jerusalem is the noun used to indicate the object of the news report based on its position in the sentence.

The headline highlights and summarises the two main focus areas of the news report, which is recognizing Jerusalem as Israel’s capital, and how its recognition is associated with peaceful resolutions (Van Dijk, 1988). This indicates the thematic organization of the news report regarding the topics being discussed (Van Dijk, 1988). The writer chose to make a bold statement as the headline, indicating a positive stance towards President Trump’s ideology (Van Dijk, 1991). Following Van Dijk (1997), the writer used the word “peace” in the headline indicating the central action linked to President Trump. “Peace” is associated with kindness

and understanding. Using the word “peace” and positioning it at the end of the sentence (Van Dijk, 1991), indicates that President Trump’s main focus of the media event is to establish peace. This can be viewed as either biased or objective, based on whether the ideology is being represented positively or negatively. In this instance, the recognition of Jerusalem as Israel’s capital is presented positively, since it is considered by the writer as the “best move”, due to using “best” as the adjective which describes the move (Van Dijk, 1997).

As stated before, based on the choice in linguistic devices, it is evident that the writer represents the media event in a positive light (Van Dijk, 1997; Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda, 2015). Having used the adjective “best” to describe the “move” of the embassy, the writer is explicitly giving his stance on Trump’s political move as being positive (Van Dijk, 1991). The choice of wording in the headline depicts a considerable amount of trust and confidence in President Trump, where the writer said that it “is” the best move (Van Dijk, 1997). This leaves little room for doubt about whether Trump’s ideology regarding the recognition of Jerusalem as Israel’s capital was the “best move” or not. This positioning of the text indicates positive reinforcement was given in support Trump’s ideology (Van Dijk, 1997; Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda, 2015). Directly below the headline is the writer of the news report’s name, Bob Fredericks, and the date of the article given is below that as the 6 December 2017.

### **4.3.3 Lead**

The lead is a more descriptive section related to the title. The writer gives a summary of the most relevant information in the news report in the first paragraph (Van Dijk, 1988). It answers the “what, when, who, why and how”, within a political discourse and it is based on the speech acts of President Trump (Austin 1962; Searle, 1969). They represent the political acts which fall within a political context and any consequences, verbal reactions or events related to them which project a position of power (Van Dijk, 1997; Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda 2015). The structure of this news report is that each paragraph would have a statement or a quote followed by a verbal reaction to that statement or a consequence of the quote in reply to President Trump’s statements or statements made on behalf or in support of his decisions. In this manner, Trump’s political ideology can either be represented positively or negatively.

Following Van Dijk (1988), paragraph one is the lead paragraph stating the main event. This paragraph is considered to be the lead since it represents the thematic organisation of this news

report (Van Dijk, 1988). It states that the “recognition” and “move” will happen on “Wednesday” by the “US” and recognition will happen when “the location is secured”. The messages in the lead paragraph often contain various speech acts with assertions or promises that it will be executed (Austin, 1962; Searle 1969). President Trump is quoted as making assertions to confirm the embassy’s move to Jerusalem and its practical implementation of this assertion (Austin, 1962). Reported speech was used by saying that Trump “announced” that he will recognize Jerusalem as the capital, and he plans to move the American embassy from Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem. According to Van Dijk (1992/7), the writer emphasized statements made by President Trump regarding peace and Israel’s right to claim Jerusalem as its capital.

#### **4.3.4 Body of the News Report**

The second paragraph after the lead quotes President Trump and gives a high level of authority to a presidential decision by use of the word “determined” (Van Dijk, 1997). This includes the PDA of text ordering, syntax, lexical chains, and the use of certain verbs or adjectives among other linguistic devices (Van Dijk 1997; Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda, 2015). It also indicates some level of consideration was done by the Trump administration, and that a formal and trusted process was used before making this decision. Following Banda and Mawadza (2015), the use of this technique makes information more believable and creates a level of trust in this information.

Following van Dijk (1997); and Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda (2015), the word “judged” can signify that there is a level of knowledge linked to the status of Jerusalem. As listed before, according to the usage of a verb in this manner, the meaning here suggests that President Trump’s decision to move the embassy is a well thought-out solution for both USA and the ongoing conflict between Israel and Palestine. Since the verb “judged” has a connotation of being factual and with a legal backing, it makes information more believable (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). The ideology being represented here is that President Trump knows which course of action is best-suited for the issues at hand, in that his judgment is viewed as lawful with unequivocal support. An implicit meaning is that President Trump is continuing a previous order which was not enforced (Fairclough, 1995).

This presupposed notion that President Trump is enforcing an order that was previously validated but not executed creates a degree of concern as to why this is so. It is noted that these

eight paragraphs are listed at the beginning of the news report and any objections or verbal reactions to the assurance of peace by him, have been listed after this. So the writer has given preference to statements around reasons why peace would be supported by President Trump. Another example of how the positioning of texts (Van Dijk, 1991), can indicate which topic is given prominence, as well as the stance of the writer.

In addition, making Jerusalem the capital of Israel and its objections were only mentioned later on in the news report. Following Van Dijk (1988), the technique used by the writer was to first state all the positive information around the topic of peace efforts. By supporting President Trump's ideology and viewing it as a positive solution the writer stated all the reasons why it is the best solution for peace (Van Dijk, 1991). As per Van Dijk (1997), using the word "official" gives credibility to the writer's statement of President Trump's decision being the best solution to peace since a legal connotation is attached to it. This points to a level of trust and approval in viewing the decision of President Trump as lawful. Following Banda and Mawadza (2015), using the authority associated with the legal status of endorsement can create more truth and credibility around these statements. The writer also said that the delay of the physical move of the embassy was only because the embassy structure is estimated to take three or four years to build. Hence, the underlying assumption as per Fairclough (1995), is that the physical move of the embassy is imminent, and that it is only due to physical obstructions that there is a delay.

This leads to the third paragraph which substantiates the claims of President Trump's decision as being the best, by giving some historical background information. Following Fairclough (1995), the implicit meaning by the writer indicates the reason why previous governments failed to foster better peace efforts was because they failed to implement the Jerusalem Embassy Act. The use of historical information also adds to the credibility of this fact. Similarly, as in the case of using scientific data (Banda and Mawadza, 2015), including the historical information makes it more believable. The writer indicated that the only issue with President Trump's insistence that peace would be attained by implementing this ideology, is that peace would not be possible if Israeli settlements remain and continue to be built in occupied Palestinian lands, and in so doing, is in violation of international law (New Yorker, 2017). Here, in this researched news report, it is important to note how previous governments are seen as negative agents as opposed to President Trump, who is viewed as the positive agent or the bearer of what is better (Banda and Mawadza, 2015).



This notion is further substantiated in paragraph four. The writer states that President Trump felt that peace efforts were disrupted by way of waivers, which is what the previous governments had been doing. Since the writer indicated that President Trump criticized the previous governments on their methods of maintaining peace, the assurance given here by way of the implicit meaning (Fairclough, 1995), is that peace would be better maintained by implementing the act, rather than having a waiver done. Here, the news value of positivity and prominence is associated with President Trump's statement and giving it leverage over the actions of previous governments (Bednarek and Caple, 2014).

Due to the writer's omission of any type of negativity to President Trump's decision, following Mahadeo and Mckinney (2007:15), the omission of information is just as significant and maybe even more so, as the information that has been included. Omitting any objections places President Trump's ideology and his methods of obtaining peace as the only feasible solution. Due to President Trump's political ideology on the implementation of this embassy act, he portrayed previous governments by using a dysphemism and by saying that it would be "folly" which means foolish, to assume that peace will continue to be upheld by way of these waivers (Van Dijk, 1997). It indicates his opposition to the previous governments' views on not implementing the embassy act, and he attaches a news value of negativity to previous governments (Bednarek and Caple, 2014). The perception the writer creates here is that President Trump has distanced himself from the faults of previous governments by not wanting to repeat the same actions, which he considers a mistake.

In the fifth paragraph, the writer briefly states the concerns of other political and religious leaders who disagree with President Trump's idea that peace would be maintained in this manner. The mention of Pope Francis indicates the sacrilegious nature of this media event. Following Banda and Mawadza (2015) the credibility of a Pope and the inclusion of a religious authority linked to the Pope, makes the statement more believable and opposition to Trump's ideology more questionable.

In the sixth paragraph immediately after having a statement in opposition to President Trump's ideology, the writer relays assurance from a prominent figure in the Trump administration to ease any fears regarding the decision. By including this, the writer creates a dismissive effect to any objections which may present itself to this ideology (Van Dijk, 1991). As you will see

later on in paragraph twenty, prominent figures have sided with President Trump, such as his commander-in-chief, and his religious support base of evangelicals, but have ignored other religious groups with claims to Palestinian lands. The writer believed that President Trump would deal with the claims of the evangelicals more fairly than anyone else (Van Dijk, 1991). The mention of such a religious group or title of authority represent unconditional support for President Trump and high regard for his integrity (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). It signifies that the evangelicals believe President Trump has considered a fair solution to both Palestinians and Israelis in maintaining peace efforts and themselves.

As per Stefan (2009), language can be used to inform or misinform others, which represents information in a certain way. In this way, the writer represents facts about how due consideration was being given and that the process should be viewed as a fair one. This indicates the stance of the writer as given in favour of President Trump (Van Dijk, 1991). Hence, for evangelicals to place allegiance to President Trump would be more favourable towards his political ideology. This places President Trump in a position of control over the issues regarding Palestinian and Israeli lands. Despite peace not being realized through talks of a two-state solution, Trump's ideology is projected in a positive light due to his support base.

This begs the question as to how a two-state solution could be made possible, and for peace to be upheld, if only those who support Trump's ideology would benefit from it. The writer has mentioned this troubling fact in at least ten paragraphs of the news report and attaches the news value of prominence to it (Bednarek and Caple, 2014). From the writer's perspective, it means that it would be better for evangelicals to support President Trump's political ideology than to oppose it, since his ideology supports theirs (Van Dijk, 1991). Besides wanting to uphold a promise he made previously (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969), President Trump would, however, be going against American policy in order to support his ideology. It presupposes that President Trump is behaving in a way which is 'un-presidential'. Following Fairclough (1995), the implicit meaning in this message is that President Trump would challenge opposition at the cost of losing peace negotiations and, in so doing, would go against the policy of his own country.

It does present a question as to the extent of President Trump's adherence to American policy, and whether he would pledge allegiance to his supporters despite this policy. Apart from the possible losses which could be incurred on the part of President Trump, it is a huge price to

pay in order to carry out such a promise. It leaves the question as to whether this would be a sensible decision for a president to make or not. According to the writer, President Trump's ideology to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and implementing the embassy act, is different to any previous government decisions due to the threat of political stability and peace being at the centre of this contentious issue (Van Dijk, 1991). It is evident that a declaration of war would happen if such a move is made by Trump's administration, since no consideration other than those of Israel and the USA would have been taken into account. This is based on the discourse of exclusion, since those in opposition to President Trump's plans, would not be considered (Banda and Mawadza, 2015).

In paragraph seven, another statement is made regarding peace efforts and that both Palestinians and Israelis are being considered in this agreement. The manner in which information is represented here indicates that the writer wants the idea of peaceful resolutions to be seen in conjunction with positive plans to move the American embassy (Van Dijk, 1991).

In paragraph eight, plans for relocating the American embassy are discussed. Following Fairclough (1995), the implicit meaning presented is that the relocation of the American embassy is going to happen and there are concrete plans in place to make it happen. In paragraph nine the contentious issue of Jerusalem is again stated together with it being seen as the solution to peace efforts. Here, the positivity of the embassy move is highlighted by the writer (Van Dijk, 1991). The implicit meaning is that this sentiment of Jerusalem being Israel's capital is one-sided, and supports only those groups in agreement with Trump's ideology. (Fairclough, 1995). However, those in opposition have legitimate concerns that still have not been addressed. The other paragraphs of the news report also indicate this sentiment.

Paragraph ten starts off by saying that Israel, being in a position of power, is seen as an ally of President Trump, since they both have the same political ideology when it comes to Jerusalem and Palestinian lands. As per Fairclough (1995), the implicit meaning in the statement Israel made regarding Jerusalem is that "its eternal and indivisible capital and wants all embassies there", not only says that they want the support of all other countries besides the USA, but they also feel that their ideology is the only correct one. This excludes all other groups through the discourse of exclusion (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). The writer indicates that the USA and Israel are the only ones who have a right to claim it. Following Austin (1962) and Searle (1969), the writer includes the terms which President Trump used in his speech. It has godly attributes

like “eternal” and “indivisible”, indicating the high level of regard President Trump has for such a political move. The word “indivisible”, which also means “united”, considers Jerusalem as the capital of Israel as being inseparable (Van Dijk, 1977). The writer’s exclusion of reservations means that he did not include quotes from those with different opinions. As a result, the underlying message is that the recognition of Jerusalem as Israel’s capital has already been decided, and is considered as the only solution for peace (Fairclough, 1995).

Based on the speech act of assertion, (Austin, 1962), the act of recognizing Jerusalem as Israel’s capital is attached to this statement. It implies disregard for not only Palestinians, but for the religious sensibilities of Muslims, Christians and Jews alike. This ideology is based on the discourse of exclusion (Banda and Mawadza, 2015), in which only certain groups, like Israelis and evangelicals, are being considered when taking this stance, and thus creates groups who are being marginalized. In the event of marginalization, it is important to understand that peace would not be possible in such circumstances. Hence, the political ideology behind why this political move would be the best for peace efforts needs to be addressed.

In paragraph eleven the writer mentions what Palestinians and Arab leaders have requested regarding the eastern sector, which is the same part Jerusalem falls under. Following Fairclough (1995), an implicit assumption is that there is a difference in opinion as to whether or not Israel is in fact supposed to control this part of the eastern sector. In the same paragraph, the writer states that history narrates, that it is in fact Israeli territory and has been since 1967, but was just not officially recognized as such. The inclusion of historical information makes this statement more believable (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). The ideology projected here is that there should be no real opposition to this decision of President Trump, since technically, as history narrates, based on the Middle East War, this part of the city should be under Israeli rule, and that it is just a matter of formalities. It is interesting to note, however, as to whether the claim of the eastern sector being under Israeli rule is seen as a legitimate one, since the writer said it was not “internationally recognised” as such. As per Van Dijk (1997), using these words to indicate the unofficial status of Jerusalem is made to seem as it is only a formality that needs to be addressed. This is based on the assumption that the ideology of the political landscape of Jerusalem and the eastern sector does not include Palestinian claims, since moving the embassy would be a mere formality (Fairclough, 1995).

As a result, there should be no opposition as to who is in control of the possession of lands. President Trump dismisses any other claims, despite information about Jerusalem being a sacred site to Muslims, Jews and Christians alike. Here, following Mahadeo and Mckinney (2007), there was an omission of information in the news report, which had it been included, would have stated that Palestinians, Muslims, Jews and Christians do in fact, have a right to lay claim to Jerusalem and Palestinian lands. By omitting this information, the writer represents any claims to Palestinian lands other than Israeli's and evangelicals as illegitimate, and renders their opposition as baseless claims. This presents Trump's ideology of Jerusalem's status more positively. Through the discourse of exclusion (Banda and Mawadza, 2015), only Israel and evangelicals have legitimate claims, since Palestinians, Muslims, Jews and Christians are considered not to have valid claims to Jerusalem and the contested Palestinian lands.

In paragraph twelve, the response to this political ideology of Trump is a clear opposition and threat to peace efforts on the part of Palestinians, who said it was in fact a "declaration of war". This indicates the severity of such a political ideology and that peace would not be possible if a mutual agreement is not reached. The use of the words describing the opposition creates an understanding of the writer's indication of the severity of resistance to Trump's ideology (Van Dijk, 1997).

This statement is further supported in paragraph thirteen where Pope Francis requests the general waiver to be respected in order to avoid any international conflicts which could be ignited by such a political move. By including the title of the Pope, it creates more credibility about the facts surrounding these statements (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). The speech acts of the Palestinian people in opposition to President Trump, is an affirmation of war indicating the degree of resistance to Trump's ideology (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969).

Paragraphs fourteen, fifteen and sixteen, lists three major countries who are in opposition to Trump's ideology, as well as Washington's allies. The writer talks about China, Russia, Turkey and Pope Francis as not being in agreement with the ideology of Trump, since they felt that not only was the peace of a two-state resolution being threatened, but that other religious groups were being directly marginalized as well. The writer placed the opposing groups together as the topic for these three paragraphs (Van Dijk, 1988). The writer mentioned that Turkey threatened to cut diplomatic ties, further indicating the severity of such a political move.

Following Austin (1962) and Searle (1969), the writer included a statement from a spokesperson from the Trump administration in paragraph seventeen, including the quote which used the metaphor, “a fire with no end in sight”, to indicate how implementing this political ideology of Trump will have long-lasting and disastrous consequences at the expense of peace. As per the choice of wording, fire is associated with pain, fear, loss and negativity (Van Dijk, 1997). Proceeding in this manner could be a never-ending battle which could negatively affect innocent people and make peace unreachable. In this way, following Van Dijk (1991), the writer gives another representation of Trump’s ideology by including statements that concur no peace solutions will be realized if Jerusalem is recognized as Israel’s capital. Instead, more hostilities are expected to prevail based on the state of Palestine and Trump’s ideology. This, is again, opposite to the political ideology of maintaining peace efforts which President Trump claims he wants.

In paragraphs eighteen and nineteen, President Trump’s lack of urgency comes into play since he goes on to sign a waiver, which is in contradiction to his statement of wanting to go ahead with the embassy move. The writer states in paragraph twenty that a senior administration official gives the reason for a waiver as being the need to first build the embassy which can take up to four years. Again, the discourse of exclusion (Banda and Mawadza, 2015), is evident by going forward with future plans for Jerusalem. The discourse of exclusion was projected onto Palestinians, Muslims, Jews and Christians, despite their rights as claimants to the contested Palestinian lands, and the negative effect of planning this physical move has not been considered here.

The news report also indicates the stance of the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in paragraph twenty-one, where the writer included the quotes on Mr Netanyahu’s page in Facebook, which read that he labelled Trump’s political ideology as “manifestations” of their national identity way back in history. Following Van Dijk (1997), the choice of the word “manifestations” gives a sense of grandeur and status and adds a value of inclusion through nationalism for those who support Trump’s ideology. Throughout the news report, the writer constantly asserts peace efforts as the focus area and that the process of moving still has a timeline of three to four years before actual implementation can take place. The underlying message here would portray the idea that the delay in the move is not due to any fear of hostilities or opposition, but instead it is a physical impediment (Fairclough, 1995). Again, it

gives the notion of undue consideration to those in opposition to Trump's ideology. According to Austin (1962) and Searle (1969), the speech act of assertion is indicative of those who support President Trump's ideology and the assertion was made in order for them to feel assured of its implementation. President Trump explicitly stated that the move is going to happen in due time and he promised his supporters that it is in fact going to happen (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969).

Following Van Dijk (1997), the writer makes use of the metaphor, "kiss-of-death", in paragraph twenty-two, to indicate how implementing President Trump's plans for Jerusalem are likened to declaring war and ending any hope for peace efforts to prevail. It would be a symbol of imminent death to peace and those who support such an ideology. This is visible in the verbal reactions to the media event.

The consequences of the verbal reactions in this news report indicate a substantial amount of opposition as stated in paragraph twenty-three in which the chief Palestinian representative explicitly states their opposition and the certainty of a looming war against Palestinians, Muslims, Jews and Christians, including the Middle East. Here, according to Austin (1962), this assertion creates the actions associated with physically going to war. The fact that the writer makes mention of the huge number of people in opposition to Trump's ideology indicates the extent and enormity of opposition to the proposed embassy move. The writer included the figure by saying that it amounts to billions and hundreds of millions of people will be affected. This inclusion indicates the scale to which opposition is prominent, and also indicates the extent of the damage that can be caused and how many people would be negatively affected by such a political move. The unlimited figure of people indicates how much opposition there is towards President Trump and indicates the strength in numbers with which opposition is met.

In paragraph twenty-four, the writer uses the statement of a Senior Trump administration official regarding peace efforts on the part of President Trump. A statement from a person in this position of authority creates more credibility towards the notion that President Trump is concerned with peace efforts (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). The writer uses this statement to indicate that peace was still the forerunner of the peace deal regarding the status of Jerusalem, indicating the writer's view on the matter (Van Dijk, 1991). The writers used "central part" to create the assumption that peace is the most important factor in making a decision. The effect

of using this word, as per Van Dijk (1991), is a linguistic tool which makes centrality to peace the motivations behind President Trump's ideology. According to Austin (1962) and Searle (1969), the speech act of assertion indicates that the actions attached to making this assertion is that President Trump's fundamental aim is to maintain peace. The news report talks about assertions that peace is fundamental to Trump's ideology by justifying his decision. Hence, peace efforts and the actions related to them are used in conjunction with following Trump's ideology.

In this manner, the writers present the ideology of President Trump in a positive light, despite the other lawful and serious objections to it. It also leaves the question that if President Trump is not choosing sides, how does his political ideology not favour Israel at the expense of millions of other people in opposition to Trump's ideology. This suggests that if all parties concerned were being represented fairly by Trump's political ideology, the motivations for an embassy move would be to maintain peaceful relations in the Middle East. However, based on the statements affirming the onset of a possible war, it leaves the question as to how peaceful solutions are to be made with so much opposition being present.

According to the writers, officials were calling it a "fundamental truth" in paragraph twenty-five and twenty-six. According to Austin (1962) and Searle (1969), the information in these quotations substantiates President Trump's claims as "truth" and that it is "just a fact". Again, using this technique of those in authority allows for more credibility (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). In addition, using words such as "fundamental" and "truth", adds the connotation of trustworthiness attached to it (Van Dijk, 1991). It also indicates a disapproval of negative criticism voiced by those who oppose President Trump's decision. Here, an implicit meaning implies that any contestation to the ideology of President Trump would be viewed as unjustified and counter-productive to any peace efforts (Fairclough, 1995). The assumption made is that the moving of the American embassy and the recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital, is the best and only solution towards peace efforts. Adversely, those in opposition to this ideology are viewed as being opposed to peace solutions which is counter-productive, and are not just opposing Trump's ideologies.

The news report ends off with paragraph twenty-seven, which included facts on President Trump's son-in-law, Jared Kushner. The close association of family ties comes into play here. Being a son-in-law of President Trump gives an automatic assumption of credibility



(Fairclough, 1995). The writer states that Mr Kushner has done nothing substantial to better peace efforts, as no improvements in this regard are visible thus far. Mentioning this fact, generates some negativity around peace efforts, since there is no proof of any improved peace resolutions on the part of Mr Kushner.

The immediate conclusion is that the peace efforts that are being administered are proving to be futile (Goatly and Hiradhar, 2016). Hence, the assumption would be that President Trump's ideology of the embassy move would be a better solution to maintaining peace. Here, the writers give Mr Kushner the accountability of not being able to generate better peace efforts, as he is viewed as the person responsible for this failure. In some way, this defers the accountability to Mr Kushner as opposed to President Trump based on the writers' inclusion of his son-in-law (Van Dijk, 1991). Again, although Mr Kushner represents the Trump administration, it takes away some of the negativity placed directly on President Trump to provide better peace solutions. Instead, it places President Trump and his ideology regarding peace efforts in a neutral light as opposed to a negative one. The implicit meaning, as per Fairclough (1995), would be, that although Mr Kushner has no concrete solutions to maintaining peace, President Trump's ideology is viewed as a better prospect to improve the current peace negotiations.

The writers have also not included any concrete information with regards to Mr Kushner's possible attempts towards peace resolutions. This could suggest that the writers purposefully excluded information around peace efforts being made by Mr Kushner. By omitting facts which could present positive efforts towards peace, it presents Mr Kushner's peace efforts as either being non-existent or futile (Mahadeo and Mckinney, 2007:15). In so doing, it presents President Trump's ideology in a more positive light, and the fact that his son-in-law has not made progress means peace seems unreachable in this manner at this point. It signifies a lack of strategic methods to move forward. According to Fairclough (1995), this creates an implicit impression that no peace solutions can be actualized without following the ideology of President Trump, since Mr Kushner's attempts for peace have still not been realized or established.

#### **4.3.5 Conclusion of Analysis 3**

The news report takes the positive stance that if Jerusalem became the capital of Israel and the American embassy moved there, it would provide better solutions towards peace and all resistance towards this ideology would be illegitimate. Following Fairclough (1995), the writers used many implicit meanings to bring across the point that following Trump's ideology as the better solution. The writers portrayed President Trump as unbiased and considerate, which indicates that by implication, his political ideology should be viewed as the best solution towards peace. Any other concerns are viewed as baseless contradictions to his political ideology, which does not have any standpoint or relevance, since previous governments failed to maintain peace between Israelis and Palestinians and the Middle East. No mention was made of how the two-state solution would be considered in the event of Jerusalem becoming the capital of Israel. The writers also dedicated ten paragraphs to those in opposition of President Trump's proposals of the embassy move. No real information regarding the claim, whether valid or not, of those in opposition to Trump's ideology, have been given. President Trump was positively presented in how he believes peace can be attained, and that his political ideology should be viewed as such.

#### **4.4. MEDIA EVENT 2- Second news report**

The fourth report is the second news report which is linked to the second media event. The news report I have analysed is titled: "Trump to Keep Embassy in Tel Aviv, but Recognize Jerusalem as Capital", from NYT and can be found in the appendices (Appendix 4) of this dissertation and on the following link:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/01/us/politics/trump-embassy-israel-jerusalem.html>

##### **4.4.1 Direct and Indirect Speech Quotes**

The following news report consists of twenty-two paragraphs in total. It consists of a headline, sub-headline, lead, and the body and conclusion of the news report. Hence, it takes the form of a standard news report. The textual schematics is based on each paragraph consisting of one or two sentences and then separated by spatial positioning as in standard news reports. Typical of news reports, the most important information is listed first and thereafter the bulk of the information follows to further explain the story related to the important leads (Van Dijk, 1992/7). The thematic organisation is around possible contradictions in Trump's political ideology and the views of those who oppose his ideology

are mostly covered. Historical details and the pressure related to the implementation of American policy regarding the Embassy Act have been highlighted and forms the bulk of information in this news report.

Fifteen of the twenty-two paragraphs focus on how the details of the plan to move the American embassy are being discussed and the degree of pressure on President Trump from his supporters to make it happen sooner rather than later. Most of them form part of the beginning of the news report and three of these paragraphs are written toward the end. In the middle of the news report, four of the remaining ten paragraphs discuss details of underhanded negotiations that happened with the Trump administration. The other three paragraphs, listed as paragraph thirteen, twenty-one and twenty-two, indicate the negative impact President Trump's political ideology will have on those who oppose it. Below the sub-headline are the two writers' names and below that the date of the news report. It was written by Mark Lander and Julie Hirschfeld Davis on the 1 December 2017.

#### **4.4.2 Headline**

The headline of the news report consists of a clause and a subordinate clause and it also uses a different and bolder font which is different to the rest of the news report as the linguistic device for prominence (Van Dijk, 1980). The use of the grammar and syntax formation in the headline presents a contradiction of what President Trump plans to do based on his political ideology (Van Dijk, 1997). The writer included the statement by President Trump regarding the American embassy, and to recognise Jerusalem as the capital. The verbs indicating the actions taken by President Trump highlights this media event as the main theme of the news report (Van Dijk, 1997). Following Van Dijk (1997), Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda (2015), using this verb indicates the importance associated with the political ideology of President Trump.

The writers allude that President Trump as being somewhat disloyal to his own ideology. According to Fairclough (1995), the writer creates an implicit meaning through his choice of words. This is based on the words the writer used in the headline, which talks about moving making Jerusalem the capital, but not moving the American embassy as yet. Based on the law around making the embassy, President Trump would be contravening this section of the Embassy Act. His concession for doing so would be based on national security reasons. The difference to the previous report in the *New York Times* is the promotion of Trump's ideology

and how it is stated as the “best move”. This news report, just a few months apart, is covering the same media event, but presents Trump’s ideology differently. The headline alludes to the news report covering themes related to what the strategy is surrounding the plan to recognize Jerusalem as Israel’s capital, also how and when the physical move of the American embassy is scheduled to take place, but in a contradictory manner towards each other (Van Dijk, 1988).

#### **4.4.3 Sub-headline**

The sub-headline questions the assurance of the feasibility of President Trump’s possible plans of recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel by emphatically making a statement that no previous president, whether a Democrat or Republican, has ever done this move since 1948. The writers present a negative undertone to President Trump’s political ideology by stating a historical fact which is used to strengthen claims (Van Dijk, 1991). If something like moving the offices of the embassy could not be implemented in more than six decades, how would this become actualized in the current state? This alludes to the fact that it does not seem possible and creates a negative and dramatic effect by using a historical fact in this manner. It also adopts the notion that to attempt this political move is like presidential suicide (Fairclough, 1995).

#### **4.4.4 Lead**

The lead in paragraph one presents a concise summary as to why there is a delay in the physical move of the American embassy and how this does not sway from the recognition of Jerusalem as Israel’s capital. It also states that the campaign for the physical move of the embassy is viewed as a “halfway gesture”. The writers used these words to show that the promise around the physical move is not actually being implemented but the promise of doing it is still present (Van Dijk, 1997). The reasons given for a less enthusiastic approach to the physical move is to maintain the campaign around peace initiatives. The writers used the word “derailing” to explain how destructive a physical move at this stage can impact peace efforts (Van Dijk, 1997). In other words, the effects would be too devastating, and as a consequence of implementing this ideology would be as harmful as moving a train off the correct track and causing unimaginable damage (Van Dijk, 1991). The assurance of Trump’s political ideology around the physical move is that his ideology in implementing this plan is still in motion.

#### **4.4.5 Body of the News Report**

Paragraph two depicts a feeling of doubt by the writers when they use the word “expected” (Van Dijk, 1997). Anonymity by those who made this statement is linked to those who stated caution on the part of President Trump. This is due to the initial plan of not having been officiated and that technicalities related to this media event can and might change. This creates a degree of uncertainty and vagueness as to who made the statements and their validity or how plausible the promise is (Van Dijk, 1991).

The third paragraph goes on to give more assurance by the writers referring to “experts”, which denotes a sense of trust in the status of knowledge, and a title of this nature means these people are specialists in their profession. The writers create the impression that they would know better by default of being called experts in the political sphere (Banda and Mawadza, 2015).

Following Van Dijk (1997), and Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda (2015), the writers use the adjective “fiendishly”, as the linguistic device to describe the negative aspect of Trump’s ideology. The strong use of the word “fiendishly” which is the adjective to describe “complicated”, is in relation to President Trump’s proposed plan. It is derived from “fiend”, which means a demon or evil spirit, or an enthusiast or devotee of something, like a football fiend or fanatic, for example (Van Dijk, 1997). I have taken the interpretation within the political context of this media event and adopted the meaning of enthusiast or devotee to a particular political ideology. The writers represent President Trump being an enthusiast of his proposed plan based on his stance regarding Jerusalem (Van Dijk, 1991).

As per Fairclough (1995), the writers implicitly state that President Trump might be enthusiastic about implementing the plan, but the actual details of the plan could be altered, since there is no guarantee that the initial details of his plan will be upheld. In this paragraph, the writers mention the fact that Jerusalem is a holy site and those who also have a huge stake in its status are Jews, Christians, Muslims, Palestinians, the Middle East and other Muslim-majority countries. Mentioning this fact creates a degree of accountability on the part of President Trump.

By implication, the writers indicated that excluding the aforementioned groups in implementing Trump’s ideology of Jerusalem, would not be a suitable solution for any peace

initiative. The implicit meaning, as per Fairclough (1995), is that Trump's ideology causes discrimination through use of political power and control to exclude minority groups. According to Banda and Mawadza (2015), in the discourse of exclusion, it would cause an automatic exclusion to those people in opposition to Trump's ideology. The writers highlight the fact that the problem becomes evident that President Trump's claims over Jerusalem only represent the Israelis and one group of evangelicals. This exposes the need for objectivity to be applied in such a contentious matter. As per Van Dijk (1991), the writers' perspective is visible, since they have indicated that all the aforementioned groups, not only Israelis and evangelicals, need to be considered in order to have a fair representation of groups. They highlighted the fact that this is not the case and that Trump's ideology will impact each group concerned. The writers' implicit meaning here (Fairclough, 1995), is that if there is in fact a lawful and valid claim to support Trump's ideology, the question of whether it has been recognized lawfully should be challenged.

Paragraph four presents a sentiment of morality in upholding promises by way of speech acts of President Trump (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). Based on Trump's ideology, this would be an assertion of President Trump's presidential status. It can be interpreted as President Trump fulfilling a promise in order to be considered worthy of his position as president. The writers made mention of Sheldon Adelson as a "casino mogul", by introducing him as an influential and financially powerful supporter of President Trump. The impression left in this paragraph is that to upset an influential supporter such as Mr Adelson, would not only be disappointing, but it would indicate a somewhat hypocritical approach to upholding promises (Van Dijk, 1991). Following Fairclough (1995), the implicit meaning here is that the writers view President Trump's association with Mr Adelson as questionable. It gives an understanding that the type of supporters President Trump associates with come with dubious moral systems (Fairclough, 1995). The writers stated that it could also be seen as a fatal flaw which could shake his support base.

By including this statement, the writers affirm the negativity associated with Mr Adelson. The writers then expand the notion that upholding a promise to Mr Adelson is viewed as somewhat non-negotiable, due to his social and financial standing and the immense support he has for President Trump. This again, as per Fairclough (1995), implies that President Trump has questionable motivations as to who he associates with from a morality perspective. In the same breath, casinos can be viewed negatively from the angle of morality, since it is associated with

gambling and playing games of chance, which apart from fun and financial gain in some instances, can be a symbol for uncertainty and loss if it is recklessly engaged in. The writers have used the casino to make President Trump's associations questionable (Van Dijk, 1991). Following Van Dijk (1997) the semantic approach from the writers indicates a loss of credibility for President Trump by referring to Mr Adelson's relationship with President Trump in the news report.

Gambling has been associated with an increase in social crimes and opens the door to many social ills, such as money laundering and loan sharks. This would be an inevitable expectation if people are not able to feed an expensive habit such as gambling. A religious group is usually associated with wanting to prevent social ills and having a high standard of morality. It begs the question of how having a president closely linked to a casino owner could still make morally sound decisions based on good will and accountability. Following Fairclough (1995), the implicit implication is that having a supporter of this nature means that you are supporting an ideology through which the moral compass accepts negative influencers in a positive way, whether in a monetary or ethical form. As per Stefan (2009), words, language and society both influence each other and is a representation of what is considered acceptable or not. From this perspective, it could mean that supporting President Trump and his political ideology could have a destructive instead of positive influence. It could give a negative impression of what President Trump represents based on who he chooses to associate with, and to what extent his association can affect his ideologies.

Paragraph five starts off with what governments must do administratively in order to maintain peace relations, which is signing a waiver to remain in Tel-Aviv every six months. The writers have included this to indicate that it is in clear contradiction to President Trump's initial plan to not defer moving the American embassy (Van Dijk, 1991). This questions the credibility of President Trump and the promises he made in the form of speech acts (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). However, despite having considerable pressure from his support base, President Trump was unable to uphold his promise since he had decided to sign the waiver. This inclusion by the writers places more doubt on President Trump's credibility (Van Dijk, 1991). The writers included the fact that President Trump's son-in-law and his advisers felt that moving the American embassy at this stage would only hamper any more peace efforts. Here, the inclusion of President Trump's own administration having reservations indicates an issue of opposition within the Trump administration. The implicit meaning as per Fairclough (1995), is that

President Trump's ideology and credibility are made to appear weak, and is inconsistent with his intended plans.

In paragraph six, President Trump is close to the deadline of signing this waiver, but due to his political ideology which is in support of the embassy move, he planned to add a statement to the waiver in order to fulfil part of his ideology. Despite the fact that the recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital has never been implemented since 1948, the writers give the impression that President Trump's statement might not carry as much weight as intended (Van Dijk, 1991).

Paragraph seven highlights the sensibilities around Jerusalem, and again statements from "experts" described President Trump's plan as being "fraught with risk", which means it is undesirable and most likely to cause anxiety and stress, and again obstructs any possible peace efforts (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). "Volatile" has been used by writers in the same paragraph, which is synonymous with violent and explosive reactions that are linked to the advent of a war (Van Dijk, 1997).

An opening statement in paragraph eight by a former American ambassador, Martin S. Dyk, warns that the technical details are the very factors which could cause any peace efforts to become non-existent and will exacerbate hostilities further. Using the title of an American ambassador to verify information on the peace efforts makes it more factual and believable (Banda and Mawadza, 2015).

Paragraph nine mentions pertinent questions by Mr Dyk, which are related to the details of the plan of how West and East Jerusalem will be dealt with and the holy status of Jerusalem and Palestine's claims would be addressed by President Trump. The inclusion of this information indicates the writers positioned this paragraph strategically, making both the positive and negative side to Trump's ideology available to readers (Van Dijk, 1991). This would affect support from Saudi Arabia regarding any peace efforts. The writers mention these factors in the news report and how the previous news report of the *New York Post* did not specify these factors, which are considered central to any peace agreements to give a negative perspective of Trump's ideology (Van Dijk, 1991).



In paragraph ten, the writers have not disclosed any names. The understood meaning is that the writers are implicitly stating that information about the people concerned can be interpreted as dubious in nature (Fairclough, 1995). The writers include a description of the close relationship of President Trump and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to indicate the extent of influence (Van Dijk, 1997). By way of association, the inclusion of this information makes President Trump's stance seem subjective. Following Fairclough (1995), many implicit meanings are made regarding the nature of their relationship. It depicts their relationship as already having been cemented before President Trump's inauguration as president, and creates the impression that some kind of underhandedness was engaged in. This was done by the writers to indicate that there was some prior involvement of President Trump in wanting to hasten a resolution in favour of Israel's settlement policy before. President Trump is placed as an active agent of a negative action in this paragraph, and thereby gives the writers' perspective on President Trump's involvement in dubious dealings (Van Dijk, 1991).

To add to this sentiment, the writers state that this was done before President Trump became president (Van Dijk, 1997). Stating these facts exposes a degree of foul play, as the writers have strategically highlighted it as a negative connotation attached to this fact (Van Dijk, 1997). This is a particularly concerning fact, since the then-president Barack Obama would have had to make presidential decisions and not President Trump. Following Fairclough (1995), the implicit assumption is that the allegiance of President Trump to Israel affirms his political ideologies in favour of Israel. However, from the writers' perspective, following Van Dijk (1991), they point out that President Trump would support such ideologies even if it meant scheming would be used. This, in turn, makes the credibility of President Trump look doubtful and questionable from the standpoint of a president, since the writers mentioned that his involvement in such activities was noted before his inauguration (Van Dijk, 1997). This represents President Trump and his ideologies in a negative light.

Paragraph eleven confirms this allegation of scheming mentioned by the writers, since Michael T. Flynn pleaded guilty, and a former national security adviser, foreign officials, and Russia were secretly contacted by way of instruction to influence the outcome of the resolution. The inclusion of information from a legal standpoint makes the information more truthful and believable (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). The person who made the call was described as a "very senior member", which creates a degree of anonymity and a level of authority due to the adverbial of "very". Again, the use of titles gives more credibility to statements which the

writers have included in this news report (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). It gives an impression that there is a higher degree of importance to this member as it is distinguished from other senior members.

The use of this linguistic technique is continued in paragraph twelve (Banda and Mawadza 2015). Here, the credibility linked to these statements of President Trump's underhandedness are further questioned, since the writers identify the member linked to these activities. This is done by changing the title of "senior member" to "transition official", indicating his role in affecting decisions linked to Israel. A legal implication had been identified by lawyers, by way of the title change. Since lawyers are expected to be legally experienced in such matters, they would have better credentials to identify such a member and has gave the title as such (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). Being the son-in-law of President Trump, Mr Kushner not only has political but also social links to him, and the fact that he was mentioned as the official who carried out this request, makes it more believable (Banda and Mawadza, 2015).

As in paragraph twelve, the writers state that although, Mr Flynn was in a senior position within the Trump administration, it did not deter Russia from voting for the resolution at the United Nations Security Council meeting. The implicit meaning is that despite the credibility of Mr Flynn, based on rank, Russia abstained as the USA did (Fairclough, 1995). Had Russia agreed, it would indicate an improper relationship with President Trump, and that siding with the USA would mean doing so at the expense of proper protocol and government procedures. This would question Russia's integrity and from the writers' perspective, it could have had major implications (Van Dijk, 1991). Here, the writers indicate that Russia sided with the USA, there would have been an underhanded abuse linked to a position of power (Van Dijk, 1997, and Alsowaidi, Mansour and Banda, 2015). This could have negative repercussions for Russia had they given in to such a request, as it would question their trustworthiness and credibility as a government.

In paragraph thirteen the writers talk about how President Trump could possibly hinder his relationship with Israel if he tries to continue peace negotiations before moving the American embassy. By implication, the writers imply that fostering peace is not something Israel is in favour of (Fairclough, 1995). It does place a question mark around the notion as to why Israel would have an issue with starting peace negotiations. The writers chose the word "jump-start" to describe the urgency in getting peace negotiations underway (Van Dijk, 1997). The writers

indicate that Mr Netanyahu views peace negotiations as a negative factor towards the intended move of the American embassy. According to Van Dijk (1991), the stance of the writers is that it could test the relationship between President Trump and Israel. In turn, this could present negative implications for Trump's ideology and Israel's ongoing support.

This leads to paragraph fourteen which states that Mr Netanyahu's support for the embassy to move, yet, it is evident in this paragraph that no pressure to do the physical move is visible at this stage due to the opposition. The writers mention that the Jordanian King Abdullah II, has voiced his deep opposition to the physical move. By including this statement, it brings about a strong opposition against making the physical move happen and makes this fact more credible (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). Hence, the writers indicate that the likelihood of the physical move happening soon seems unrealistic at this point. This, in conjunction with Jordan's opposition, could seem fatal at this stage. Following Fairclough (1995), the implication of a move alludes to the idea that implementing Trump's plans could assert the ideological status of Jerusalem. However, physically moving the embassy to Jerusalem would aggravate any future peace plans. Hence, the recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital could only be done partially in word but not in action.

As a result of this probability, in paragraph fifteen, the writers said that any promises made by President Trump related to this political ideology came under pressure for not being able to deliver his promise of a physical move. This could shake his support base since his assertions in his speeches are not being followed through (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). His Israeli and evangelical support base have requested this to be his final signed waiver. In the same sentence, the writers use a subordinate clause to indicate that the plan is to defer the physical move to next year (Van Dijk, 1997). According to Austin (1962), a speech act is intended to be accompanied by an action. This implies that President Trump should be able to confirm details of the physical move, which he says should happen in the middle of next year. This would assure his supporters that the implementation of his political ideology will take place and there is no doubt about the physical move happening.

Paragraph sixteen explains that a part of Trump's ideology should not be viewed as something new as it has already been a part of American law since 1950. By including this statement, the writers bring credibility to the claims (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). The writers include quotes of a declaration that a ruling was previously signed by the then-president Bill Clinton. Again,

this adds truthfulness to these claims (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). The only difference would be that the recognition of Jerusalem is seen as a policy that has not been implemented before. Following Fairclough (1995), the writers are implicitly stating that the difference to previous governments is the fact that they will implement Trump's ideology of Jerusalem.

Paragraph seventeen explains how the waiver prevents the physical move of the American embassy and the cause of it being delayed by peace negotiations. The writers include the details as to why President Trump is going against his own promises. Here, the implicit meaning is that although President Trump will implement the physical move of the American embassy, there is no clarity as to when this will take place (Fairclough, 1995). This could place President Trump in a negative light with his supporters.

Paragraph eighteen asserts, that before becoming a president, Mr Trump confirmed in a statement, his view of the status of Jerusalem and his allegiance to the Jewish people only (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). Mentioning this fact, from the perspective of the writers, means that President Trump is biased as to who should benefit from his ideology (Van Dijk, 1991). This clarifies his intention and how he plans to implement this political ideology in future. As per Banda and Mawadza (2015), through the discourse of exclusion, President Trump gained the support from those who benefitted from his ideology.

This is followed on in paragraph nineteen, which immediately states how the implementation of Trump's ideology was not executed, and instead, as previous presidents have done, the waiver was signed. The writers indicate a lack of trust due to a promise not being fulfilled and also making supporters question President Trump's loyalty and credibility (Van Dijk, 1991). In the same paragraph, the writers mentioned Mr Adelson, which refers right back to paragraph four and how this represents President Trump in a negative light (Van Dijk, 1991). It creates another degree of doubt around President Trump's credibility, even from his supporters. This was evident when the adverb "deeply" was the linguistic device used to describe how "disappointed" Mr Adelson was (Van Dijk, 1997). The writers played on the emotion of sadness to encourage empathy towards a supporter of Trump's ideology. As per Fairclough (1995), the writers implicitly leave the question of whether supporting President Trump was the best path to take, based on his failed attempts to fully implement this ideology.

In paragraph twenty, to diffuse the concern around President Trump's credibility, the writers add a statement made by one of the closest and biggest known supporters of Trump's ideology, Vice President, Mike Pence (Van Dijk, 1997). The writers used "pressing hardest" as a linguistic tool of personification, which creates an image of physical hands using physical pressure to move this project forward (Van Dijk, 1997). It displays the keenness on the part of Mr Pence to support President Trump by his statement, and to make it more believable (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). Mr Pence eases doubts around the physical move of the American embassy by describing the move as something that is being "actively" considered (Van Dijk, 1997). "Actively" indicates that not only is President Trump considering the physical move, he has tangible plans as to "when and how" he will implement it (Van Dijk, 1997). This implies that any doubt in President Trump's promise to implement this political ideology can be removed (Fairclough, 1995).

In paragraph twenty-one, the positivity around President Trump's ideology is short-lived, as the writers explain plans to maintain peace efforts by the peace envoy, led by Mr Kushner and Mr Greenblatt. The writers said that it would negatively affect peace efforts, so much so, that Palestinian officials have used the metaphor of "playing with fire" to describe how dangerous, reckless and risky the physical move would be. Following Van Dijk (1997), the writers use this choice of wording to indicate the negativity around peace efforts due to plans for the physical move. It also represents facts according to the writer's perspective of the move (Van Dijk, 1991).

The writers conclude in paragraph twenty-two with the statement of a Middle East peace negotiator who said that President Trump cannot create a peaceful solution and implement his political ideology at the same time. The statement from a Middle East negotiator, gives a certain level of authority and credibility to it (Banda and Mawadza, 2015). The writers included a statement from Mr Dennis B. Ross, as he spoke on behalf of both groups involved in the peace negotiations. This indicates a certain degree of neutrality on his part as a spokesperson. By including this statement, the writers create an assumption that there was a fair representation of both sides and that the issue would be dealt with fairly (Fairclough, 1995). Mr Ross said that the promise of recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel meant that the physical move would take place. Mr Ross adds that, if this is the case, then only the groups President Trump supports would recognise the status of Jerusalem as Israel's capital. Following Van Dijk (1991), the writers end off by including the statement by Mr Ross that, if this is the case, it is clear that the Middle East, as in the Arabs, would in no way support this ideology and this

would continue hostilities between the two states of Israel and Palestine. Here, the writers point out the futility of the recognition of Jerusalem as the capital, since hostilities in the Middle East would not be resolved. Hence, the writers end the paragraph with a negative statement about Jerusalem, and thereby indicating that Trump's ideology is not a feasible one (Van Dijk, 1991).

#### **4.4.6 Conclusion of Analysis 4**

The NYT news report points out how the process of recognizing Jerusalem has not come full circle as yet, due to the current hostilities and occupied Palestinian lands. The news report relies on assertions and verbal statements to signify how implementing the Embassy Act is a promise that President Trump is assuring his supporters he will follow through. Following Austin (1962), the assertion needs to be followed by that action it is associated with. The writers, however, created a cloud of doubt as to whether this promise would be able to be implemented practically. It is also evident by statements of those in authority, who are in opposition to Trump's ideology, that there is no way to secure peace if President Trump plans on implementing this policy to the fullest. This can be viewed as adding more hostility to the current issue around occupied Palestinian lands, and it could worsen due to President Trump's unequivocal support for Israelis and the evangelical religious groups. Implementing his political ideology of moving the American embassy and recognising Jerusalem as Israel's capital means excluding Palestinians and opponents by disregarding their claims and concerns for peace solutions (Banda and Mawadza, 2015).

#### **4.4.7 Comparison of Analyses 3 and 4**

Based on the analysis of the NYP in Analysis 3, and the NYT in Analysis 4, there are two visible differences. In the NYP, the emphasis on peace portrayed President Trump as having a positive political ideology whose focus area was maintaining peace. He was viewed as having presented a justifiable plan in order to maintain peace relations. The plan also happened to be in conformity with his political ideology in recognising Jerusalem as Israel's capital, and planning the physical move of the American embassy, and requesting other countries to do so as well. This, in effect, meant that he was upholding his promise to his supporters by implementing this ideology. The third news report maintained President Trump's commitment to peace efforts, despite opposition being evident. Very little, if not any details about those in opposition were given and the status of their claims were not mentioned. In this manner the

ideology represents President Trump as a positive and strong political leader, who will do what is necessary to fulfil promises and declarations made. It alludes to the notion that if peace is to be maintained, Trump's political ideology would have to be accepted as the only way this could happen. The overall attitude was that there was a strong sense of support for Trump's ideology as a means to advance better peace processes.

In the NYT, a different perspective on the same media event highlights the actual and pertinent issues surrounding any peace negotiations. The fact that 68 percent of the news report focussed on wanting more specific details of the planned embassy move is what stood out in this report. The writers also dedicated ten paragraphs to those in opposition of President Trump's proposals of the embassy move. It covered the actual questions which would need to be answered in order for reasonable peace solutions to be met and for future negotiations to go forth. It highlighted the fact that there is biasness on the part of President Trump because of his approach to finding a resolution in support of his ideology, and that if necessary he would have done so in a scheming way as illustrated. It stated that he was more than willing to take the plunge in making extraordinary decisions with issues that have been unresolved for decades, such as this media event.

The overall attitude in the NYT news report was that President Trump was not objective in his approach to maintaining peace efforts. His subjectivity was also evident in that he agrees that only two groups were worthy of their claims and rights of their entitlement to the status of Jerusalem. Added to this fact was that his idea of maintaining peace and having a two-state solution was unrealistic, since his ideology of administering a political move whilst violating international law is illegal, and contradicts any possible peace plans. Yet, the impression given was that the marginalized groups were negative agents who were hindering peace efforts due to their resistance. It gave a clear indication as to who he supported and why his political ideology has marginalized other groups. This should in effect make readers question his credibility and integrity as a president, and as a result question why this political ideology should or should not be adopted.

## **Summary**

Media Event One and the analysis of the first news report focussed on highlighting and indentation as textual tools, and by placing emphasis in this manner indicates what information

is deemed as important (Van Dijk, 1977). News report two's analysis gave an understanding of how writers used implicit and explicit meanings within texts. This gave certain representations of President Trump and showed both negative and positive stances to his ideologies.

For the second media event, the analysis of news report three spoke about syntactic and lexical arrangements for thematic organization. Following Van Dijk (1988), spacing of paragraphs gave an indication of the importance of each theme or topic and were hence strategically placed by writers. The more scope a particular topic was given the more emphasis the writer placed on that particular topic.

The fourth news report's analysis was based on media event two, and identified the use of direct and indirect speech quotes as per Austin (1962) and Searle (1969), whose speech act theory indicated how this technique was used by President Trump and others, to make assertions, threats and fulfil promises. Since, speech act theory indicated which actions were associated by the direct and indirect quotes, it gave some factual information about the media event. It also gave more credibility to statements (Banda and Mawadza, 2015).



## **CHAPTER 5**

### **5. Conclusion**

#### **5.1 Introduction of the conclusion**

The news reports were all similar in their textual construction and how they focussed on specific topics within each paragraph. The use of nominalisations were common and the news discourse had a standard structure. Based within the PDA framework, the effects of the linguistic choices made by writers proved that stances on a particular media event were more subjective than objective. The underlying messages played a role in how texts were interpreted based on these stances. As a result, this represented President Trump's ideologies both negatively and positively, depending on the objective or subjective stance of the writer.

As per Van Dijk (1997), the discourses within the PDA framework rely on non-conventional uses of syntax, lexical arrangements and choice of wording. Based on the writer's ability to apply different linguistic choices, it can greatly impact the direction a news report takes. It also gives an indication of what the main purpose of the media event is based on the writer's interpretation of events. This could be to either lobby support or oppose certain ideologies. Distinct linguistic tools and techniques play a major role in expressing underlying messages within the PDA framework. It is evident how political actors rely on quotations, assertions and promises to form the basis of their ideologies. Following Fairclough (1995), the omission of facts or highlighting by way of foregrounding or backgrounding information, forces other ideological assumptions to be viewed more positively than others. This is based on how much spacing is given to certain topics in the news reports. In each news report, all the above-mentioned techniques were used to assert the stance on Trump's ideologies as per the writer's perspective (Van Dijk, 1991).

#### **5.2 Reflections**

I feel that it is important for writers to be cognizant of using linguistic tools which promote an objective approach to covering an event. Although, from an ethical standpoint this

approach is obligatory, the subtle nuances in news reports based on certain linguistic tools can help to give a more biased approach. Whilst some writers might explicitly or implicitly state the stance taken on the media event, it is important to present all and not some of the information in order for the news report to fulfil its purpose of informing readers about the true sequence of events. Being subjective as a writer would mean that there is a huge probability that information might be presented in a less truthful way, and defeats the purpose of providing feedback on an event. Unless the objective of a news report is to gain or propagate support for particular ideologies, being aware of how linguistic tools portray meanings in texts is a major resource to assist in extrapolating the truth. It is for this purpose that readers should be equipped to critically analyse news reports bearing in mind that all related information must be sought to gain a true reflection of events and not sole reliance on one report. Contrasting news reports are more likely to provide the actual sequence of events which is factual rather than altered to suit a particular viewpoint.

## APPENDICES

### **Text-Based Data of the Four Selected Online News reports used for Analyses**

#### **APPENDIX 1- The WALL STREET JOURNAL**

<https://www.wsj.com/articles/president-trump-signs-revised-executive-order-restricting-travel-to-the-u-s-1488818000>

# Trump Signs New Travel Ban in Bid to Avoid Original Order's Legal Pitfalls

Travelers holding valid visas will be exempted; Iraq off list of targeted nations

*By*

*Laura Meckler and*

*Brent Kendall*

Updated March 6, 2017 11:16 pm ET

WASHINGTON—President Donald Trump signed a scaled-back travel ban that addresses some of the legal challenges to his original executive order, while blocking new visas for people living in six Muslim-majority nations and suspending admission of refugees to the U.S.

The fate of the new order, issued Monday, is likely to hinge on whether courts see the restrictions as a constitutional effort to protect the nation from terrorism—the administration's stated reason for imposing it—or a dressed-up version of the "Muslim ban" Mr. Trump promised during his campaign.

Unlike the original order, signed during Mr. Trump's first week in office, the revised version issued Monday is the product of internal vetting and consultation with administration officials responsible for immigration and security. It doesn't take effect for 10 days, with officials hopeful that the delay and other changes will prevent the sort of chaos and confusion that unfolded at airports the first time around.

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**READ MORE**

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- [New Immigration Order: What's Changed?](#)
- [Trump Travel Ban Cuts Demand for Flights to U.S.](#)

The original order sparked [widespread protests](#) and multiple court challenges and [was put on hold](#) by the Ninth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco. Opponents argued it was wrong for the U.S. to shut its doors to desperate refugees and pointed to [data showing people from nations singled out for the ban are no more likely](#) than others to pose a terror risk in the U.S.

Administration officials said the travel pause is needed to institute better vetting procedures.

“It is the president’s solemn duty to protect the American people, and with the order, President Trump is exercising his rightful authority to keep our people safe,” Secretary of State Rex Tillerson said Monday.

The Justice Department said about 300 people admitted to the U.S. as refugees are currently under investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation for potential terrorism-related activities. The agency declined to give any details about that figure, including what countries they came from or the status of the probes.

**It is the president’s solemn duty to protect the American people, and with the order, President Trump is exercising his rightful authority to keep our people safe.**

—Secretary of State Rex Tillerson

Some opponents promised to file fresh court challenges to the revised order. Protesters gathered in the park across from the White House. “We are all Muslim now,” read one sign. “No hate, no fear! Refugees are welcome here!” the crowd chanted.

### **How Banned Countries Rank in U.S. Immigration System**

Monday’s revised ban removes Iraq from the original list. Residents of the six affected countries send a large share of refugees to the U.S., but make up a smaller share of visa

holders and of those linked to terrorist attacks in the U.S. Other opponents suggested they had already won a measure of victory.

“By rescinding his earlier executive order, President Trump makes one thing perfectly clear: His original travel ban was indefensible—legally, constitutionally and morally,” said Washington state Attorney General Bob Ferguson, who successfully sued to block implementation of the first order.

Mr. Ferguson, a Democrat, said while the new order is “drastically narrowed” and removes harms to many thousands of travelers, he still had concerns about the president’s motivation. He said his state would make a decision by the end of the week on whether to pursue more legal action.

The new executive order makes several major changes from the first version.

It suspends travel for people from six nations—Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen—for 90 days beginning March 16. [Iraq was removed](#) from the original list, which was based on an Obama-era set of countries singled out for additional screening to get visas.

The decision to remove Iraq came after lobbying by senior administration officials, diplomats and Iraqis, who warned that including it risked doing lasting harm to bilateral relations at a critical moment in the war with Islamic State. Officials said Iraq agreed to increased cooperation and information sharing in vetting applicants.

In another important change, the new order won’t apply to people who have valid visas or to anyone already legally in the U.S., including permanent residents known as green-card holders. The original version affected nearly 60,000 existing visa holders from seven nations, according to the State Department, and left the treatment of green-card holders unclear.

## **The core constitutional problem of religious discrimination remains, so we will continue to challenge the ban.**

—Lee Gelernt, deputy director of the American Civil Liberties Union’s Immigrants’ Rights Project

The new order still suspends the admission of refugees to the U.S. for 120 days and caps the annual total admission of refugees at 50,000, as opposed to the 110,000 the Obama administration originally set for 2017. But it treats Syrian refugees the same as those from other countries, whereas the original executive order indefinitely suspended admission of refugees from that war-ravaged country.

The legal problems that most directly stymied the original order related to charges that it violated constitutional guarantees of due process. The appellate court said it failed to provide basic protections, including advance notice of the new policy and an opportunity for travelers to challenge being denied entry.

The changes could go a long way toward addressing that issue, partly with the 10-day phase-in period and partly because it doesn't apply to the people who had the strongest due-process claims the first time around: green-card and visa holders already screened and approved for U.S. entry.

“I think they’re better on due process,” said Susan Cohen, chair of immigration practice at law firm Mintz Levin, who was part of the legal team that challenged the original travel ban in a Boston court.

Ms. Cohen said the new order could still present problems for foreigners who have been in the U.S. but are traveling abroad and need a government waiver to return for work, education or to be with family members. The White House has outlined a case-by-case waiver process for people in a variety of circumstances, but if the waivers are hard to obtain, that could lead to litigation, she said. Officials said multi-entry visas would remain valid.

A more pressing legal question is whether the order amounts to religious discrimination by unconstitutionally singling out Muslims for unfavorable treatment. A federal judge in Virginia, Leonie Brinkema, concluded the original order [likely violated](#) the Constitution’s Establishment Clause, which prohibits the government from making religious preferences.

The new order removes a provision that gave preference to Christian refugees from Muslim countries. It also includes a paragraph that explicitly refutes claims that the travel ban discriminates based on religion.

But the judge found that the original ban was spurred by anti-Muslim animus, citing Mr. Trump's previous campaign statements as well as recent statements by adviser Rudy Giuliani about Mr. Trump's intent and motivations for the executive order. Nothing in the new order alters that history.

"The core constitutional problem of religious discrimination remains, so we will continue to challenge the ban," said Lee Gelernt, deputy director of the American Civil Liberties Union's Immigrants' Rights Project, who filed the first legal challenge to the original travel ban. "The new order fixes certain due process problems, as we expected, but not the central constitutional problem of discrimination against Muslims."

He said the ACLU is likely to file a new challenge before the order takes effect on March 16.

Still, the case may be harder to challenge as Mr. Trump offered a nondiscriminatory explanation for the rules, said Vikram Amar, dean of the University of Illinois law school. "I don't think the Supreme Court would be eager to essentially call the president a liar," he said.

Mr. Trump's administration had previously sent mixed messages about the fate of the original executive order, with aides saying it wouldn't be rescinded. The new order revokes the first one as of the effective date. The Justice Department began notifying courts Monday afternoon that a new order had been issued and the previous one was being rescinded.

Mr. Trump signed the order at the White House Monday morning but didn't speak publicly about it. Rather, Mr. Tillerson, along with Homeland Security Secretary John Kelly and Attorney General Jeff Sessions, made the administration's case in brief statements to the media. That is a contrast to the original order, which Mr. Trump signed and touted on a visit to the Pentagon.

Mr. Kelly said he had spent the morning talking with members of Congress about the new policy, another effort to give the order stronger political support. "There should be no surprises," he said.

—*Felicia Schwartz contributed to this article.*

**Write to** Laura Meckler at [laura.meckler@wsj.com](mailto:laura.meckler@wsj.com) and Brent Kendall at [brent.kendall@wsj.com](mailto:brent.kendall@wsj.com)

*Appeared in the March 7, 2017, print edition as 'Trump Signs Revised Travel Order.'*

## **APPENDIX 2- The WASHINGTON POST**

The Washington Post

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2017/03/01/trump-argues-for-revised-travel-ban-by-citing-attacks-carried-out-by-u-s-citizens/>

### **Trump argues for revised travel ban by citing attacks carried out by U.S. citizens**

By Mark Berman and

Matt Zapotosky March 1, [2017](#)

President Trump speaks to a joint session of Congress on Tuesday. (Pablo Martinez Monsivais/Associated Press)

President Trump did not explicitly mention his now-frozen travel ban during his address to Congress on Tuesday night, nor did he bring up the revised immigration order he was expected to sign this week. But during the only portion of his speech dealing with terrorism, Trump left no doubt he was laying down an argument for a new ban.

“My administration has been working on improved vetting procedures, and we will shortly take new steps to keep our nation safe — and to keep out those who would do us harm,” Trump said.

To bolster his case, Trump did something he and his aides have done before: He pointed to deadly attacks that the new ban almost certainly wouldn’t have been able to stop.

“We are also taking strong measures to protect our nation from radical Islamic terrorism,” Trump said. “According to data provided by the Department of Justice, the vast majority of individuals convicted for terrorism-related offenses since 9/11 came here from outside of our country. We have seen the attacks at home — from Boston to San Bernardino to the Pentagon and, yes, even the World Trade Center.”

[Trump and his aides keep justifying the entry ban by citing attacks it couldn’t



have prevented]

Trump's comments implied that "improved vetting procedures" would keep terrorists out. Yet the attacks he cited — the Boston Marathon bombing, the shooting rampage in San Bernardino, Calif., and the 9/11 attacks — were all carried out by U.S. citizens or people born in countries not included in his original ban and not expected to be included in the revised order.

The male San Bernardino shooter was born in Illinois; his wife, with whom he carried out the attack, was born in Pakistan. (The FBI said the male gunman had been plotting attacks for years before he met her.)

The Boston Marathon bombers were brothers born in Russia and Kyrgyzstan. Neither country was mentioned in Trump's original ban, nor are they expected to be on the revised version; the younger of the brothers, who was sentenced to death for the bombing, was a naturalized U.S. citizen. None of the 9/11 hijackers who attacked the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in [2001](#) was from countries on the original ban list. Most were from Saudi Arabia, while the rest were from Egypt, Lebanon and the United Arab Emirates.

[Revised Trump immigration order, delayed after speech, will not ban citizens from Iraq]

Trump's original travel ban barred citizens of seven Muslim-majority countries — Iraq, Iran, Sudan, Somalia, Syria, Libya and Yemen — as well as all refugees from entering the United States. The revised version is expected to lower that to six countries, removing Iraq from the list.

There's also another problem with Trump's promise to "keep out those who would do us harm." Since the 9/11 attacks, every deadly jihadist attack inside the United States was carried out by a U.S. citizen or legal resident, according to New America, a Washington-based nonprofit group.

"Far from being foreign infiltrators, the large majority of jihadist terrorists in the United States have been American citizens or legal residents," the group said in a report on its findings.

Although Trump's original order also froze refugee admissions, refugees from the seven countries in that ban have been responsible for no successful attacks in the

United States between [1975](#) and [2015](#), according to a report published by the Cato Institute, a libertarian think tank.

That, though, was before Abdul Razak Ali Artan, a refugee from Somalia, plowed his car into a crowd on the Ohio State University campus late last year, injuring 11. The FBI has alleged Artan might have been inspired by radical cleric Anwar al-Awlaki and the Islamic State, which claimed responsibility for the attack. The chair of the Senate Judiciary Committee has alleged Artan should have received more thorough vetting when his family was seeking refugee status in the United States years earlier.

[New travel ban will exempt current visa holders, sources say]

Still, Trump's comment that "the vast majority" of people convicted of terrorism-related offenses since 9/11 were not from the United States could be true, and the Justice Department backed him up in a statement Wednesday.

"Since 9/11, convictions have been obtained against over [500](#) defendants for terrorism or terrorism-related charges in federal courts," the department said. "A review of that information revealed that a substantial majority of those convicted were born in foreign countries."

A spokesperson said this list of people convicted includes everyone charged in a terrorism probe in that span, including those who plotted attacks and never carried them out as well as those who sought to travel overseas or fund terrorist groups abroad. The list also includes people facing charges that emerge from terrorism probes but were not specifically related to terrorism.

Trump's comment and the department's statement do not specifically break out the countries implicated in the ban. The Department of Homeland Security, however, assessed that question specifically in a report analyzing the threat posed by those countries.

Homeland Security Secretary John Kelly. (Luis Soto/AP)

Since the beginning of the Syrian conflict in March [2011](#), the report said, more than half of the 82 people who died in the pursuit of or were convicted of any terrorism-related offense inspired by a foreign terrorist organization were native-born U.S. citizens.

That analysis was based on a review of Department of Justice press releases. Of the people who were convicted of or died in pursuit of terrorism, the review found eight were from the countries implicated in Trump's now-frozen travel ban, specifically Somalia, Iraq, Iran, Sudan and Yemen. None were from Syria. The report did not specifically mention Libya.

[The government now says [746](#) people were held due to the travel ban. Here's why that number keeps changing.]

Judges and others have expressed skepticism that the ban is necessary for national security reasons. U.S. District Judge Leonie M. Brinkema said at a court hearing there was "startling evidence" from national security professionals that the order "may be counterproductive to its stated goal" of keeping the nation safe. Ten former high-ranking diplomatic and national security officials affixed their names to an affidavit declaring there was "no national security purpose" for a complete barring of people from the seven affected countries.

But Trump and others have pressed the case. Trump claimed that the judge who froze the first ban "put our country in such peril" and warned that "if something happens blame him and court system," strongly implying that the order was needed to avert a terrorist attack. Homeland Security Secretary John F. Kelly told a congressional committee it was "entirely possible" that dangerous people were entering the United States with the order on hold, and that officials might not know until it was too late.

"Not until the boom," he said when asked during a House Homeland Security committee hearing whether he could provide evidence of a dangerous person coming into the country since the ban was suspended.

It is unclear when Trump will sign the revised ban. He was originally expected to do so on Wednesday, but that was postponed after Trump's speech last night, the third time his administration has delayed the matter.

Further reading:

Trump defended original executive order: 'This is not a Muslim ban'

### APPENDIX 3- The NEW YORK POST

<https://nypost.com/2017/12/06/trump-says-us-will-recognize-jerusalem-as-capital-of-israel/>

## Trump: Recognizing Jerusalem as Israeli capital is best move towards peace

By [Bob Fredericks](#)

December 6, 2017

President Trump announced Wednesday that the US [will recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel](#) and that he will move the American embassy there once a location is secured.

“I have determined that it is time to officially recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. I’ve judged this course of action to be in the best interest of the United States of America and the pursuit of peace between Israel and the Palestinians,” he said from the White House.

The president said that since 1995, when Congress passed the Jerusalem Embassy Act, his predecessors had delayed implementing the act because of fears that it would harm efforts to achieve a peace agreement in the Middle East.

But, he added, “after more than two decades of waivers, we are no closer to a lasting peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians. It would be folly to assume that repeating the exact same formula would now produce a different or better result.”

The move broke with longtime US policy and, according to numerous world leaders and [even Pope Francis](#), potentially threatened regional stability.

But the commander-in-chief insisted it did not signal a shift away from America’s goal of a workable peace in the volatile region.

“This decision is not intended in any way to reflect a departure from our strong commitment to facilitate a lasting peace agreement. We want an agreement that is a great deal for the Israelis and a great deal for the Palestinians,” he said.

Trump directed the State Department to begin looking for a site for an embassy in Jerusalem as part of what is expected to be a years-long process of relocating diplomatic operations from Tel Aviv.

Jerusalem's status has been a stumbling block in decades of on-and-off Israeli-Palestinian peace efforts.

## SEE ALSO

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### **Israel prepares for violent protests over Trump's plan for Jerusalem**

Israel considers the city its eternal and indivisible capital and wants all embassies based there.

Palestinians and other Arab leaders want the capital of an independent Palestinian state to be in the city's eastern sector, which Israel captured in the 1967 Middle East war and annexed in a move never recognized internationally.

A Palestinian envoy said the decision was a declaration of war in the Middle East.

Pope Francis called for Jerusalem's "status quo" to be respected, saying new tension would further inflame world conflicts.

China and Russia expressed concern that the plans could aggravate Middle East hostilities.

Washington's allies in the region have all warned against the dangerous repercussions of Trump's decision.

Turkey said it could go as far as breaking off diplomatic ties with Israel if the US move went forward.

A government spokesman said it would plunge the region into "a fire with no end in sight."

Trump will sign a national security waiver delaying a physical move, since the US does not have an embassy structure in Jerusalem to move into.

A senior administration official said it could take three to four years to build one.

But Trump's decision, a core pledge of his election campaign last year and a move that will thrill his evangelical base, will upend decades of American policy that has seen the status of Jerusalem as part of a "two-state solution" for Israelis and Palestinians.

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said on Facebook: "Each day there are very significant manifestations of our historic national identity — but today especially so. And I will have more to add on this later today, on a matter related to Jerusalem."

Enlarge Image [Getty Images](#)

The Palestinians have said Trump's move would mean the "kiss of death" to the two-state solution.

"He is declaring war in the Middle East, he is declaring war against 1.5 billion Muslims (and) hundreds of millions of Christians that are not going to accept the holy shrines to be totally under the hegemony of Israel," Manuel Hassassian, chief Palestinian representative to Britain, told BBC radio.

Senior Trump administration officials said Trump's decision was not intended to tip the scale in Israel's favor and that agreeing on the final status of Jerusalem would remain a central part of any peace deal between Israel and the Palestinians.

The officials said Trump was basically reflecting a fundamental truth: that Jerusalem is the seat of the Israeli government and should be recognized as such.

"The president believes this is a recognition of reality," said one official, who briefed reporters Tuesday about the announcement. "We're going forward on the basis of a truth that is undeniable. It's just a fact."

Trump's senior adviser and son-in-law Jared Kushner has led a relatively quiet effort to revive long-stalled peace efforts in the region, with little in the way of tangible progress thus far.

*With Reuters*

#### APPENDIX 4- The NEW YORK TIMES

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/01/us/politics/trump-embassy-israel-jerusalem.html>

### *Trump to Keep Embassy in Tel Aviv, but Recognize Jerusalem as Capital*

No president, Republican or Democrat, has recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel since the state was established in 1948. CreditCreditThomas Coex/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images

**By Mark Landler and Julie Hirschfeld Davis**

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Dec. 1, 2017

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WASHINGTON — President Trump plans to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital but not to move the American Embassy there for now, people briefed on the deliberations said on Friday, a halfway gesture intended to fulfill a campaign pledge while not derailing his peace initiative.

Mr. Trump is expected to announce the decision in a speech next Wednesday, these people said, though they cautioned that the president had not yet formally signed off on it and that the details of the plan could shift.

Those details, experts warned, are fiendishly complicated. The diplomatic status of Jerusalem is one of the world's most contested issues, with Israel and the Palestinians claiming it as their capital. Its holy sites are sacred to Jews, Christians and Muslims, and any change in its status would have vast repercussions across the Middle East and other Islamic-majority countries worldwide.

Mr. Trump promised to move the American Embassy to Jerusalem from Tel Aviv as one of his first acts as president — a pledge that was popular with his evangelical supporters as well as with powerful Jewish donors, like the casino mogul Sheldon Adelson.

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American presidents must sign a national security waiver every six months to keep the embassy in Tel Aviv. In June, Mr. Trump deferred a decision to move it to Jerusalem, under pressure from Arab leaders, who warned that it would ignite protests, and from advisers, including his son-in-law, Jared Kushner, who worried that it could strangle the administration's attempt to foster peace in the generations-long dispute.

With another deadline looming next Monday, Mr. Trump is expected to sign an order keeping the embassy in Tel Aviv. But he will couple that with a statement that the United States recognizes Jerusalem as the capital — something that no president, Republican or Democrat, has done since the state of Israel was established in 1948.

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Given the extreme sensitivities surrounding Jerusalem, Middle East experts said Mr. Trump's plan was fraught with risk. Even after extensive consultations with Arab leaders, which the White House has not done, such a move could provoke volatile reactions.

"The devil is in the details of what they announce," said Martin S. Indyk, who served as American ambassador to Israel under President Bill Clinton. "If this is not framed properly, far from resolving this issue, it will land the administration in even hotter water."

Among the questions, Mr. Indyk said, are whether Mr. Trump will restrict recognition to West Jerusalem, whether he will mention Palestinian claims to East Jerusalem and how he will deal with Jerusalem's status as a holy city — a factor that could determine whether Saudi Arabia supports or abandons his peace project.

**Editors' Picks**

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News of Mr. Trump's decision came amid fresh disclosures about how, even before he took office, he worked closely with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to scuttle a United Nations Security Council resolution critical of Israel's settlement policy — subverting then-President Barack Obama, who had decided to allow a vote to go ahead.

Documents filed in connection with the guilty plea of Michael T. Flynn, Mr. Trump's former national security adviser, revealed that on Dec. 22, 2016, a "very senior member" of Mr. Trump's transition team instructed Mr. Flynn to contact foreign officials, including from Russia, "to influence those governments to delay the vote or defeat the resolution."



Lawyers identified the senior transition official as Mr. Kushner. Russia rebuffed Mr. Flynn's request and voted for the resolution, which passed after the United States abstained.

Mr. Trump has kept up his close relations with Mr. Netanyahu, though that may be tested if, as expected, the White House tries to jump-start peace negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians early next year.

While Mr. Netanyahu supports the decision to move the American Embassy, Israeli officials have not pushed the issue in recent months. Other leaders in the region, like King Abdullah II of Jordan, remain deeply opposed to it.

But Mr. Trump was under immense pressure from pro-Israel and evangelical supporters and is likely to repeat past assertions that it is not a matter of if, but when, the embassy will be moved to Jerusalem. He is also being pressed to declare that next week's waiver will be his last — effectively promising to devise a plan by mid-2018 to begin relocating the embassy.

Declaring Jerusalem to be Israel's capital would not itself mark a change in American law. In 1995, Mr. Clinton signed a statute declaring, "Since 1950, the city of Jerusalem has been the capital of the State of Israel." But administrations have been allowed to decide, as a matter of policy, whether to recognize it as the capital, and none have done so.

That law requires the embassy to be moved to Jerusalem, unless the president issues a waiver finding that doing so would be against national security interests of the United States. American presidents have done so every six months since then to avoid prejudging the outcome of — and therefore hampering — an eventual resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

As a presidential candidate, Mr. Trump vowed to change course. At the annual conference of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee in March 2016, he said he would "move the American embassy to the eternal capital of the Jewish people, Jerusalem."

But he signed a waiver on June 1, and officials said Mr. Adelson was among the supporters who were deeply disappointed by the president's decision.

Among those pressing hardest for moving the embassy, said people close to the deliberations, was Vice President Mike Pence, who has been a conduit for Mr. Trump to religious conservatives. In a speech in New York on Tuesday, he said Mr. Trump was "actively considering when and how to move the American embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem."

In the short run, the decision could complicate plans for Mr. Kushner and Jason D. Greenblatt, Mr. Trump's special envoy, to restart peace negotiations. Palestinian officials have warned that Mr. Trump is "playing with fire."

"If you're trying to be creative by saying we're recognizing Jerusalem as Israel's capital, you'd better qualify it," said Dennis B. Ross, a longtime Middle East peace

negotiator. “If you don’t qualify it, that means you’ve just accepted the Israeli position on the final status of Jerusalem, which means you’ve lost the Arabs.”

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