Frame Change Due to Policy Change:
A Corpus Study of the Changing Frame of Israel in the US Media After Jerusalem Was Recognized as Capital

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April 2020

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This thesis examines the change in frame caused by political decision making. The USA decided to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital in December 2017, changing their policy and tradition that has been in use for nearly 25 years. This change is considered one of the biggest policy changes in the USA in decades, making it significant enough to cause frame change. Here, the thesis concentrates on the media representation of Israel, and how the frame the media builds was changed after the policy change. Framing in media has been studied before, but the effect of outside factors or this particular case has yet to be studied, making this thesis relevant and filling a gap in the field.

The study is based on a corpus that was collected from three major news outlets in the USA: CNN, FoxNews and the New York Times. They were considered to represent the US media both geographically and to cover the US political spectrum. The material was collected online, in order to establish as wide as possible coverage. All news referring to Israel were published between 6th November 2017 to 5th January 2018.

In addition to Frame Analysis, this thesis approaches framing and frame change through Critical Discourse Analysis. Since the study is based on corpus, Corpus Linguistics was considered a relevant point of view. In order to examine changes, a comparative, qualitative approach is needed. The main corpus was divided into two sub-corpora to represent timelines before and after the acknowledgement of Jerusalem as capital. The sub-corpora were analyzed with the AntConc corpus program, and both collocation and concordance analyses were conducted using search words *israel*, *israeli*, *jews* and *jewish*. The results of the analyses were examined, and frames of both timelines established. Those frames were then compared to each other in order to detect changes in the frame of Israel.

It is concluded that changes have occurred in the frame of Israel after the acknowledgement of Jerusalem as capital and they were considered to be caused by this policy change. Changes in representation of people and communities, as well as politics and government were seen. The most affected change in general was Israel's agency in matters that involve it. In addition, a general increase in variation was seen in Israel-related news after the acknowledgement. Due to the qualities of frames, it cannot be determined if the found change is constant, developing, or temporary, which gives room for further research.

Keywords: collocation, concordance, corpus linguistics, critical discourse analysis, frame analysis, framing, media

Table of Contents

List of Tables, Figures and Abbreviations

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations

AA: Abbreviation for "after the acknowledgement of Jerusalem as Israel's capital".

BA: Abbreviation for "before the acknowledgement of Jerusalem as Israel's capital".

CADS: Corpus-Assisted Discourse Analysis

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CL: Corpus Linguistics

DHA: Discourse-Historical Approach

FA: Frame Analysis

1   Introduction

As Ruth Wodak (1989, xv) argued: "Language changes always manifest social changes – but languages changes (or changes in language behavior) can also trigger social changes", there cannot be separation between societies and their events, and the language. This statement is considered the motivational starting point for this thesis. Here, it is argued that policy change is manifested in the language.

The aim of this study is to discover whether political decision making can affect the frame of an issue in its media coverage. In this thesis, the concept of frame is that of Erving Goffman's ([1974] 1986). The basic idea is that *frame* is a combination of viewpoints and interpretations of social clues, included with how people's background and realities affect their way of seeing the world. The theory of framing is discussed in detail in section 3.1. The difference to this definition is that here, the frame setter is the media: a combination of several news outlets were chosen to imitate one national media, and they were evaluated to create one nation-wide frame.

Even though the case in this thesis is political, this is not a study of political science, but the material is looked from the perspective of discourse. Policy and politics are taken into account when necessary, but the success of the policy change is not evaluated. The event which is suspected to cause frame change is the United States political decision to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital. This decision itself was historic, since it has been on the US political agenda at least from the early 1990's, but it was postponed repeatedly throughout the years. The decision was looked through its presentation in the media. The frame which change was analyzed is the frame of Israel in the USA.

Guidelines of earlier similar research were followed, but in an area that has not yet been covered. It is already rare to look at frame change caused by policy making, and in addition, the recognition of Jerusalem is not yet studied. In this way, this study fills a gap in the field. Using both a rarely studied sub-phenomenon and a not-studied issue can be both a limitation and an advantage when evaluating the relevance and accuracy of the analysis. Rarity of the subject can be a limitation since it shows that there is no organized tradition for this phenomenon and the analysis must take influence of study subjects not precisely the same. In addition, being a case yet to be studied, there is no general consensus of the force and effectiveness of this policy change. Both of the limitations above can also be seen advantageous: rarity shows that there is a gap in research and the lack of consensus allowed this

study not to be affected by former opinions or general atmosphere. The advantages are both seen to overcome their limitations, making this case relevant and justified. Besides filling a gap in research, the importance of the case on its own is remarkable. The decision to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital is the biggest change in the US foreign policy in decades.

This study begins with the hypothesis that a change in policy can cause a change in frame, and more specifically, a change in a nationwide frame. The other hypothesis is that in this particular case, the change in frame is for the positive of how Israel is perceived. As the political relationship between the USA and Israel is getting closer, the frame of Israel would follow that guideline and makes Israel to be framed as a closer ally and bring it to a closer level of power with the USA. These hypotheses are based on the facts of political science: alliances include benefits for both parties, and maintaining the relationship affects the communication. For example, alliances create beneficial cooperation in trade and war, making alliance be self-preservative (Jackson and Nei 2015, 15278–15279; 15282–15283), or even possibly during war times, allies celebrate each other's victories as they were their own (e.g. Churchill 1944, 46–48; 85–86), making their communication to be supportive of each other. These hypotheses are in other ways based on the writer's former knowledge of the political relationship between the USA and Israel, which itself can be inaccurate, since she is neither American nor Israeli, and is looking at the relationship solely based on Western news media and her studies in the field of political sciences.

In order to test these hypotheses the issue is analyzed through three research questions:

1. Is there a change in frame of Israel in the USA now that there is a change in the political relationship?

Based on the short description of *frame* in the beginning of this section, *frame* is seen here as the collective frame of a nation. This study claims that frames can be revealed by analyzing nationwide coverage of issues, and here the analysis is based on media coverages. Media is seen as a two-way channel that both affect and is affected by its audience. Despite setting a wider, nation-wide frame, regional-, group-, or individual's frame could be different. The fact that there can be several frames on one issue, does not make them obligatory, thus the first question must be asked. The second research question is based on the first, and cannot be answered if the first question is answered inconclusively:

2. If there is such a frame change, what kind of a change that is? What are the ways the original frame changed?

In this study, these questions are answered with a corpus analysis. This analysis includes collocation and concordance analyses, as well as a comparative analysis of the results. The collocation analysis produces the most frequent words the search words of this study are involved with, whereas the concordance analysis provides the natural language environments for the search words through concordance strings. Similar analyses have been used interdisciplinary, for example by Biber and Gray (2013), Nevinskaitė (2017), and Willis (2017). The concordance strings are blocks of natural language of predetermined size that surround the search word. The settings for both the analyses are explained in detail in section 4.3. After the purely discourse related analyses are done, the possible outcomes and the relevance of this study to reality and the future are discussed. The last research question is related to these issues:

3. If there are indicators how the change affected the US-Israel relations or actions of either party? If so, what indicators are they?

This last question is partly based on speculation after analyzing the results of the study and partly on the changes in the political field between the countries involved after the study timeline had ended. Their possible relationship changes could be a study of their own, but some points are brought up in the last sections of this study.

This study combines theories and approaches in a way that the aspects of the study setting, and the demands of the research questions are met. The primary theory is framing, and especially as it is defined by Erving Goffman ([1974] 1986). Frame analysis was paired with the approach of Critical Discourse Analysis, since this study had a demand of critical conclusions and the issue revolves around structures of power and relationships. The last theoretical point of view was chosen due to the used material. The primary material was a combination of large amounts of texts, which were collected to form a corpus. Thus, Corpus Linguistics was needed to be taken into account. Other possible theories and approaches were considered as well, such as Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) and Corpus-Assisted Discourse Analysis (CADS), but they were considered not to be compatible enough with the data, timeframe or research questions.

The material for the corpora was collected from three online news providers. The providers were CNN, FoxNews and the New York Times. These sources were chosen based on their reader amount, the stance they take on the US political spectrum, and the forms of the published material. The availability of the material, and the amount of it were also factors when deciding the sources. All these providers were targeting the US audience and covered the

country both geographically and politically. These qualities justify their use as representative of national frame setter. Since the sources provided more material that was relevant to this study, the material was narrowed down. This was done by only including the texts that related to Israel. The news providers archives were filtered for news that affect Israel between 6th November 2017 and 5th January 2018. The material was collected to form a text-based corpus that was analyzed with corpus analysis program AntConc.

The material consists total of 1 156 288 words: 361 762 words belonged to the sub-corpus of Before the Acknowledgement and 794 526 to the sub-corpus After the Acknowledgement. The main analysis was based on collocations and concordance analysis, since they were considered to support each other in revealing language environments and thus clues for frames. The analyses utilized four search words: *jews*, *jewish*, *israel* and *israeli*.

After the individual collocation and concordance analyses, the results were compared to each other in section 6.3. This section includes the evaluation of the hypotheses and the answers to the research questions. This comparative analysis was done on a few easily detectable entities that were considered to be the main building blocks for the frame of Israel. In addition to the shared characteristics, omitted issues were evaluated as well, since they can act as frame changers, too.

The final conclusions refer to the words of Ruth Wodak: "Language gains power in the hands of the powerful" (1989, xv) and in this thesis it also refers to the power behind the language users. Political decision makers and policy changes can trigger a change in the society. Here, it was seen to happen through media and the discourses they convey. Through the analyses and discussion, it was concluded that frame change has happened to Israel due to Jerusalem's acknowledgement as capital. Lastly, it must be noted that frame changes might not be permanent, but frames have the possibility to change from that what is concluded in this thesis. The permanency of the frame change can only be evaluated by more research.

The study consists of four main sections. Firstly, it is seen important to establish the relationship between Israel and the USA in order to understand the limitations and starting point for framing. After this, the theorical background is introduced. This includes the approaches and methods used in this study. Thirdly, the sources and material are represented, and the used data introduced. Lastly, the approaches and theories are adapted in order to conduct the study using collocation and concordance analyses. This thesis ends with discussion of the results, conclusions and finally some indications for future research.

2   US-Israel Alliance: A Short History

Before the frame of Israel in the US media could be established, it is vital to acknowledge their relationship and use that background knowledge when analyzing the frame or frame change. The relationship between the two states is one of the most influential aspects when establishing a starting point on what the media can, will, and wishes to discuss. Since this study involves the frame of Israel – and its possible change – set in the US media, the background knowledge or "short history" as put here, is looked from the US perspective.

The relationship between the countries began in the 1940's when the state of Israel was formed. Israel was founded in 1948 in an area that was then Palestine. Big Jewish populations emigrated to the area due to a few interconnected reasons: firstly, their religion includes a strong tradition of stories of the Holy Land or the Promised Land (Gen. 15:18–21; Num. 34:1–15, Deut. 19:8), which is recognized as the location of modern-day Israel. This concludes religion as one basic characteristics of Israel, which was noticed in the analysis of this study as well. Secondly, the Jewish have endured persecution in many places, such as in Nazi-Germany. Many Jewish left Europe before, during and after the Second World War, and emigrated both to the US and to Israel. Despite being history, this persecution was seen to affect the discourse still today. In the USA, there are still large Jewish populations around the country (Jewish Virtual Library 2020), establishing closely intertwined relations. In 1948, USA was the first country to recognize Israel as a state (U.S. Department of State 2018), which gave the first push for warm and close the US-Israeli alliance.

Despite the fact that USA was the first to recognize Israel, the relationship has not always been warm and welcoming, but rather changing as the countries develop. Never have the alliance between the countries been broken, even though at times – mostly due to Israel's hostile actions in near states – the alliance has been colder and cooperation more distant. This is demonstrated, for example, by threats of sanctions and end of cooperation (U.S Department of State 1963, 2). In order to make sanctions efficient, they demand a power structure where the other party is significantly more powerful on its own or in an alliance (Walt [1987] 2013, 18–23, 27–28), as is seen here. From such behavior, it can be said that the power balance is weighted to the USA's favor.

On the other hand, in several occasions, the USA has supported Israel in international crises. For example, when the Six-Day War started between Israel and Egypt-Jordan-Syria alliance in 1967, the USA came to Israel's assistance. The crisis began locally in Israel-Egyptian

border, but quickly escalated to war on many fronts. Due to USA's support to Israel, it faced international disapproval. This was a publicity crisis for the USA in the eyes of many and included no benefits to the USA (Mearsheimer and Walt 2007, 77). This is a demonstration of the strength of the relationship.

How is it then possible that the US keeps continuing the relationship and considers Israel as an ally? As said by the well-established international relations researchers and professors, John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, so-called Israel Lobby was formed (2007, 148–150). The Israel Lobby is similar to any other stakeholder group lobby: a particular group is seen especially powerful, and this leads to even unfavorable decision making. In this case, US sees Israel as a moral obligation, strategic asset, and so politically adept that the alliance and support are more favorable in the long run than passing crises (Mearsheimer and Walt 2007).

Another aspect that has formed the US-Israeli relationship is the Israel-Palestine conflict. This crisis has been ongoing since 1948, developing from active regional conflict to international diplomatic stalemate (Tessler [1994] 2009). The USA has led several peace negotiations and agreed with the international community about sanctions and joint policies, including those surrounding the issue of the capital. Jerusalem has been an issue since the beginning of the crisis and continues to be one still. Both states claim Jerusalem as their land based on religion, tradition, and history. This is the reason why acknowledging Jerusalem as capital of either state has been used as leverage in the peace negotiation between Israel and Palestine, until December 2017.

In December 2017, the USA stated that they officially acknowledge Jerusalem to be the capital of Israel. This is the biggest change in their relationship politically, and one of the biggest changes in the US foreign policy in the last 25 years. All presidents from the 1990's onwards have promised to acknowledge Jerusalem as capital (Tibon 2017; U.S. Government Information 1995). Until December 2017 fulfilling this promise had been continuously postponed. This has had the support of the international community, fortifying that alliance – however, making that promise time and time again has kept Israel satisfied as well.

As written above, the relationship between Israel and the USA has been very complex. The relationship is undoubtedly a close alliance, though it has not been equal when it comes to generosity (Mearsheimer and Walt 2007, 48), as seen from the examples above. Even though cooperative alliances are a norm around the world, this level of intensity and participation is more active than many other, especially in such a situation were neither has been occupied by the other (Mearsheimer and Walt 2007, 6–9).

It is arguable whether the political change and the change in the atmosphere (or frame) has yet caused any changes in real life, but there are some possible outcomes of this issue. For example, Israel has been drafting a law that makes it "a Jewish nation-state" for years, and in July 2018, it finally pushed such bill through the governing coalition (Halbfinger and Kershner 2018). Israel has not passed this bill before because the international community stated that it would condemn such change (Bartunek and Gumrukcu 2018). Since this step was long in the making and just now completed, one can only guess whether it is due to the change in the US policy. If Israel considers that its strongest ally has taken a step closer to it, it can affect Israel's actions both domestically and internationally. The issue has also created changes in the USA: the US United Nation (UN) ambassador informed that the USA will be leaving the UN human rights council because they consider the Council to not tackle real atrocities but rather concentrate on Israel (negatively) (Borger 2018).

As said, this section is only a short history of the relations Israel and the USA has had. It is necessary to discuss the history in order to understand the setting of this study and analyze the results more efficiently. The recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel is a big, current issue that involves not only the obvious participants, but also the international community.

3 Theoretical Framework

In addition to explaining the issue of Israel and its relationship with the USA in Section 2, the basic characteristics of media and the theories explaining frame change must be taken into account before conducting this study.

The media has several characteristics that affect publication. These include for example, interpretation and intertextuality, choices in news construction, purpose and focalization, and narrator (Fairclough 2003, 83–86), which need to be taken into account when studying frames. Caroline Clark (2012) states that despite the aim to factual and neutral news reporting, ideological stance is inherited in journalism which changes representations. For example, she argued that reporters of the Iraq War spread their desired meaning by using evaluative language, and they actually adopted the Government's pro-war stance during the conflict (Clark 2012, 119–121), which can be seen as interpretation, focalization or choice in construction. After evaluating these results, this study aims to see if the government's stance on Israel leaks to the media.

In the following section, the theories that create the backbone of this study are presented. They are shown in the order of influence to this study, firstly representing Frame Analysis (FA), which here refers to Erving Goffman's contribution on framing ([1974] 1986) in Section 3.1. This subsection is followed by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). This approach is utilized in the final analyses and frame setting, since the initial results need closer inspection in order to evaluate frames. Lastly, Corpus Linguistics (CL) is introduced. CL is adaptable to the type and amount of data this study includes. It, and the technological innovations followed by it enabled this study to be conducted. Combination of the said three theories and approaches support the aims and execution of this study: how it is looked at, through what point of view, what guidelines are followed and what means of analysis are utilized.

3.1 Frame Analysis

The first research question in this study is set to not only answer if there is a change in the frame of Israel, but on the background, answer what the frame of Israel in the US media is. This set-up places frame and framing in the center and starting point of the study.

Firstly, in order to answer the research questions related to frame, the concept itself has to be defined in the light of this study. Erving Goffman ([1974] 1986) discusses how people interpret social clues and develop point of views towards presented issues – how they create frames – and how those views can be analyzed. Goffman's idea of frame is originally developed

for the need of sociology, but framing has been found useful in other disciplines as well. In sociolinguistics, Deborah Tannen (1993) argues that every human interaction is dependent on the expectations and perceptions of the participants. In order to function in the world, people need to connect new things, concepts, and people to an already existing view of the world. These connections – the way they are perceived and what are expected of them – are in her justification, frames (Tannen 1993, 4–5, 14).

Combining Goffman's and Tannen's intakes, the term *frame* from here onward includes the idea that all issues are always connected to the surrounding world and to the individual's perspective. This means that a frame is the combination of people's background and culture, former information and their opinions. The instant application of the features above is considered as *framing*. This justifies framing to be not only something that is related to human interaction, but rather essential part of coping in the world. Frames are identified in many ways, as simple as observation and interviewing, but in this study, frames are discovered by analyzing linguistic data for example, by evaluating the word choices. For example, if the media uses the word "immigrant" constantly with words, such as "Arabs" or "Middle-Eastern", the readers frame all immigrants to be of that origin. This study concentrates on similar linguistic data.

Secondly, after laying the foundation of framing and frames, the *frame setter* must be considered. Both Goffman's ([1974] 1986) and Tannen's (1993) concept of frame conclude that frames are mental structures that change and affect the way individual people assess and react to their surroundings. In addition, frames can be created by larger entities as well, like in this study. Here, Robert Entman's (1993) definition of framing is considered. For Entman framing is to "select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular definition of a problem, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and∕or treatment recommendation for the item" (1993, 52). This eases the framing done by mass communication: all related issues, backgrounds or views are not considered, but the frame is rather a selection or simplification of them.

Thirdly, it must be remembered that frames are not constant nor universal. Issues are always framed context-relatively, which means that the reality and background of the frame setter affects the framing, and other might frame the situation differently. In this study, it is vital to consider how frames are made and portrayed by the media, which is known as *frame building* in communication research (Boesman, d'Haenens and Van Gorp 2016). Frame building is considered an active process which is affected by the newsroom, reporters and outside factors, such as the political situation. Mass communication, such as news reporting, is affected by the

readership, the type of news agency, urgency and reporter language. In addition, outside factors – such as politics – direct acceptability of the frame, making it adoptable by journalists (Boesman, d'Haenens and Van Gorp 2016: 235–238).

Fourth topic to consider is *frame change*. In this study, frame change means the process in frame building or frame setting, that is seen to change the discourse. Frame change is caused by changes in the attitudes or information of decision makers or people, if they change the perceptions. Change can be studied with a comparative approach. In this study, cause for possible change the change in Israel policy, which has the potential to have big enough impact to have an effect in the frame building of the US media.

Lastly, it is important to see if framing can be adapted to the issue of this thesis. George Lakoff has done extensive research in the field of political science and discussed how frame and framing affects policy and politics and vice versa, and how framing is seen as a tool in politics. In his book *Don't Think of an Elephant! Know Your Values and Frame Debate: The Essential Guide for Progressives* (2004), Lakoff explains how American political parties have used framing in their advantage. In this example, George W. Bush used the phrase *tax relief* during the 2004 presidential campaign, when discussing a taxation plan. Using the word relief, he associated taxes to be something people need relief from. This phrase spread to the biggest media broadcasters and newspapers, and the frame was complete. Word like *relief* is loaded with an idea of being something good, hero-like, or redemption, making the thing people need relief from the opposite of it. In that way, the 2004 election promises of changes in the taxation became very desirable and made Bush the hero to save the people from taxes. Lakoff (2004, 4–5) states that this is what framing is about; using language that fits your goals or worldview. He claims that using framing as a tool to convey meanings efficiently and on purpose, public speakers can have the effects they want to their speeches (Lakoff 2004, 21–23). For the purpose of this study, Lakoff's idea of using framing as a tool is adapted. The study setting in this thesis makes media an active participant in framing, and thus possibly also a participant that has aims and goals. The media will be evaluated similarly as other public "speakers" in Lakoff's example.

Before discussing the setting of this study, it is important to look at what other scholars have done with similar study settings and issues. Recently, for example, Bahareh Malmir and Mahmoud Samaie have conducted a corpus-driven study (2017) on media portrayal of Islam and Muslims in the US, using CDA as their approach. In that Malmir's and Samaie's study (2017), a corpus of 670,000 words in news stories that discussed Islam and Muslims, was

analyzed by looking at collocations and concordance, similarly as is intended here. Malmir's and Samaie's study utilized Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) to analyze the discursive strategies in these news stories and they concentrated on nomination and predication. Their findings showed that Islam and Muslims are likely to be associated with violence in the US media, which was considered to form a basis of a frame in the media. Similar research settings are utilized in this study – only using a shorter time period. In DHA, the main idea of analysis takes into account the passing of time and background knowledge, and how perceptions and frames are dependent on the time they are used in (Wodak 2009, 45). Malmir's and Samaie's study's timeline was several years, making time a factor that can affect framing. On the contrary, the timeframe of this study is much shorter, thus time is not considered such a factor. In time, of course, frame change occurs, due to change in the societies and historical or political events. For example, the attitudes towards women have changed due to changes in their surrounding society, such as rising of equality movements and changes in laws. One could say that now that women to have more opportunities, they cannot be framed as a homogenous group.

In conclusion, Malmir's and Samaie's study settings were partly different than in this study, but for the most part they were similar. Malmir's and Samaie's utilized CDA when analyzing word choices and assessing words' implicative meaning in order to describe the frame they discovered, which is only one excellent example of the use of CDA with such issues. Following their example in approaching words' implications, CDA was chosen to be an important approach in this study as well.

3.2   Critical Discourse Analysis

As said by Ruth Wodak (1989), critical analysis should never remain neutral and just descriptive, since usually the driving force of analysis is the need to de-mystify certain social processes, such as the need to uncover inequalities, injustice and for example, mechanisms of manipulation. This study has similar starting points, especially regarding the need to de-mystify social processes. Here this is done by revealing the relations of political decision making, media, and their impact to each other.

As mentioned, in order to analyze implicative meanings of word choices, CDA is considered a usable approach. Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak (1997) define CDA to be the study of language as social practice. This includes the idea that language is never independent from its context: society is reflected in the use of the language. Fairclough ([1989]

1996) developed an idea of a three-dimensional model for the use of CDA. In this model, communicative events are divided into three levels: the description, the interpretation and the explanation levels. On the description level, the actual focus of the analysis is about the text itself. The interpretation is the level of discursive practice, which includes issues such producer and aimed receiver of the text. The last level, explanation, is where the focus of the analysis is on the possible influence of and to the society ([1989] 1996, 26–27, 162–166). When analyzing all three levels, as is done in this study, power structures can be revealed, and the meaning of descriptive language seen.

Since many parts of the social practice Fairclough and Wodak (1997) refer to is rewritten and directed to the receiver by the media, the purpose of media as setter of social structures and practices and conveyer of policies cannot be ignored (Fairclough 2003, 25, 32–34). Such actions can also be referred to as manipulation. Van Dijk (2006) lists manipulative discourses to be, for example, ads, TV series or informative texts provided by dominant social groups and aimed to maintain or reproduce their power. These groups can be authority figures, like politicians, or information provides like the press (2006, 361–363). Their discourses include description of how this group wishes the world to be seen, eventually creating socially shared beliefs (van Dijk 2006, 368). The description of the world is manifested by word choices. Thus, changes in them can reveal changes in representation such as in attitudes or power structures. For these reasons, CDA was used as the framework in this study.

In addition, when the importance of media is analyzed according to above notions, its influence is inevitable. For example, Baker and McEnery (2005) conducted corpus-driven research with the help of CDA on the discourse of refugees and asylum seekers. They looked at the representation of refugees and asylum seekers in British newspapers and discovered that the used corpus framed refugees as pests or invaders (Bakr and McEnery 2005). Wide use of such frame can affect the relations of different groups of people, if the media practice is adopted by the readers. That study setting and methodology are similar to this study, which also justifies to combine utilization of CDA with corpus-driven data here. Studies surrounding issues like portrayal of a certain group, group opinion or media representation have been done before (e.g. Kim, Power and Rak (2019), Wu and Zhang (2017)), as well.

As seen, CDA approach can include several viewpoints but is similarly context- and subject-dependent than FA. Thus, subjectivity is considered to be the one of the biggest possible challenges in the CDA approach. These qualities must be kept in mind: any changes in the study setting, material or background could invalidate the presented results. The focus of this study

is on attitudes and power structures. They are evaluated to both affect the issue from outside as well as within the data. If there is a change in frame, these structures between media and government can be seen as a possible reason behind it. They most probably also explain the frame and attitude towards Israel, since as mentioned in Section 2, the alliance between USA and Israel is not equal in any measurement. The examples of this section included studies of Corpus Linguistics, which was used in this study as well. This approach is presented in the following section.

3.3 Corpus Linguistics

As mentioned, CDA was found to be suitable approach for this study, making the size of the corpora an issue for the analysis. In order for the CDA to be used effectively, the material handling is an important element for success. As stated in Section 1, the material consists of 1 156 288 words, making the corpus rather large. Corpus Linguistics (CL) utilizes technological aids and provides an approach for large quantities of data to be analyzed, thus it was used in this study. Other approaches suitable for corpus studies, such as CADS, were looked into as well, but they posed limitations for the research settings and had to be disregarded.

Corpus Linguistics (CL) is a study of examples of real language use (McEnery and Wilson 1996: 1). Tony McEnery and Andrew Wilson (1996, 2–4) describe CL to thematically be a branch of linguistics, but that it is usually used as a methodology in other branches, such as syntax or semantics, and especially with corpus-based research. Here, the corpora incorporates theories of language, but since the aim of this study is not to validate theory but rather analyze data based on it, this study is corpus-driven by definition of Elena Tognini-Bonelli (2001, 84–85). In CL, examples of language use are combined to form corpora, which are analyzed by using corpus programs. These programs help to reveal patterns in language use and also explain them.

Corpora are not used only in the field of discourse studies. For example, language learning research utilizes CL approach. With the use of a corpora, researchers gain real language information about the learner language, for example the learning development (Alexopoulou et al. 2017, Brezina, Gablasova and McEnery 2017, Dickinson and Meurers 2017). Corpora are also used in other linguistic studies, such as grammar and language development research. With the help of CL, grammatical patterns and rules can be recognized (Domínguez-Rodríguez 2016, Leech 2000, Montgomery and Schneider 2001, Weninger 2010). Large data are required when establishing rules and making statements about an entire language, or even a dialect, making

corpora good sources for data. In addition to linguistic research, CL is used, for example, in social-psychology. In that discipline, researchers can benefit from corpora when categorizing and explaining human behavior. For example, Alec McHoul's, David McCarthy's and Mark Rapley's (2003) study found reasoning and similarities of violent individuals' behavior through linguistic clues, such as ways of self-categorization (428, 440–441).

Studying corpus-driven data has several advantages over other forms of data. Large data include large amounts of information. The more information the data includes, the more knowledge researchers gain. Organizing data with corpus programs makes the data easy to handle, despite the large size. Corpora are collected to represent the linguistic reality of a certain subject and they act as samples of the agents of that entity (McEnery and Wilson 1996, 63–65), as they do in this study. The representativeness of the corpus depends on the sample size and the features trying to be revealed. Even individual features – exceptions – can be found, but when looking at collocations and concordances, and due to boundaries of the timeframe and corpus size, this study is most likely to conceal marginalized opinions. The adaptability to large quantities of data is a benefit when studying phenomena with large coverage, much like the coverage of the US media. As mentioned, subjectivity is considered to be the biggest possible issue with CDA and FA. This is addressed with the use of CL, since basic features of large data quantities will minimize the personal bias. In addition, large data is not usually collected completely manually, but rather with computer aids, making "cherry-picking" or too narrow points of view impossible. When the data is not analyzed manually, but with the help of a corpus program, the results are more transparent and orderly, making personal subjectivity and bias even smaller factor.

Corpora do not come without limitations. When collecting a corpus, size and scope are the first things to consider. It tends to be that larger corpora are considered better (McEnery and Wilson 1996), and this can create issues with subjects that do not have documented material. The issue with data gathering is one of the biggest criticisms CL has encountered, alongside the representativeness of samples (McEnery and Wilson 1996, 170). These statements were made in a time when the sample sizes were much smaller, though. Regardless that technological developments enabled larger corpora sizes, representativeness is always up for evaluation and this is dependent on the corpus collector. Before electronic texts were common, compiling a representative corpus was challenging. This, as well as the uncertainty of computing developments, were considered to threat the development of CL (McEnery and Wilson 1996,

170–173). In this study, however, the material was rather easily accessed, and it was plentiful, even when it demanded licensed access to sources, such as the New York Times' news archive.

The frameworks and approaches above are chosen to be used due to their compatibility with the aims, research questions and chosen materials of the study. As stated, other choices could have been made. They were evaluated carefully to reveal the highest potential for this study and to enable efficient analysis. In the following chapter, the material and data are introduced and discussed in detail, which itself endorses the choices for the approaches as their adaptability to this data is shown.

4 Material and Methods

When choosing the material and methods for this study, several aspects had to be evaluated. Firstly, the importance and ability of media as the frame builder had to be estimated. Elizabeth Powers, Vincent Price and David Tewksbury (1997) showed that the frames news media convey affect the opinions of the readers about the discussed issue. They were able to show that changing the way news are framed, opinion of the readers change (Powers, Price and Tewksbury 1997: 481, 494). This implies the effect of frames to public opinion in general, making media's importance as frame builder special. Secondly, it was important to understand how media frames issues differently compared to individuals. Keith Somerville explains the main goal of media and its qualities as frame builder well:

> The media "..." is still a major source of news about conflicts for the majority of people. They rely on the media to tell them what is going on in the world, select what is important or relevant and exclude the items that are deemed unimportant or unintelligible. The media uses forms of representation and framing to simplify and provide recognized depictions of distant countries, peoples and wars. (Somerville 2017, 49)

Lastly, it is valuable to recognize the differences between media and especially their differences caused by publication time and place. The news outlets of this study are from an area and society where media is reasonably "free": they have freedom of speech, publication and editing, as well as freedom to choose perspectives. They are not governmentally run nor are they considered to be run with interventions from the decisive organs of the state. Free press creates a distance to the government and the publication can differ from the state's official stance. This distance allows the press not to be affected by policy making, if they wish. These qualities enable a study like this to be conducted, since without freedom of press, the genuine effect of policy making to media cannot be measured.

In the following subsections 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3, the principles and starting point of this study are described. Subsection 4.1 explains the choices for the materials and the describes the sources in order to provide transitivity to the study. Subsection 4.2 provides insights to data collection, utilization of sub-corpora and the choices made for the analyses. Lastly, the subsection 4.2 represents the methods that are used conducting this study.

4.1 Sources and Material Gathering

Having both representative, informative and educative purpose, news publishers are considered both frame builders and frame changers. Since this study is looking at frame building and frame

change by the media, widely spread news articles are the most suitable reflection of frame. News articles are also not limited by form, nor do they represent a public image of the state, like official statements would. In the era of the internet, quantity of distribution is not the only variable to consider when evaluating reader reachability, but time used in publication must be considered as well. Online news are published faster and are available for the readers sooner than traditional news articles, which also affects the readership. For the reasons above online news are found to be suitable source for data in this study.

Other text types were considered as well, but they had shortcomings that made them unsuitable for this study. For example, legal documents that show the change in the policy towards Jerusalem's status would not show change in frame, since their language is not supposed to be evaluative. Their set form prevents the use of evaluative or implicate language. In addition, their readership is limited, making their frame be visible to only some: only certain people would have both access and interest to be familiarized with them. They would represent the official line of the USA – and that only in certain areas – but not necessarily the actual atmosphere around the country. Same issues involve other texts as well. For example, briefings and other official statements have the same shortcomings as legal texts, whereas foreign news articles, or articles written in another language than English would not reach the English-speaking American audience well and thus would not representative in frame building.

Since the wide coverage is crucial to this study, news had to be gathered in large amounts. Combining texts together, a corpus is formed. Corpora are collections of texts, sound, video or pictures, with an established connection, for example theme. Placing material together and analyzing it as a unity, more general and credible conclusions can be made. There are several corpora accessible online that could provide relevant information to this study, however, they all lack in some aspect. For example, the Corpus of Contemporary American English could have been usable source of data, since it is large in size (560 million words) and well balanced between sources (it includes academic-, magazine-, newspaper-, fiction- and spoken texts), but this corpus does not allow to see the publication dates for the texts nor does it allow to divide the data according to a more specific timeline, only yearly. Since the timeline for this study is important, this corpus cannot be used. Similar issues with usability and some bugs were discovered in other otherwise suitable corpora as well, and for that reason, a new corpus for this exact study was chosen to be collected. This corpus includes texts from similar sources that are connected to Israel.

It must be acknowledged, that computer assisted material gathering is more easily justifiable since it will follow a certain pre-set logic that is not affected by pre-assumptions or human error. Manual gathering is more vulnerable in this sense. Even though the computer assisted material gathering is in this sense more stable and reliable, manual gathering cannot be forgotten in a study like this. Most likely, if the technology would have been available for the writer, the original choices, such as if the choice of sources could have been done via computing, but since it was not, the choices are explained in this section.

Representability was one of the biggest factors when collecting material for this corpus. Firstly, the chosen material was gathered by assessing the readership of that publication: larger readership and wider reachability provides a reflection of and for a larger crowd. These rankings in readership are provided by the calculations of Statista – The Statistics Portal, which calculates and updates, among other statistics, the number of individual users of news media in the US (Statista 2018). Using the biggest news providers in this study ensured that the news have high distribution and reachability, and thus, effect. If smaller news providers were used, their results could provide a more marginalized subframes, possibly changing the results slightly.

The other criteria for these exact sources of material was their representation of the political spectrum in the USA. The USA operates politically in a two-party system, where nearly all of their representatives comes from two major parties. Since this study is based on a change in policy, this was considered to be an important factor when deciding the sources. Based on these main criteria, CNN, FoxNews and the New York Times were chosen as the sources for material in this study. Coincidentally, the sources that were chosen based on their representation of the ends of the political spectrum (CNN and FoxNews) belong to the five biggest news providers according to Statista (2018). By choosing sources that convey opposite biases, their effect to the material is attempted to be balances out. The New York Times is the second largest news provider by the number of individual users according to Statista (2018). Its political bias is not as strong nor publicly acknowledged, making it an ideal "middle ground" source for this study. The biggest news provider by the number individual online readers in the US was not chosen. This provider was Yahoo!, which is a news site that does not write or publish their own news, but rather circulate news from other sources based on their popularity.

All of the chosen sources have an online archive that stores all of the articles and they were either open access or reached through the licenses of University of Turku Library. Since the main goal of this study is to look at how Israel was represented in the media rather than if

Israel was represented, only the individual online news articles that were already Israel-themed were used as material. Establishing this division is based on the news sites' own algorithms, that most likely differ from each other. The other option was to use all of the articles that were published within the timeline this study discusses, but that could have affected the results, and it would be more suitable for a study that is looking into if Israel is discussed and to what extent. Concentrating to the news that were already classified as Israel-related also minimizes the possible problems with the size of the corpus in the use of the corpus program.

In order to decide the amount articles to be collected, time of publication was considered to be the biggest factor for narrowing down the material. Since this study aims to see if policy change can affect frames in media, the date of the policy change is crucial to consider. This date separates two eras: a time the USA did not acknowledge Jerusalem as capital of Israel, and the time it did. The chosen material had to be published close to the date in order to minimize other factors' effect to the frame. It was decided that a total of one month's worth of online news before and after the acknowledgement would provide enough material for the study. The Israel-related news articles published during that timeframe created the corpus for this study containing 1 156 288 words.

As said before, CNN was one of the three sources for material in this study. CNN is a news broadcaster that operates on national television in the USA. In addition to the tv channel, CNN is a news website. Statista calculated this website to be the biggest news website by number of readers in 2017 (Statista 2018). Traditionally, CNN is considered to represent the Democrats – the left wing of the US political spectrum – even though officially it has not taken a political stand. This political separation has increased recently, since the current president has criticized the broadcaster of being anti-Republican and anti-Trump (Sutton 2017). The CNN news website (cnn.com) was used in this study, and its US edition was chosen to represent the news published in the US. CNN.com operates around the clock and even though the US edition is selected, their international bureaus deliver news there as well (CNN 2019). The website's archive provides full access to all online news articles, and it has a search tool that allows to narrow the issues by theme, date and format. With the help of that tool, material that was associated with the search word "Israel" was gathered. That search word was used in all the sources in order to maximize the similarity of the material.

The CNN search algorithm also produced hits of articles that were not about Israel (the state). They included, for example, articles written by a person named Israel, or a movie that has the word "Israel" in its title. These hits were manually excluded from the corpus since they

were evaluated not to have an effect on the actual case of this study. In addition to this, an article in French was excluded, because the focus of the study is in English and because the French article would only reach limited readership. There were also news pieces that were presented only in video format. Those were excluded as well, since they would have been needed transcribing in order to be analyzed with the corpus program. After these adjustments, the total word count of the online news collected from the CNN website was 182 711.

FoxNews is similar to CNN as a news broadcaster: it provides tv broadcasting in addition to online news, and it has an online news archive that gives full access to all articles published in their website (all sections). It was also the fourth biggest news provider in 2017 (Statista 2018). FoxNews, similarly to CNN, does not publicly promote their political stance, but several politicians, other publishers and public figures have accused FoxNews of having a republican bias (Rendall, 2010), which it is considered to represent in this study as well.

Since FoxNews divides its online articles in sections, and it can publish an online news article in several of them (for example, foreign country related news in both front-page news feed and World news section). This creates a situation where the exact same article is shown two, or even three times. Fortunately, since the material collecting was manual, the duplicates or triplicates were disregarded, and the same article was only collected once. If the duplicates or triplicates were all collected, it might have affected the data and the results by adding same collocates and concordance strings more times. After collecting the material in this matter from the FoxNews website, it combined to a total of 607 190 words.

The last source, the New York Times, is calculated to be the second biggest news website in the USA in 2017 by Statista (2018). The New York Times is mostly associated to be a newspaper, but it provides online news articles as well. The online version was chosen since its readership is wider and it produces more material than the traditional newspaper. In addition, this makes all the sources to have similar publication forms. The New York Times does not have pressing overt or covert political bias. The New York Times archive has limited access to the full text articles online for non-subscribers but allows non-subscribers to use the search algorithm and see full titles of all the articles. Non-subscribers can have access to only five articles in full, but fortunately the University of Turku Library grants students to have access to the full online news articles, thus making it possible to collect material. The only issue with this course of action was that some online news articles found in the actual website were missing from the accessed database. However, most of them were able to be retrieved from the original New York Times archive using the non-subscribers' "five free articles" -choice. Three of them

cannot be retrieved in such manner, since they are now missing from the online news archive as well. It might be possible that they were deleted after publication, but for some reason the titles were seen in the search. After consideration, this was not seen to be an issue since they were few in number.

When using the search tool in the website, New York Times archive gives a description of its collection of the online news about the search word in question. For example, when using the search word Israel, the description was the following: "Times Topics: Israel - World news about Israel, including breaking news and archival articles published in the New York Times" (New York Times 2018). This description was found to be vaguer than it seems, since the articles and news also included texts that were not about Israel, but for example, about American Jews. These articles and news were included in the corpus since individuals that are associated to represent something (in this study, a country), may have an effect on the frame that that something has. Similarly to the other sources, video material was disregarded. This material contains 366 387 words.

In order to analyze frame change like is meant in this study, comparisons must be made, thus diving the material into comparative units had to be done. This division is based on the date of the acknowledgement: one timeframe from 6th November to 5th 2017 and another from 6th of December 2017 to 5th January 2018. The sub-corpus of "Before the Acknowledgement" (referred as BA from now on), refers to a sub-corpus created of news that were published before the date of the acknowledgement of Jerusalem as capital. It contains 361 762 words. Similarly, sub-corpus "After the Acknowledgement" (AA from now on) includes the material published after that date. This sub-corpus contains 794 576 words. This, and the division of the collected material in the sub-corpora by sources is represented in Table 1.

Table 1 Number of words in the sub-corpora divided by sources

		Sub-corpus size	
		BA sub-corpus	AA sub-corpus
Source	CNN	56 086	126 625
	FoxNews	165 233	441 957
	the New York Times	140 443	225 994
	Total	361 762	794 576

The AA sub-corpus is bigger than the BA sub-corpus, but that was expected since the acknowledgement itself was a newsworthy story, and it caused major discussion. This was not considered a problem, since the amount of representation of Israel is not the focus in this study. More representation only means more examples of how Israel is represented, making the AA frame possibly to be more exact, and since it is the AA sub-corpus, the possible change is more

easily detected. But due to the mismatch of sizes, the comparisons are based on proportions rather than number of occurrences of data.

4.2 Data

In order to reveal usable data from the raw material of the sub-corpora represented in section 4.1, a corpus-program AntConc was used. For corpus analysis, several programs are available, but AntConc was chosen due to its familiarity to the writer. The other programs were considered but due to the resources, they were not chosen to be appropriate. For example, WordSmith has a monthly license and CorpusTool is not compatible with the computer operating system in use while writing this thesis. Firstly, as said, the material was divided into two sub-corpora, which were limited based on the date of publication of the news articles included in them. The news about the acknowledgement were public during the morning of 6th December 2017, which means that news of changed policy were published already on December 6th, making it important to be included in the AA sub-corpus, rather than disregarded. If the sources would have been printed newspapers instead of online news, that date might have been disregarded, since then news of changed policy would have not yet reached publications. In this phase it was also important to establish what relevant search words would both represent Israel in the data mining and to be used in the analyses. While choosing the search words, an initial analysis of the material affected the choices. The neutrality of the search words was essential. Finally, four search words were chosen: *jews*, *jewish*, *israel* and *israeli*.

Israel was the first, obvious, choice for a search word. The second search word, *israeli*, derives from the first, meaning the people of Israel or adjective form of Israel. Both were chosen because they hold different meanings of the same subject and choosing between them would show attitude and power structures by itself. The last two search words were chosen based on initial analysis of the raw material. As mentioned when presenting the sources, words Jew, Jews, or Jewish were discovered to be strongly associated with Israel and used nearly synonymously when discussing the people of Israel. It seems that the large minority of Jews living in the US has affected their perspective, and they link Israel to be Jewish. AntConc only shows three results of concordance hits in the BA sub-corpus for the word *jew*, but 121 for *jews*. For that reason, the plural form was used. Singular form might also refer to individuals or first names, making it not representative of the main issue of this study. *Jewish* was chosen with similar logic as the search word *israeli*.

After choosing the search words, the sub-corpora were analyzed in order to establish the data used in this study. This analysis was based on concordance hits. Concordance hits refers to the occurrences the search words are presented in the corpus. This analysis is illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2 Number of concordance hits in the sub-corpora

Corpus	Search Word	Concordance Hits
Before the Acknowledgement - CNN, FoxNews, New York Times	Israel	1156
	Israeli	411
	Jews	121
	Jewish	308
After the Acknowledgement - CNN, FoxNews, New York Times	Israel	2952
	Israeli	1081
	Jews	304
	Jewish	441

This process itself validates the choice for the search words: if they produced many hits, their representativeness is significant, and they are well-associated with the issue of this study. As seen from Table 2, the search word *israel* produced 1156 concordance hits in the BA sub-corpus. The word *israeli* produced 411 concordance hits, *jews* 121 and *jewish* 308. These numbers are considered high enough to provide information about Israel's frame in that timeline. The similar numbers in the AA sub-corpus are 2952 hits for *israel*, 1081 for *israeli*, 304 for *jews* and 441 for *jewish*. Since the AA sub-corpus is larger in size, it understandably creates more hits for the search words.

The preliminary manual disregarding of non-appropriate material minimized the possibility of non-appropriate data. However, there is a possibility of some unsuitable articles to have passed the initial process, but they are considered to be very few in number. After the data was gathered, the analyses were able to be conducted. In the following section, the methods for this study are presented in the order they were used.

4.3 Methodology

This section includes the steps according to which this study is conducted. These methods include steps that involve data handling, analyses, discussion and conclusion. As said, the aim of this thesis is to answer the following three research questions:

1. Is there a change in frame of Israel in the USA now that there is a change in the political relationship?

2. If there is such a frame change, what kind of a change that is? What are the ways the original frame changed?

3. If there are indicators how the change affected the US-Israel relations or actions of either party? If so, what indicators are they?

These questions are kept in mind throughout the study, in order to focus to the suitable methods and relevant results. The methods presented here aim to make the patterns of thought and the logic of this study visible. This transparency is not only for the case of the ethics of research, but also for the enabling the conclusion making process. Since the setting and research questions are simple in nature, and computer assisted working methods are chosen to be used, the methods of this study consists of the following steps:

a) identifying collocates and concordances with the help of a corpus program

b) analyzing the results of the above based on quantity, pattern and theme

c) comparing the analyzed data to each other and evaluating them based on research questions

d) considering the results in relation to e.g. policy changes and international actions and identifying the need for further research.

As can be seen above, the steps follow the Fairclough's three-dimensional model for CDA ([1989] 1996, 26–27, 162–166) as adapted: steps a) and b) include the dimension of the text, steps b) and c) the interpretation and steps c) and d) the explanation dimension.

Collocation and concordance analyses were shown to be effective choices for analysis when studying framing, thus it was clear to use them here as well. Following good practices from previous research is not a ground-breaking method but being able to justify the process and increase the transparency of the study were seen more important. Here, discourse structures are considered to be the representation of frames. This said, collocations and concordances are one of the most efficient ways to examine these structures with this amount of data, since they create results based on frequencies and patterns. When considering discourse structures in the English language, grammar and convention of text types usually order the clause structures to be fairly invariable. The basic structure is that clauses include a subject and a predicate. These are usually followed or preceded by different types of determiners. Fairly invariable structures make it possible for the analyses to be representative. The analyses of this study were conducted with the program AntConc. The corpus tools enable the identification and analysis of collocates and concordances in the text for chosen search words. The corpus program allows different

limitative settings, which then affect the results, thus the choices must be justified. The relevant search words used in the initial phase of narrowing down the material were used for both collocation and concordance analysis in order to reveal those structures that relate to the main subject of this study. In addition, using the same search words in both collocation and concordance analysis made them more comparable in the later stages.

As said, the first step was to identify the collocates. Occurrences in corpus are said to reflect the news articles (Bednarek 2006, 136), and if they are frequent, their importance as reflections of the news substantial. Here, frequent collocates were evaluated to be well-representative of the data, which justified their use in revealing frames. In addition, if collocates are evaluative or determinative in nature, they can be used in defining the discourse. The data was analyzed in AntConc by using the collocate search and organizing the data by frequency. Due to the nature of languages, closeness between search word and collocate imply that they are most likely connected, and for this reason, the collocate search limit was set from 5L to 5R. Bigger limit could lead to results that are not connected to the search words. The chosen limit means that the found collocates were all positioned between five words before to five words after the search word. In this study, only ten of the most frequent collocates for all the search words were taken into account. This is due to decreasing frequencies among the collocates, and infrequent collocates were not considered as representative. In addition, only words that contain meaning on their own were taken into account. This analysis produced the implicative surroundings of the search words, since the collocates were seen as language-environmental clues defining the frames.

The other factor to be identified was the concordance strings. Similarly to collocation analysis, concordance analysis was done in AntConc using a concordance search tool. For concordance strings, the language structures are more relevant, which in turn affected the search gap in the AntConc program. In order to maximize the possibility that all the data in the string was related to the search word, the length of the strings was limited to 80 characters. This limit includes the search word, which was positioned center of produced concordance strings. Since the data was news article –based, the characteristics of that text type had to be considered. News language, for example titles, must be kept short and relevant, thus bigger character amount would lead to data not related to the search word. Additionally, the search words were high-lighted, and the results organized alphabetically based on them. This order also placed similar concordance strings next to each other, facilitating the analysis.

After the identifications, the analyses were conducted. The collocates were analyzed for different qualities, implicative meaning, and for example, relation to each other. The concordance strings were analyzed in three parts: first, an initial analysis established the thematic groups; secondly, the string-by-string analysis divided the data into these groups; and lastly the groups were analyzed for meaning, significance and implications for the frames. Division based on theme was chosen to be the most useful method of analysis since the discussion around the search words varied by topic tremendously and source by source. Despite this, the topics were naturally dividable into these thematic categories. The categories for this thematic concordance analysis were chosen based on initial analysis of the result material. The following thematic categories were founded: 1) community or group of people (non-religious) related, 2) religion related, 3) anti-Semitism or hate speech related 4) political or governmental related, 5) economics and trade related, and 6) arts and culture related categories. As assumable, not all concordance strings fit to these categories. In order to use them as analyzable results as well, a group of "other themes" was founded. This thematic division enabled the results to be discussed for frame setting qualities.

The groups were formed based on how the analysis developed and as more data were evaluated. For example, at first, the arts and culture related category was not visible, since most culture related concordance string could be perceived as religious related. As the analysis progressed, that category was found to be necessary, and some data had to be re-evaluated. The most troubling in the division to the thematic categories was defining the discussion around Jews. Jews were discussed both with religious thematic and the culture and arts thematic making the division sometimes difficult. These thematic divisions could be done otherwise as well, for example, the political or governmental related category could be divided into subcategories, such as decision-making or warfare related category. This decision could reveal even more precise information about the possible change in frame, but since the suggested themes for subcategories were dominant in every part of the data, this subdivision was not considered to be crucial.

These methods were chosen based on convention of preceding research, relevancy to the research questions, and efficacy of the analysis with the size of the data. The only non-efficient method was the manual thematic division of every concordance string. Both the collocation and concordance analyses could have been done differently. Instead of concordance strings, individual, strictly positioned, individual concordances could have been used. For example, analyzing only concordances after "Israel is", direct implications of Israel's status and

frame could have been seen. This method would be more efficient since the structures would be invariable, and the results always in the same position in the clause structure. Even though there are other options for analysis, the chosen methods helped answer the research questions and suited the setting of this study. However, even if considered suitable, the analyses were not without issues. The most issues came with the computer assistance. For example, different orthographical features were challenging for AntConc. The genitive *'s* form was found especially difficult, but a change in settings of the program and search item helped to overcome this technological glitch.

After the collocation and concordance analyses, the frames were established. Firstly, the results of collocate and concordance analyses were analyzed according to Goffman's idea of what constitutes as sign of a frame: especially implications of agency and power were considered. In this step, it was no longer relevant whether the results were from collocation or concordance analysis, but rather when they have been published, since the aim was to find out differences between two timeframes. After this step, the frames before and after the acknowledgement of Jerusalem as capital were revealed. To be able to answer the research question of change in frame, these frames were then compared to each other. They were compared mostly through their differences in shared aspects, but also those characteristics that are not shared – omissions – if they were considered significant enough to cause changes in frame. After the comparison, it was evaluated how well the research questions were answered. This discussion also revealed the need for further research.

5   Analysis

After the data was collected from the material, it was analyzed. The analysis aimed to look into the language environments of the search words. These analyses worked as the base for revealing frames, and later, frame comparison. These steps were relevant for the answering of the research questions and making conclusions of the study. The analyses are seen to function on the description (text) and interpretation (discourse practice) levels of discourse analysis (Fairclough [1989] 1996, 162–166).

As said, collocation analysis is the study of word environment of chosen search words – in this case *israel, israeli, jews and jewish*. In this study, the proximity to the search words was important factor when looking for collocates. Here, usually the collocation was either defining the search word, or it is an action done by or to the search word. Both BA- and AA sub-corpus were analyzed. The program settings introduced in Section 4.3 apply.

AntConc makes it possible to analyze text from the point of view of concordance as well. Concordance is the natural linguistic environment where the search words appear in. This can mean – depending on the search terms and size limitations – phrases, clauses or even bigger units of language. Concordance analysis produces results referred as concordance strings. The strings are a body of text around the search item, as in this study around the words *jews*, *jewish*, *israel*, and *israeli*. As for the concordance analysis of this study, the corpus program settings introduced in Section 4.3 apply. After identifying the concordance strings, they were divided into thematic categories based on their content, which then produced information on the topics surrounding the search words.

This section includes separate sub-sections to collocation analysis (5.1) and concordance analysis (5.2). The analyses work as the base for the establishment of sub-frames and later, the evaluation of frame change.

5.1   Collocation Analysis

As said, the analysis of collocates provides information about the word environment. The frequencies of the collocates for the search words in both sub-corpora are represented in Tables 3-6. For the purpose of this study, the top 10 collocates of the search words were presented, as well as their frequencies on the left (FL) and on the right (FR) of the search word. This division of frequencies can imply different meanings of the collocate. For example, with *israel*'s collocate *anti*, position before or after the search word would cause differences in meaning. It has the possibility to create combination of either *anti-israel* or *israel...anti*, which carry

opposite meanings. As said, only collocates that are either content words (noun, subject, adjective) or lexical verbs were analyzed, since they can carry implicative and evaluative meaning, opposite to, for example articles or copular verbs. Similarly, pronouns are disregarded. In Tables 3-10, the values in N-column present the ordinal of the collocate based on frequency. Missing ordinals on that column would have represented now disregarded collocate.

The sizes of the sub-corpora affect the results and the discussion. For example, if the frequencies of collocates would be very low, their effect to the frame cannot be seen as accurate as with higher frequencies. This does not invalidate the results, but it has to be kept in mind.

The results of collocation search with the search word *jews* of the BA sub-corpus are presented in Table 3. As is seen, the ten most frequent collocates for this search produced several collocates that refer to religion.

Table 3 Frequencies of the collocates of *jews* in BA sub-corpus

Before the Acknowledgement: Collocates to the word *jews*				
n	Word	Freq	FL	FR
12	muslims	10	5	5
20	christians	8	2	6
21	american	8	6	2
27	jewish	8	3	5
27	anti	6	3	3
30	young	6	5	0
35	israel	5	3	2
40	place	4	3	1
45	holy	4	3	1
49	against	4	3	1

Four of the top ten collocates were *muslims* (N 12, Freq 10), *christians* (N 20, Freq 8), *jewish* (N 27, Freq 8) and *holy* (N 45, Freq 4). These collocations described people as well, similarly to the collocate *young* (N 30, Freq 6). Other collocates referred to oppositeness: *anti* (N 27, Freq 6) and *against* (N 49, Freq 4). One of *jews*'s collocates was also one of the other search words, *israel* (N 35, Freq 5).

As said in section 4.2, the total occurrences in the BA sub-corpus of *jews* was 121 (see Table 2), and as seen from Table 3, the top one collocate *muslims* was thus present in nearly 10 percent of the *jews*'s occurrences. Since all more frequent collocates were disregarded, it was the most frequent content-word collocate. The frequencies of *jews*'s collocates were rather low, but since this search words had the lowest number of total occurrences of all the search words as well, the low frequencies are explainable. Frequency of collocates can be affected by the

variety between the sources as well, but in this study, the sources were similar to each other, thus this in not regarded as a factor.

Similar collocation analysis was done on the search word *jewish*. The top 10 collocates of search word *jewish* are presented in Table 4. The search word occurred in the BA sub-corpus 308 times, over 2.5 times more than the search word *jews* (see Table 2). The largest frequency of collocates with this search word was 33 (*state* N 9, Freq 39: FL 4 and FR 29), which concludes that in over 10 percent of the occurrences of the search word, that collocate was present.

Table 4 Frequencies of the collocates of *jewish* in BA sub-corpus

Before the Acknowledgement: Collocates to the word *jewish*				
n	Word	Freq	FL	FR
9	state	33	4	29
13	community	25	1	24
14	people	24	0	24
24	jewish	14	7	7
26	students	13	1	12
29	american	13	8	5
31	jerusalem	12	6	6
34	center	12	2	10
35	israel	11	6	5
38	comedy	10	2	8

As stated, the position of the collocate can be influential. Here, the nature of the search word has affected the forming of the collocates. *Jewish* is an adjective and, as seen from Table 4, it was more frequent predeterminer rather than post-determiner for its collocates. This position was seen with most of the collocates, such as *state* (Freq 33: FL 4; FR 29), *community* (Freq 25: FL 1; FR 24) and *people* (Freq 24: FL 0; FR 24). All of the top 10 most frequent collocates this search word produced referred to different groups of people, or other human interaction.

Similarly to *jews*, the search word *israel* was also *jewish*'s collocate (N 35, Freq 11) (see Table 4). In addition, *jewish* as a search word was also its own collocate. This means, that the word *jewish* (N 24, Freq 14) was repeated in the data several times in its own proximity. The higher occurrence count of *jewish* was seen to have affected the frequencies and made the top collocates to be frequent, for example. Changes in frequencies between the collocates could be due to the variety within the material, since the articles were not limited by theme or news section, such as using only political online news or articles of the culture section. If the online news were selected that way, it would likely cause a rise in the frequencies of the collocates, and they would not have been the same as seen in Tables 3-10.

The search words produced thematically similar results to each other. The differences were rather formed due to the occurrences of the search words. Since *israel* occurred 1156 times in the BA sub-corpus, also the collocates' frequencies were higher than those of *jews* or *jewish* (see Table 3 and 4). The top ten collocates and their frequencies for *israel* in the BA sub-corpus are presented in Table 5.

Table 5 Frequencies of the collocates of *israel* in BA sub-corpus

Before the Acknowledgement: Collocates of the word *israel*				
n	Word	Freq	FL	FR
10	jerusalem	190	153	37
11	capital	139	56	83
27	trump	45	14	31
28	against	45	31	14
32	war	41	24	17
34	israel	38	19	19
36	minister	36	19	17
37	peace	35	26	9
38	state	33	23	10
39	press	33	19	14

The top collocate for *israel* was *jerusalem* with the frequency of 190 (FL 153, FR 37). This frequency is quite considerable, since nearly one in six times *israel* occurs, the word *jerusalem* occurs with it. The second collocate *capital* is almost as frequent (N 11, Freq 139) with a nearly one in eight -relation.

Rest of the top ten collocates did not have as considerable frequencies. The rest of the collocates varied in frequency between 33 and 45. Similarly to the collocates of *jewish*, the search word itself was also a collocate and had the frequency of 38 (N 34; FL 19, FR 19). In several cases, *israel* was preceded by its collocate more than it was followed by it. Considerable differences in placement of the collocate were found with *jerusalem* (FL 153, FR 37), *against* (FL 31, FR 14), *peace* (FL 26, FR 9) and *state* (FL 23, FR 10). *Israel* was seen to produce collocates that referred directly to the state of Israel and the processes in it.

Table 6 illustrates the top ten frequencies of collocates for *israeli* in BA the sub-corpus.

Table 6 Frequencies of the collocates of *israeli* in BA sub-corpus

	Before the Acknowledgement: Collocates of the word *israeli*			
n	Word	Freq	FL	FR
8	palestinian	46	7	39
10	jerusalem	43	34	9
15	officials	32	1	31
18	minister	29	2	27
21	military	23	2	21
25	israel	21	7	14
27	capital	21	5	16
28	security	20	13	7
31	government	19	1	18
33	conflict	18	2	16

The total number of occurrences of *israeli* in the data was 411 (see Table 2). Similarly to *israel*, the collocate *jerusalem* was found, and based on frequency (Freq 43), it was present in over 1 in 10 of the occurrences of the search word in the sub-corpus. With most of the cases, the collocates seemed to appear after the search word *israeli* when compared to appearing before. For example, collocates *officials* (Freq 32), *minister* (Freq 29), and *military* (Freq 23) appeared only occasionally in FL status, and the rest of the occurrences were in FR position (see Table 6). Unlike with *jews*, *jewish* or *israel*, this positioning of collocates was very tilted to either FL or FR position in all the top collocates. The only collocates of *israeli* that appeared more in the FL position were *jerusalem* (FL 34, FR 9) and *security* (FL 13 and FR 7).

Israeli produced many collocates in the BA sub-corpus that referred to authority. *Officials*, *minister*, *military* and *government* are all structures of state, and most likely referred to the state of Israel here. Surprisingly, *palestinian* appeared as a top ten collocate for the first time with this analysis in the BA corpus.

Similarly to the BA sub-corpus collocate analysis, the collocate groups were partly similar to each other in the AA sub-corpus as well. For example, all search words produced collocates that were either the search word itself or other search words, such as *jews* as a collocate for *jews* (see Table 7) or collocate *israel* for search word *jewish* (see Table 8). It must be noted that because the AA sub-corpus was much larger than the BA sub-corpus it directly affected the frequencies shown in the following Tables 7-10.

Table 7 illustrates the top 10 collocates for search word *jews* in the AA sub-corpus. As shown in Table 7 and compared to Table 3, the top collocates for the search word *jews* in the AA sub-corpus are very similar to those for it in the BA sub-corpus.

Table 7 Frequencies of the collocates of *jews* in AA sub-corpus

	After the Acknowledgement: Collocates of the word *jews*			
n	Word	Freq	FL	FR
9	christians	48	23	25
10	muslims	39	14	25
12	israel	27	14	13
14	american	26	26	0
17	arabs	21	11	10
20	holy	19	17	2
21	jerusalem	17	9	8
34	jews	12	6	6
35	city	12	11	1
37	against	12	12	0

Most of the top 10 collocates for *jews* were the same as they are in the BA sub-corpus (*christians*, *muslims*, *israel*, *american*, *holy* and *against*). They also had similar frequency order in both the sub-corpora. For example, the top one collocate *christians* in AA sub-corpus (Freq 48) was the second most frequent in the BA sub-corpus (Freq 8). Position-wise, this collocate acted similarly in both sub-corpora as well. *Muslims* was the second most frequent collocate in the AA sub-corpus, and the had the highest frequency in BA sub-corpus (See Tables 3 and 7). Here, the presence of both religion and groups of people were very visible, as they were in BA sub-corpora as well.

The collocation analysis results of the search word *jewish* in the AA sub-corpus differed from the analysis of *jews*. Even though *jewish* as a word itself is somewhat religiously colored, the collocations did not showcase that as much as they did with *jews*. All the top ten collocates for *jewish* are illustrated in Table 8.

Table 8 Frequencies of the collocates of *jewish* in AA sub-corpus

	After the Acknowledgement: Collocates of the word *jewish*			
n	Word	Freq	FL	FR
8	state	74	2	72
9	people	56	1	55
13	israel	35	16	19
14	jerusalem	32	13	19
18	capital	29	27	2
22	trump	24	19	5
23	part	24	4	20
26	home	21	14	7
27	community	21	1	20
29	donald	19	18	1

The search word *jewish* created collocates that were involved with politics and government. Since collocates can occur in both positions – before or after the search word – it was possible to see possible suitable combinations of the search word and its collocate. For example, the collocates *state* and *people* were mostly positioned after the search word, which can then be most likely combined as "jewish state" and "jewish people".

It must be noted, that the most frequent collocate was *state,* which alone can be seen interesting. This was found to be suitable for the purpose of this study. The combination, "jewish state", is used as a synonym for Israel. For the press, it is to be expected to use different wordings for the same issue, creating variety, since that can add the appeal of the text. However, using the combination "jewish state" can also be seen as a controversial clause, since the Jewish state issue is politically flammable. Using it with such high frequency shows that controversy was not something the press was worried about, which is seen as an indicator of acceptance.

As mentioned, the AA sub-corpus created the highest amount of concordance hits for the search word *israel*. This was reflected to the collocations as well, causing the top ten collocates of *israel* to have much higher frequencies than the collocates for example, the search word *jewish*. The collocates for *israel* are represented in Table 9.

Table 9 Frequencies of the collocates of *israel* in AA sub-corpus

After the Acknowledgement: Collocates of the word *israel*				
n	Word	Freq	FL	FR
4	jerusalem	997	848	149
6	capital	883	408	475
15	trump	247	99	148
21	recognition	140	135	5
22	recognize	134	129	5
24	president	133	23	110
29	decision	114	89	25
30	palestinians	113	26	87
34	state	107	73	34
35	palestinian	99	33	66

For the first time, with the search word *israel* in the AA sub-corpus, the collocates directly reflected the recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital. This was seen with the collocates *recognition* (freq. 140; FL 135, FR 5) and *recognize* (freq. 134; FL 129, FR 5) as the fourth and fifth most frequent collocates. This strongly implied that the acknowledgement decision became a high priority topic in the media only after it took place.

When looking at the AA sub-corpus, it was seen that the search words *jews* and *jewish* did not produce collocates that refer to the Palestinians. On the contrary, both *israel* and *israeli*

as search words did produce them. With *israel*, collocate *palestinian* was eighth frequent collocate, but with *israeli* it was almost the most frequent collocate. *Israel* produced collocate *palestinians* as well. With the search word *israeli*, this reference is very understandable, since they both refer to people of the same area. Following the same logic, *palestine* was expected to be a collocate for *israel*, but it was not. One possible answer for this is that the USA has not recognized Palestine as an individual state. Thus, it is possible that the media follows this viewpoint and do not use that word either. The rest of the top ten collocates for *israeli* in the AA sub-corpus are represented in Table 10.

Table 10 Frequencies of the collocates of *israeli* in AA sub-corpus

After the Acknowledgement: Collocates of the word *israeli*				
n	Word	Freq	FL	FR
6	palestinian	204	47	157
9	jerusalem	137	81	56
15	forces	94	2	92
17	minister	80	1	79
19	conflict	72	8	64
20	prime	68	0	68
21	trump	66	42	24
22	palestinians	66	46	20
23	capital	66	22	44
25	netanyahu	65	5	60

On the contrary to the search word *israel*, *israeli* did not produce direct reference to the acknowledgement of Jerusalem as capital. Instead, it produced other clearly politics–related collocates. *Minister*, *prime*, *trump* and *netanyahu* were among the top collocates, for example. These clearly referred to the decision-making power holders of the two countries involved. This search word also showed implication of conflict: both *conflict* (freq. 72; FL 8, FR 64) and *forces* (freq. 94; FL 2, FL 92) were frequent collocates for the search word *israeli*.

The collocation analysis provided a general look into what was discussed when the search words were present. As mentioned, the collocation analyses produced similar results, for example with the search word *jews*, in both sub-corpora. The similarities between the collocation analysis implied that the discussion in general was similar between the timelines as well. In order to have a more detailed picture, concordance analyses were conducted similarly with all search words and to both sub-corpora.

5.2 Concordance Analysis

As mentioned, the concordance analysis was done in similar fashion on both BA and AA sub-corpora, and to all of the search words. As is seen in Table 2, the search words appeared multiple times in both corpora and every occurrence produced one concordance string. The search limit was set to 80 characters in order to ensure relatedness.

After the search revealed all the concordance strings, they was analyzed separately in order to divide them thematically. Six thematic categories were formed: 1) community or group of people (non-religious) related, 2) religion related, 3) anti-Semitism or hate speech related 4) political or governmental related, 5) economics and trade related, and 6) arts and culture related categories. Since not all strings suited the six initial themes, one additional mix-themed category was formed in order to analyze them. As mentioned, the thematic division could have also been done differently, but since most of the data was able to be divided into these six categories, they were considered to be both efficient and representative. In order to compare the very different sized corpora to each other, the results of the analysis are shown in proportion, as percentages. In order to facilitate the discussion and comparison process, the following figures of this section include side by side proportions of thematic categories from both timelines in one figure per search word. The thematic division of all the search words based on the sub-corpora is illustrated in Figure 1.

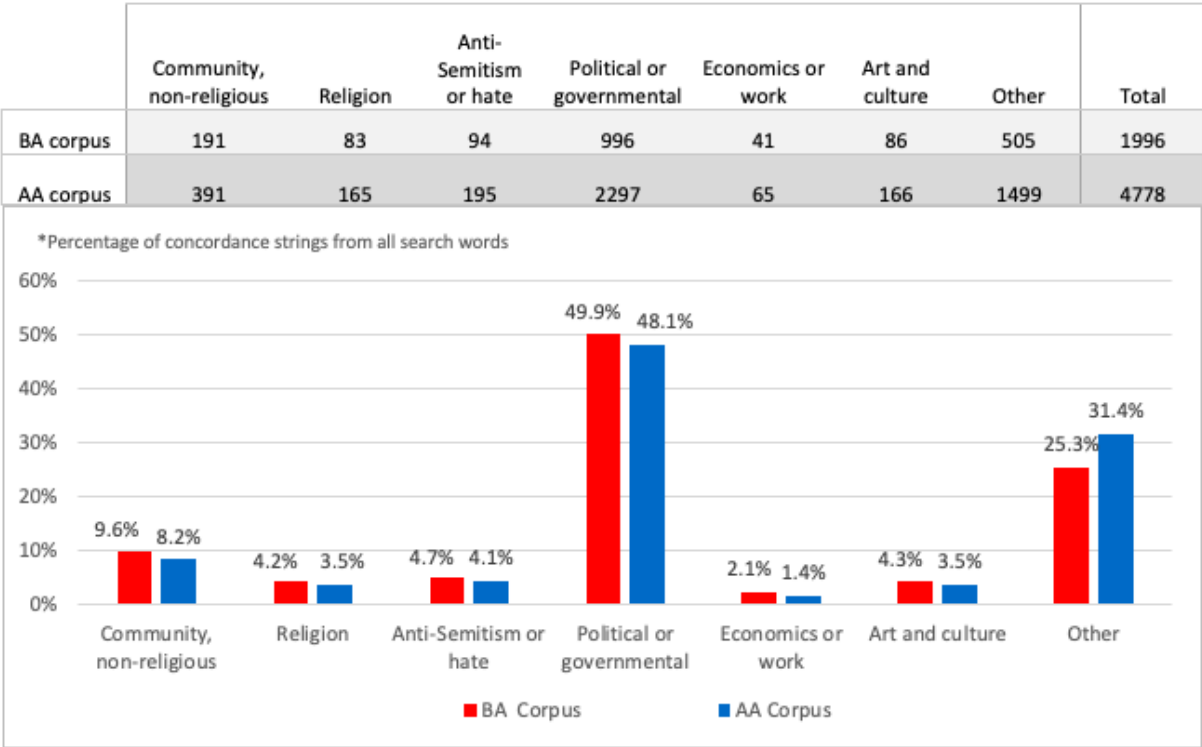|	Community, non-religious	Religion	Anti-Semitism or hate	Political or governmental	Economics or work	Art and culture	Other	Total
BA corpus	191	83	94	996	41	86	505	1996
AA corpus	391	165	195	2297	65	166	1499	4778

Figure 1 Thematic division of concordance strings

After the thematic division of the concordance strings, it was noted that Israel related mostly to politics and governmental themes regardless of the corpus in question, as seen in Figure 1. When analyzing all of the concordance strings, the division by theme was considered appropriate. Majority of the concordance strings were able to be divided into the said categories, leaving only 25.3% in the BA Corpus and 30.3% in the AA Corpus undivided, that then formed the "other themes" categories.

Combining of all the concordance strings from all four search words and analyzing them based on timeline alone was not enough to produce detailed concordance analysis. As seen from Figure 1, large shares of politically or governmentally themed concordance strings were seen, but later in this section it was evaluated that this was mostly the product of two search words. Since themes can be search word bound, analysis based on individual search words was needed.

When commencing the thematic division by search word, as was originally thought, the concordance strings from the search word *jews* was religious in nature in both sub-corpora. The thematic divisions for *jews* are illustrated in Figure 2.
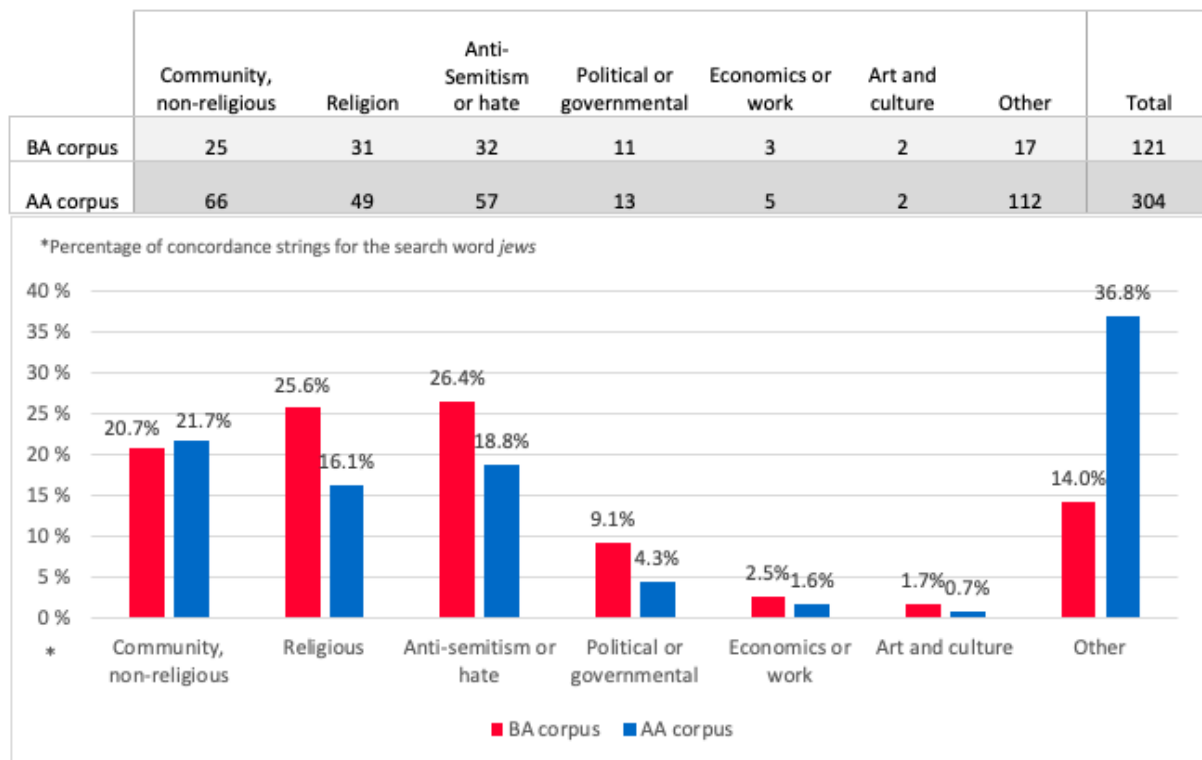
	Community, non-religious	Religion	Anti-Semitism or hate	Political or governmental	Economics or work	Art and culture	Other	Total
BA corpus	25	31	32	11	3	2	17	121
AA corpus	66	49	57	13	5	2	112	304

*Percentage of concordance strings for the search word *jews*

Figure 2 Thematic division of concordance strings for the search word *jews*

The expectation was that *jews*, being directly related to religion, would produce only religiously themed concordance, which is falsified here. It can be argued that *jews* is far wider in meaning than assumed, since it created concordance strings for all the thematic categories. It was also argued that the religion-based concordance strings and anti-Semitism-based strings were at least

partially intertwined. Anti-Semitism is directed to a religious group, making religion be one of its background motivations. In hate thematic, similar causation is not seen, thus the relation is only partially true. The religiously themed and anti-Semitism or hate themed strings formed a majority in all strings, making religion a key element in the BA sub-corpus. On the contrary, in the AA sub-corpus, both of these themes were less frequent, and the strings became more miscellaneous, which was seen as an increase in share of the theme "other". This category was notably the one increasing its share in AA sub-corpus. The search word *jews* was also the only search word producing a decrease in share of the politically of governmentally themed concordance strings when sub-corpora were compared.

The concordance analysis was executed similarly with other search words. The Figure 3 illustrates the thematic division of the concordance strings in both sub-corpora for the search word *jewish*.
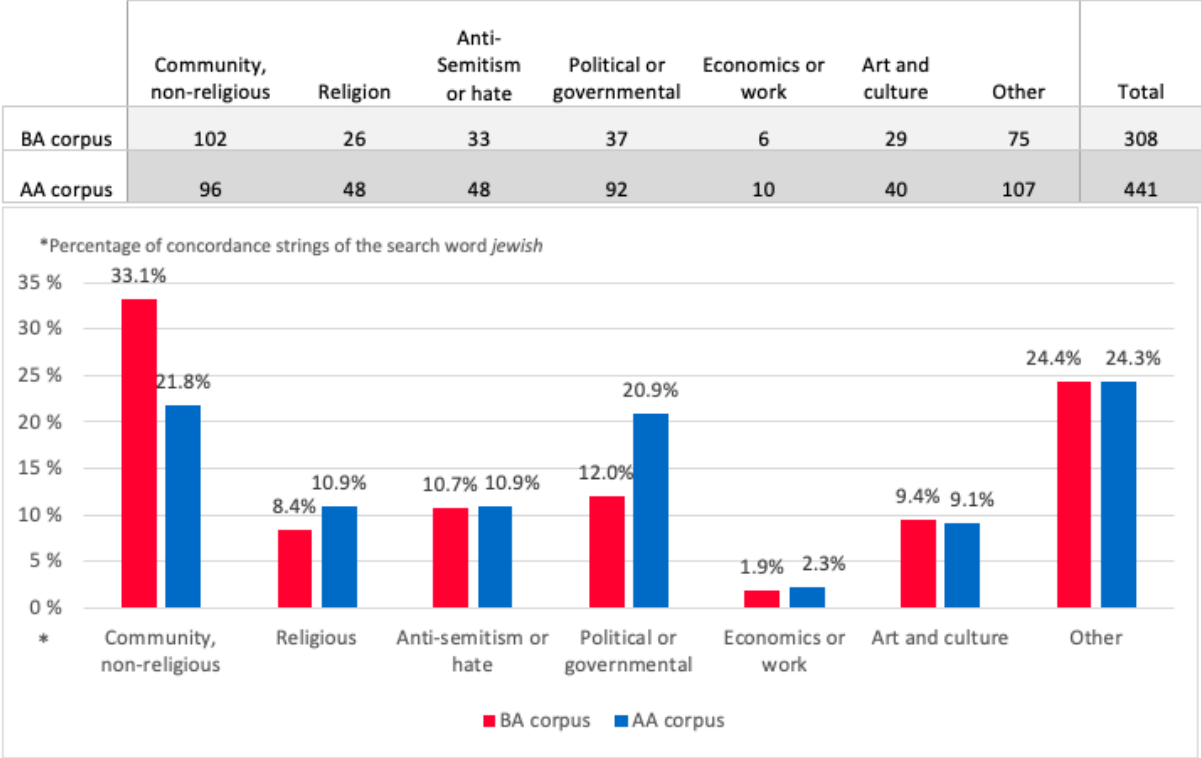
	Community, non-religious	Religion	Anti-Semitism or hate	Political or governmental	Economics or work	Art and culture	Other	Total
BA corpus	102	26	33	37	6	29	75	308
AA corpus	96	48	48	92	10	40	107	441

*Percentage of concordance strings of the search word *jewish*

Community, non-religious: BA 33.1%, AA 21.8%
Religious: BA 8.4%, AA 10.9%
Anti-semitism or hate: BA 10.7%, AA 10.9%
Political or governmental: BA 12.0%, AA 20.9%
Economics or work: BA 1.9%, AA 2.3%
Art and culture: BA 9.4%, AA 9.1%
Other: BA 24.4%, AA 24.3%

BA corpus   AA corpus

Figure 3 Thematic division of the concordance strings for the search word *jewish*

In this concordance analysis, quite clear causation in the changes of shares in thematic groups was seen. Firstly, in the BA sub-corpus analysis, community was the major theme, but this thematic decreased its significance and the political or governmental thematic increased its. It is notable that all the thematic categories had representation in the sub-corpus, and with notable shares (see Figure 3). Their shares, besides the loss of community thematic and increase

in political thematic, was rather stable. In these other thematic categories, the anti-Semitist or hate-related concordance strings both held very equal shares in both sub-corpora. It is argued that most anti-Semitism or hate related concordance strings were those of the anti-Semitism, since the search words was religiously loaded, much like *jews*. This argument in mind, the concordance analysis showed that Jewish people, when regarding their religion, were discussed equally much in any other level of their religion as they were discussed in relation to anti-Semitist acts, people or events.

The search word *israel* produced the most concordance strings, 1156 in the BA- and 2952 in the AA sub-corpus. The thematic division of both the data of BA and AA sub-corpora is seen in Figure 4, below.

	Community, non-religious	Religion	Anti-Semitism or hate	Political or governmental	Economics or work	Art and culture	Other	Total
BA corpus	34	26	27	669	19	40	341	1156
AA corpus	134	64	79	1515	35	95	1030	2952

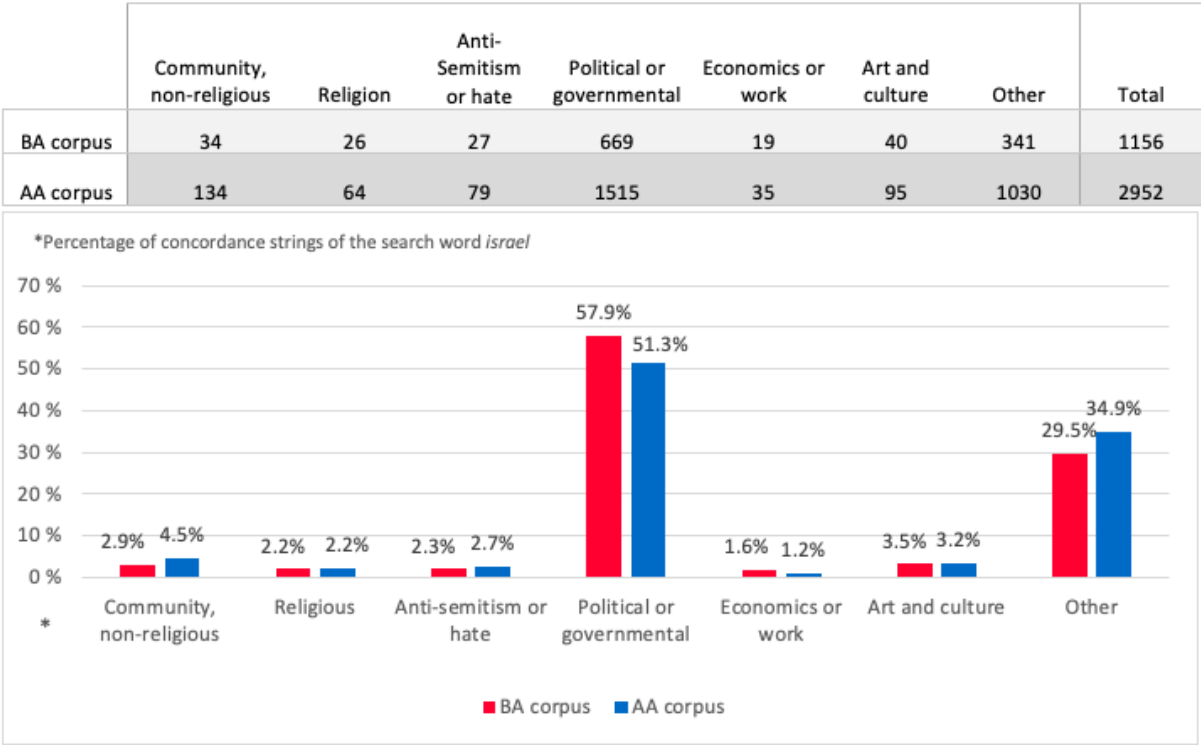*Percentage of concordance strings of the search word *israel*

Figure 4 Thematic division of concordance strings for the search word *israel*

Concordance strings with political or governmental theme were clearly the biggest thematic with *israel*. In the AA sub-corpora, there was some decrease in concordance strings of this theme, and comparably the shares of other thematic categories rose. The rise in percentages could be partly explained by the changes in number of concordance strings: BA sub-corpus produced 1156 concordance strings and the AA sub-corpus 2952 concordance strings. More strings produce more information and more opportunities of presentation. In other thematic categories *israel* did not produce as many concordance strings. The other larger category was the "other" category, making *israel* a variable topic of discussion. The changes in

many of the thematic categories were small, and in these cases, the margin of error must be considered. In any cases that are analyzed by people, human error is always one possible explanation.

The analysis of the search word *israel* was followed by the analysis of the word's close extension, *israeli*. When analyzing the concordance strings of this search word, the general evaluation was that the results were similar before and after the acknowledgement. As noted also with the search word *israel*, the analysis showed that concordance strings produced with search word *israeli* were mostly political or governmental in nature. These strings held approximately two thirds share in both the BA and AA sub-corpora, as is illustrated in Figure 5.
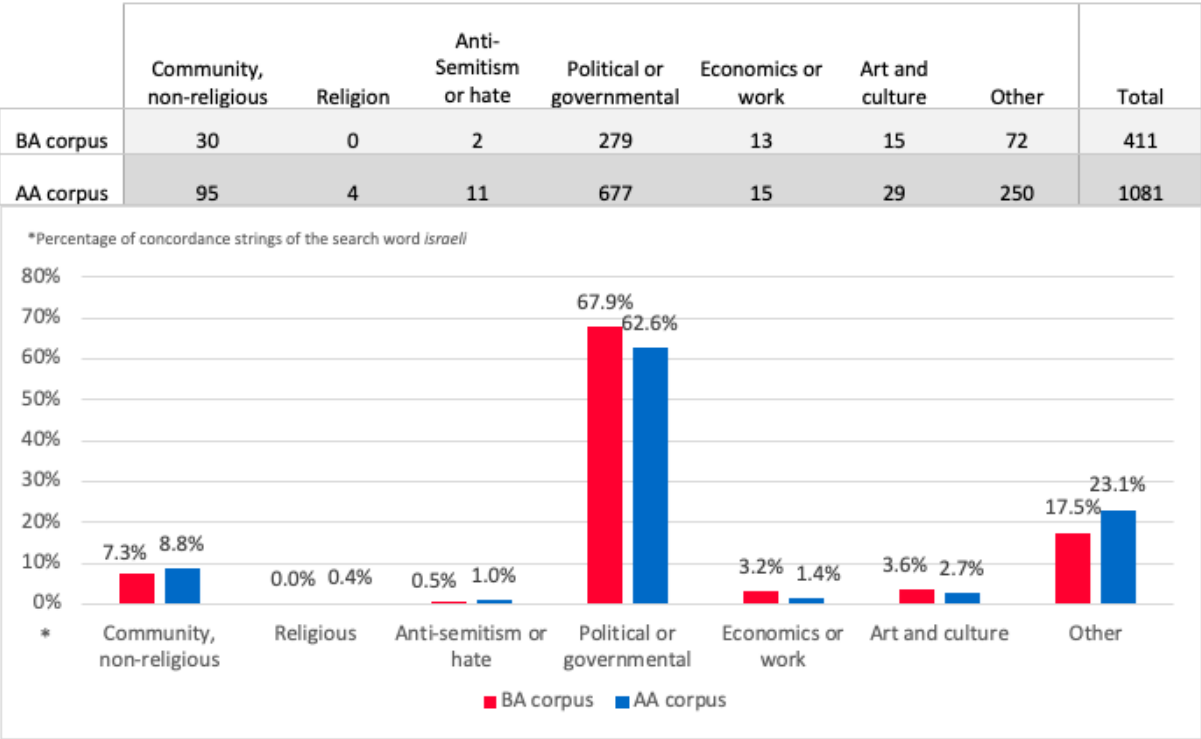
	Community, non-religious	Religion	Anti-Semitism or hate	Political or governmental	Economics or work	Art and culture	Other	Total
BA corpus	30	0	2	279	13	15	72	411
AA corpus	95	4	11	677	15	29	250	1081

*Percentage of concordance strings of the search word *israeli*

Figure 5 Thematic division of concordance strings for the search word *israeli*

Israeli was seen as a non-religious issue in the concordance analysis with nearly non-existent hits for religiously themed concordance strings. The lack of religiously themed strings with *israeli* in BA sub-corpus was the only to its kind in all the search words in both sub-corpora. When the concordance strings were divided into thematic categories in both BA and AA sub-corpus, the second largest category was seen to be the category "other" (17.5% and 23.1%, respectively), similarly with the search word *israel*. This can make the further analysis more difficult, since it showed that this search word created variable discussion that cannot be accounted for thematically.

In addition to simplifying the presentation of the results, the following discussion benefitted from thematic divisions. The ability to divide the results into representative thematic categories enabled the discussion of results in both more general level and also through examples that, due to the thematic division, represent a larger entity than themselves. In addition, all search words had a change in their percentages when moving from BA sub-corpus to AA sub-corpus, meaning that there were changes in discussion that can possibly indicate changes in frame. The following section discusses the results beyond their numeric importance and establishes the frame of Israel in both sub-corpora, as well as compare them.

6   Discussion

Frame, as said, is in its purest form an image set by the word environment. This image can be set by an individual, a group, an institution, or any other that makes choices in their use of words. By making similar choices systematically, a perception of the issue is formed that is not necessarily directly about the qualities of the issue. As mentioned, the Bush presidential campaign changed the perception of taxation permanently by phrasing them a certain way (Lakoff 2004, 4–5). Here, the frames built by news media providers are the focal point of study. They were analyzed based on word environments. These two notions refer to the discursive practice and social practice -levels of discourse analysis (Fairclough [1989] 1996, 162–166). News media was chosen as source in order to establish frame that is considered widely accepted. Acceptance of news media frames can be debated, but for example, Powers, Price and Tewksbury (1997) were able to show that media frames affect their readers directly and make them prone to accepting even the covert issues in those media.

Before establishing frames, the material and background must be considered once more. They starting point was of two ally countries. As said, some signs of attitude were discovered in the initial phase. For example, when using the New York Times search tool and searching for *israel*, it showed results not directly about Israel as well. These included all Jew-related news, including American Jews' news, such as wedding announcements. The lack of separation is a sign of close relationship between the countries, making the starting point to be very positive. This indicated that no radical change in attitudes were to be expected, thus the following discussion concentrated on analysis of proximity and the possible changes in it. Other sources provided no such issue. On the other hand, they were evaluated to be politically partial, which affects their publications. The second thing to consider was the sizes of the sub-corpora. The AA sub-corpus was much larger, thus produced more data and results, and making that analysis possibly more reliable. This increase in news articles manifested the need to write news of history-changing events. It had to be evaluated whether this increase could tilt the frame, even if only temporarily. This possible outcome can only be confirmed by a follow-up study that shows if the frame has not changed back, or how it has developed through time.

The results shown in sections 5.1 and 5.2 form the basis of this discussion. Combining results of collocate and concordance analyses, frames were established. This process was based on both surface level trends, frequency of discussion and individual examples. The revealing of the frames was done in parts in order to enable the evaluation of change in frame later in this

study. Firstly, separate, timeframe-restricted frames were established. The last step was to compare the two frames. This comparison provided answers for the research questions: whether there was a change in frame due to political decision-making and what kind of change that was.

When establishing the frame, it was important to look both the numbers – how much the issue discussed – but also evaluate how the issue was discussed. This analysis and evaluation of meaning were based on the writer's personal analysis, so the cultural distance was kept in mind. The writer could, likely due to combination of education and similarities between general cultural and societal states of America and her own, evaluate and notice to the most visible and obvious tones and highlights, but more subtle ones could have been mistakenly ignored. The numbers were more easily analyzable. However, in addition to knowing the number of occurrences or relative percentages, it was important to consider the expected topics that were missing completely. This was noted when establishing the frames and discussed when comparing the two in the following sub-sections 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3.

6.1   Establishing the Frame Before the Acknowledgement

As mentioned, it was important to establish the frames that ware later used in the comparison frames in section 6.3. In order to do so, the results were analyzed qualitatively. Numerical analysis was not adequate as the only analysis in this case. It was important to first show the amounts, and only then what meanings and relations they included. Since the data was analyzed twice, first for collocations and then for concordances, the results of those analyses were examined both individually and only then together.

The collocation analysis produced results that showed the most common words associated with the search words. These were organized by frequency (Tables 3–10). The collocations were evaluated in order to see what type of image they create. Firstly, the collocations were looked at one search word and timeline at a time. As said, with the search word *jews*, some of the collocations were found to have a religious background. For example, they represented religious groups such as Christians or Muslims. This was understandable and to be expected, since the search word itself has a religious tone. *Jews*' collocations also showed opposition: either towards the search word or that the search word opposes something. These collocations for oppositeness implied that the American press drew concern to anti-Semitism in the world, which is a current concern of most Western nations.

The collocation *american* was one of the most diverse result with this search word. *American* was found positioned both before and after the search word in BA data (as seen in

Table 3), and most likely resulted from *American Jews* -combination or then situations where Americans and Jews were subjects or objects in something together. Such nondiscrimination implies a close relationship and equality. Even though *american* was one collocation, similarly was *israel*. This showed that Jews were tightly combined with the land of Israel. This was seen as a balancing act of how similar Israeli Jews are with the American ones.

The search word *jewish* created similar collocations to the search word *jews*. *Jewish* was found to be connected to issues that discuss community or groups (see Table 4). Surprisingly, *jewish* was not as religiously associated as *jews*, even though the literal meaning suggests religious background in both. *Jewish* created collocations such as *students* or *people*, which are very neutral towards religion. *Jewish* was also used as predeterminer with *center* or *comedy*. Collocations that refer to people or human activity create a certain picture of the issue at hand. In this data, *jewish* was a very neutrally descriptive word of communities, that were not divided by place of origin, but only by their Jewishness. At this point, *jewish* did not create politically colored collocates, even though the timeline could enable that. However, omissions of certain issues is also a good way to study framing. If an issue is not discussed, it does not mean it exists, but rather that it does not support the desired frame.

Contrary to the collocations to the two search words above, the search words *israel* and *israeli* were no longer religion bound. With the collocations of *israel* (Table 5) the dominant collocations were about conflict. When looked in more detail, it was concluded that many of them referred to the on-going peace process and the conflict between Israel and Palestine. *Israel*, the same as *israeli*, produced collocations like *war* and *conflict*, but also *peace* and *security*. These collocations were understandable when taking history into account. A relevant, on-going conflict that affects both Israel and its ally and mediator, the USA, is also relevant in the eyes of the media. As mentioned, omissions were fertile parts of the collocation analysis when establishing the frame of the issue. In this case, *israel* did not produce collocations of Palestine, Palestinians, or other similar words. This was unexpected since the other collocations referred to the conflict and peace process with, most likely, Palestine. Omitting the name of the other country involved, the US media distanced itself from Palestine, even though the USA is a mediator in the conflict, which itself would create a demand for neutrality and similar distance to both parties.

The search word *israeli* produced similar collocations as *israel*, but perhaps created a more detailed picture. The collocate that separated *israeli* from the rest of the search words was *palestinian*. Palestine, and thus Palestinian, were ought to be present when discussing Israel,

since the conflict between them has been on-going since the creation of Israel. Presenting the rival of Israel in such amounts that the word that refers to them was among the top ten collocates showed that there is respect towards the other side as well, and some equality when discussing the conflict participants. On the other hand, seeing collocations about Palestine or Palestinians only with one relevant search word was revealing about the attitude towards the issue of Palestine and also about the frame.

When looking at all the collocations from the BA data, certain issues that were ought to be present, were not or were only lightly. These included issues such as political movements, since the decision to recognize Jerusalem as capital could not come out of thin air, and Palestine, as discussed above. This analysis concluded these omissions were a type of distancing: if political issues are not discussed, they are not wanted to be seen as issues. The only political obligation that was visible in the BA collocation analysis was the on-going peace process that the USA leads as a mediator. This was not opposed to the stance that political issues are not mentioned, but rather maintaining of the status quo. The peace process has been active for decades and the USA has always had an active role in the mediation. That position ought to create distance between the countries, since the USA has a power-position and is considered to be higher in the international policy and cooperation ladder.

Based solely on the collocation analysis, combining the results above, Israel was seen an ally that causes little trouble. Jews and Jewish community/culture were treated as equals when compared to Americans, and there was little difference between Israeli and American Jews. As said, Israel was not seen as a troublemaker, but if a conflict or other issues rose, it was treated as an ally issue and included in the American international policy. Mostly these conflicts were about the peace process, which actually is a part of American foreign policy, making it acceptable to be happening. What was surprising, was that even though the process was discussed, Palestine and Palestinians were mostly not. This is framing by omission: when only one side of the problem is shown, it is difficult not the take that side. Some distance was shown as well, by not specifically naming important people in issues. Not naming things keep them distant to the news' readers and prevents them familiarizing themselves with the issue. To conclude, these perceptions created a picture of a close alliance, but a surface level relationship. Israel was insignificant when it comes to playing politics, but it was also a non-powerful ally to support and promote.

Since the concordance analysis provided a different type of information, it was considered separately before combining the results with the collocation analysis. Due to the

amount and quality of the data, the concordance analysis was done by dividing the concordance strings into thematic categories. These results were represented in Figures 2–5. The themes did not differ substantially from the thematics of the collocation analysis.

In the BA corpus, the search word *jews* created collocates that referred to religion and to opposition. In the concordance analysis, this was the case as well. Religion-related concordance strings included over a quarter of all concordance strings. Since the timeframe of the data was just before one of the biggest religious holidays in Judaism, Hanukkah, religion was expected to be discussed. The religious traditions were discussed from both states' viewpoint: this is a sign of the close proximity. Besides the religious theme, anti-Semitism and hate theme was detected. This was seen in the collocates as a frequent result of the word *anti*. The concordance string analysis showed a concern of rising anti-Semitist movements, but mostly excluded USA from the problem by showing anti-Semitism related concordance strings that discussed the problem only in Europe. This enhanced USA's image (we have no such problem), but also showed comradeship and alliance (we are concerned for you).

On the contrary to the collocation analysis of the search word *jews*, the concordance analysis showed many concordance strings that discussed community (non-religious). This was likely due to the variety of non-religious communities: they might not have a certain symbol or a name, and they can be numerous, making one word too infrequent to show in the collocation analysis, but seen in the concordance strings. The concordance strings presented Jews' living arrangements in the USA and in Israel and how they came there, discussed community centers and other places of gathering, and speculated of Jews becoming a minority even in Israel, which was cause for concern.

Community was also a frequent collocate with the search word *jewish*. Concordance strings of this theme included almost one third of all strings, making it the biggest theme with this search word in this corpus. This was not surprising, since when organizing the concordance string alphabetically, a very large amount of *jewish community*- and *jewish people*-combinations were seen. *Jewish state* -combination did not have as much presence, but they were found as well.

The concordance analysis with the search word *jewish* showed similar results to the collocation analysis. Since only 8.4% of all concordance strings for *jewish* in BA sub-corpus related to religion, *jewish* was not seen religion–bound, even though its background is religious. This was considered an explanatory factor when analyzing the thematic divisions of the concordance strings. When the search word is not religion–bound, the use of it becomes more

variable, which was seen as a big category of "other" -themed concordance strings with the search word *jewish*. If the search word would have been religious, concordance strings would have probably shown more results in the religiously themed category and also in the anti-Semitism or hate -category. The variety reinforced the image of *jewish* being a predeterminer for various groups rather than a congregation. Such definition changed the way these Jewish-related phenomena were perceived by the public. Being non-religious is usually seen as more modern and forward-going, since religion is associated with tradition and history.

The search word *israel* was also very not associated with religion. However, if it is compared to the search word *jews* – the most religious-bound search word – this is surprising. In the analysis above, it seemed that Israel and Jews were inseparable: when discussing Jews, Israel was discussed almost everytime as well. But, when discussing Israel, Jews were not necessarily discussed, but politics were even more so. The concordance analysis showed that the peace process was one of the biggest issues in the media before the acknowledgement of Jerusalem. The concordance strings also indicated conflict with Palestine. Israel was mostly a target of policy for the USA rather than policy agent itself. The concordance analysis showed the presence of Palestine and the conflict in a way that Israel was acknowledged to be part of the peace negotiations, and thus, the conflict, too. This was something to be expected by the mediator in the conflict: impartiality and certain amount of distance.

Israeli, much like *israel*, created a diverse picture in the concordance analysis. Besides what was mentioned above, there were also notice of US-Israel economic cooperation, such as common projects in trade, or of art and culture -related news, like sights and museums in Israel, especially in Jerusalem. The most influential sign of variation of *israeli* was the large share of non-dividable concordance strings. Variability in discussion indicated a flexible image of what Israel should be. This also complicated the setting of the frame, since variability increased uncertainty. On the other hand, thematic flexibility created a picture of a radiant and variant state, which in turn is most commonly a positive quality.

Similarly to the collocation analysis, the concordance analysis produced results that referred to be about community and people. Surprisingly, the concordance analysis did not produce as much religiously themed material than was expected, and what the collocation analysis predicted. Anti-Semitism and hate category was visible with all the search words. This, with community based thematic, was seen throughout the BA corpus in both collocation and concordance analysis. It was surprising that a nation was discussed through the repression or hate of one people group of that state. This point of view also made Israel to be more

synonymous with one of the groups of people who inhabit it, and rather a target of action than an active agent. The only active agency opportunity for Israel was the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and that was seen mostly with only one search word, similarly to the collocation analysis.

Most of the concordance strings from all search words were definable with the thematic categories. For some, the "other"-category was bigger than the others, but not a majority. "Other"-category was an inevitable result for all the search words. If this category would not exist, the media attention would be considered very one-sided or the sources to be too similar. Either of these would result in a situation where this study could not measure the change in frame throughout the USA, since then either the source selection would have been unsuccessful or the media too repressed to produce and publish news that could build a frame for Israel freely. In the latter situation would be the result of, for example, lack of freedom of press or media owner who strictly directs the publication.

After analyzing the results of both collocation analysis and concordance analysis, the frame establishing was made for the BA sub-corpus. Based on the analyses, certain themes were more present than others, and both situations can be signs for framing. Due to the type of the material and the sources, some simplifications and collecting frame change clues was necessary. Main characteristic of the media is to simplify issues in order to produce news, and show re-occurring, visible and commonly shared information. In addition, framing itself can be considered a form of simplification, as was explained in 3.1. For these reasons, the discussion concentrated on the most visible frame builders and changers, especially those that were shared between the sub-corpora. Visibility was a strong sign of power to affect. For this reason, it could not be said for certainty that all frame changers and -changes were noticed and discussed with the needed attention. In order to reveal the biggest effects to frame, the most visible, frequent and shared issues and their effects were discussed. To conclude, Israel was framed in the BA sub-corpus through three re-occurring themes: community, anti-Semitism and surprisingly, what was omitted when discussing Israel, since these were the themes most frequent and most widely shared.

Israel was discussed through community-related concordance strings and collocations that refer to people groups, gatherings or activities. Surprisingly, even when using the search words *israel* or *israeli*, the groups of people or communities referred mostly to the Jewish communities. With *jews* or *jewish* this was expected. Consequently, Israel was seen Jewish, despite that there are other groups as well. This was both simplifying, which could be caused

by the sources, and also revealing of attitude and frame. Jewish communities were seen as the "real" or "original" people of Israel and a tight-knit, unison groups with whom the USA was happy to be in alliance. The communities were also often American Jews' communities. Even when discussing Israel, the USA media was able to discuss its own people. This is a characteristic of news: relevancy to reader increases if ties between the issue and the readers are established. By discussing Israel through Jews, and then at the same time discussing Jews without separation between different Jewish communities, the perceived image was that Jews were similar anywhere and that it does not matter whether Jews were Israeli or American. This lack of separation was a sign of both unity and proximity making the frame of Israel to appear friendly and close. Despite these communities being related to Jews, they were rarely religious.

The second shared characteristic in the BA sub-corpus was anti-Semitism. Both collocation and concordance analyses produced results that referred to anti-Semitism and hate. In the concordance analysis, there were no occurrences where opposition or hate themes would cause a position where Israel was the source of opposition or hate, but it was always the target. In addition to being the target, it was seen as non-active target. The cause of hate was not the fault of the target, but Israel was not opposing it either. This victimized Israel and promoted the USA as the hero or at least more active in opposition than Israel itself. Victimization caused Israel to seem mistreated and even weak, since it was non-active.

Last shared frame-building characteristics was the omission of topics. The issues that were not discussed opposed to expectations, were the acknowledgement of Jerusalem as the capital and the conflict with Palestine. In the concordance analysis, politically or governmentally themed concordance strings had a large representation, but the actual turning point of this study was not visible. This was found interesting, since usually political decision-making is planned and systematical, hence, the discussion preceding it should have existed. This can be caused by two things: either the decision was not planned (which is highly unlikely, since it had been an election promise and it was widely discussed after the event) or omitting actual effects of politics in the discussion about Israel was desirable. Making Israel non-political makes it less controversial, since politics is a strong dividing force in the USA. Not discussing this political decision in the media created an image where Israel was not an active agent in the decision making here either. It also diminished the political importance of Israel when it was not included in the conversation.

The other, also politically stained omitted issue was Palestine. The conflict has been active for decades, and ignoring it when discussing current events in Israel can be caused by

three reasons: the conflict is so static, that it does not make the news; the alliance with the other side so strong, that controversial issues are not brought up; or bringing up this conflict would hurt the status of the one bringing it up. The co-existence with Palestine is an issue that has influenced the state of Israel tremendously, and since it is on-going, thus likely newsworthy. If the alliance was strong, it is expected that the troubles Israel faces would be discussed, thus omitting the conflict is unusual, unless the only things that can be said would hurt that alliance. By omitting the issue, the US media did not side with either the side but promotes USA's status as a mediator. Omission was seen especially in the collocation analysis, but when looking at the concordance strings more closely, the discussions included only reference to *Palestinians* (people) and their peace process with Israel (state). Active conflict was not discussed, nor Palestine acknowledged.

These characteristics were evaluated to be the base of the frame of Israel in the US media. The alliance between the USA and Israel had shaped the ways Israel was discussed, and the starting point was considered positive. Israel was seen through its people, but only exclusively. Jews were considered to be Israeli and they represented Israel in the US media. They were not seen to differ from the Jews in the USA, for example, creating a feeling of unity. Jews were also prone to experience repression, in which they were not active agents. The US media discourse also victimized Jews by acting as the concerned party. In addition, most likely due to possible international controversy, the biggest issues concerning Israel were not discussed: Israeli-Palestinian conflict and then the acknowledgement of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel by the USA. By dismissing the importance of these events, the power of Israel was also decreased. Israel's actions were not publicly criticized. This can partly be due to the USA status as the conflict mediator, which could be questioned if loud critique was seen in the biggest media outlets.

6.2 Establishing the Frame After the Acknowledgement

The establishment of the frame after the acknowledgement was similar to the process with the establishment of the frame before the acknowledgement. Much like in the previous section, first the results of the collocation analysis were considered, which was followed by the examination of the results of the concordance analysis. Lastly, the preliminary results of these two were combined and the frame was set.

In the AA corpus, the majority of the top ten collocates for the search word *jews* were religious in tone. They included collocates that referred to several religious groups. *Jews* was

also closely associated with *american* and *arabs*. First, the collocate *american* suggested the combination of *American Jews*, due to its positioning, making the search word most likely to refer to Jews in America. On the other hand, *arabs* showed a relationship between the biggest groups of people in the Israel's region: Arabs and Jews, since it was not position-bound. These two examples showed that Jews were discussed by dividing them geographically. In conclusion, there were differences between different groups of Jews, since they could be divided.

In the case of the search word *jewish*, the collocates referred to official structures, such as *state* or *capital*. The collocate *state* was the most frequent collocate, outranking the more obvious collocate *people*. Both were in preceding position and thus created the combinations *Jewish state* and *Jewish people*. *Jewish people* as a result was rather neutral and predictable, since the search word itself was descriptive and refers to that certain group. The possible combination of *Jewish state* was on the other hand not so predictable. Jewish state is a dream of Israel's current leaders and refers to a religion-based state in the area of Israel, which is run by church selected officials and high-level religious leaders. The idea is troubling, since it could enable persecution of other groups, which is concern of the international community, such as the United Nations. The American news media used that word both in a direct quotation, but also as a term on their own. Using this term showed strong alliance and it was seen as support to the Israeli government in their ambitions.

The search word *jewish* also produced other politically charged collocates. These were expected, since as mentioned, politically themed concordance strings were the majority. Outstandingly, the top collocates did not include words such as *recognition* or *USA*, but they had both *donald* and *trump* (as a name, not as a verb). Using the names of the people involved, rather than the officials or forms of government, implies proximity between the parties involved.

As said, *jews* or *jewish* did not refer to the recognition of Jerusalem. However, with the search word *israel*, both *recognition* and *recognize* as well as *decision* were among the top collocates. These were direct references to the policy change, the recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital. This seemed appropriate, but when the normal casual media environment of Israel in the US was taken into consideration, it seemed overly emphasized. Collocates *jerusalem* and *capital* were related to the event as well. In the AA corpus, even though Israel was not about the USA, but it was still discussed through Americanness. It became not only a policy issue, but also a policy-making target. In addition, *israel* created collocates of both *palestinian* and *palestinians*. This was most likely the search word that showed the news about

the Israel-Palestine peace process and the meaning of the USA as the mediator, since it showed "both sides" of the conflict, making Israel both a domestic and foreign policy issue.

The collocates of the search word *israeli* reinforced the image as foreign policy issue. Similarly to the search word *israel*, *israeli*'s collocates had a political tone, and they also discussed Palestine. Unlike with *israel*, *israeli*'s collocates implied conflict, such as *conflict* and *forces*. This created an image of war-torn people or state, which is not necessarily the most obvious image of one's own ally. Since *palestinians* was present as a collocate, it could be that the issue was actually seen as a **Palestinian** conflict rather than an Israeli one but confirming this would demand more detailed analysis of the AA corpus.

As a collocate for *israeli*, for the first time, the Israeli prime minister was referred to by name, *netanyahu*. The prime minister of Israel is the acting head of state, since the position of the president is mostly that of a ceremonial figure. Naming the prime minister by name exhibited both respect and closeness with the issue. This reinforced the idea of close alliance, and a desire to personalize the Israel in the media.

In conclusion, the collocation analysis of the AA sub-corpus, three interdependent building blocks for the frame of Israel were found. Firstly, the collocation analysis revealed collocates that support the issue to be political in nature. All search terms produced collocates that refer to either official structures, policy makers and forms of government. These frequent collocates framed Israel to be both an actor and a target of policy. Secondly, many of the collocates were the result of the decision to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital – *recognition*, *recognize*, *decision* – which was understandable. Such collocates were frequent, however, the sub-corpora included the date of the recognition, which as a news story, could have overpowered the date and caused the frequencies. Within the political thematic, the US media portrayed the relationship the USA has with Israel. For example, the collocation analysis implied the use of the phrase "Jewish state", which is, as said, controversial. By using this phrase, the US media showed some acceptance to the Israel's efforts, but not give full, vocal support. By making Israel both a source and target of politics, Israel was framed as active in international politics and given credit of its abilities. The over-emphasis of the recognition in the collocation analysis, besides being overpowering and possibly decreasing the visibility of other important issues, implied that the relationship between the USA and Israel to have some distance. The recognition was staged to be happening **to** Israel and **in** Israel, which grounded it to be distant from USA, even though the issue was discussed through American perspective. Lastly, besides framing Israel to be an active in politics, Israel was framed to be active in

conflict as well. In the AA collocation analysis, Israel was framed to be war-torn user of force, and active in the conflict with Palestine. This was significant since the status of the USA as the mediator could be displayed as partial if one side is promoted to be more active.

In addition to distancing Israel as a conflict participant, the groups of people were divided as well. Especially the analysis of *jews* produced collocates that referred to other people, such as *arabs* and *american*. Here, the US media still discussed its own people when it discusses Israel, but it was able to discuss other groups of people as well. Within the group of Jews, differences were found. Mostly the data referred to the Israeli Jews, with the exceptions of the American Jews. The link between Israel and Jewish population was strong, but not inseparable. Search words *israel* and *israeli* did not refer to religion in general, Judaism or Jewishness in any collocate, and created a very visible separation of church and state.

Much like within the collocation analysis, the collocation analysis and the concordance analysis in the AA corpus had some conflicting results when compared to each other. For example, the collocation analysis showed that *jews* created mostly religion related collocates, but in the concordance analysis, religion themed concordance strings concluded to only 16.1% of all the concordance strings. The size of the "other"-category is partially explained by looking at both collocation analysis results and analyzing the concordance strings in detail. The AA corpus accepted that there were many groups of Jews, and a closer analysis revealed that this caused this search word to create such variety of themes and a large "other" category.

In the AA corpus, with the search word *jews*, the concordance analysis considered Israel to be community- (non-religious) and anti-Semitism- or hate-related. The community themed concordance strings discussed both American Jews' living arrangements, for example their own neighborhoods, as well as the issues with living space and communities in Israel. *Jews* was not seen as political in nature, and why would it be, since Jews were represented partly as American in this sub-corpus. Both the lack of religion bound concordances strings and the rise of the number of concordance strings in the "other" category demonstrated the variability of this issue, and much like in the collocation analysis, created boundaries between different Jews.

However, similarly to the collocation analysis, political concordance strings included a vast amount of the concordance strings produced by the search word *jewish*. Other larger unities were community themed and the "other" themed strings. Surprisingly, in closer inspection, many of the community themed concordance strings referred to activist groups. These included both official organizations and non-organized individual protestors. For example, there were such combinations as "Jewish extremists", but only in such low numbers that they did not show

in the collocation analysis. Usually, "extremist" is never a positive determinant. Such wordings showed that not all Jewish-related issues were positive, but rather disliked by the US media coverage, which was contradictory to the previous analysis. If these groups would be described in a more neutral or positive tone, *extremists* could be replaced by wordings such as "(freedom) fighter", which would justify them. This, or other similar wordings, were not found.

The concordance analysis of the AA sub-corpus showed that with the search word *jewish*, both religion- and anti-Semitism or hate related thematic categories were similar in size. After closer analysis, some of these concordance strings were seen to discuss the same events, for example, a terrorist attack towards a synagogue in Sweden. This was not surprising, since anti-Semitism is a hate movement towards a religious group. But, as mentioned, since there were combinations of "Jewish extremists", all of the anti-Semitism or hate themed concordances strings were not related to religion–anti-Semitism combination. Acknowledging the issues in the Jewish populations broke the image of unconditional alliance and acknowledged that Jews have dangerous individuals, even for the USA.

Another surprisingly large category in the AA corpus concordance analysis of *jewish* was the art and culture themed category. Unexpectantly many of these concordance strings referred to places that are not in Israel, but around Europe and in the USA. The discussion was mostly about museums and the exhibits, but also Jewish history. It was surprising that this discussion on Jewish art and culture revolved around foreign museums, rather than Israeli ones. Preserving one's culture is usually seen as an act of civility and honor, and here the media set US or European organizations as the active preservers. This was a sign that the media considered the USA a) doing the Jewish a favor by maintaining national archives of their history and b) to have more civilized and honorable people than the Israeli Jews by preserving cultural history of minorities. With the analysis of the search word *jewish*, also anti-Semitism- or hate themed concordance strings included notion of location, but that was most of the time Jerusalem or Israel.

In the analysis with the search word *israel*, the anti-Semitism and hate thematic was not as frequent as with *jewish*. Rather, *israel* created mostly politically themed concordance strings, which was expected. Understandably, since the acknowledgement was the biggest news of that, and it is political in nature, this category is enlarged. In addition, the discussion was welcomed since for the purpose of this study it would have been concerning if the near total silence about the acknowledgement in the BA sub-corpus would have continued in the AA sub-corpus. Also,

these concordance strings about the acknowledgement gave information of the way the acknowledgement was perceived by the media.

The other significant category in the AA corpus for the search word *israel* was the "other" category. This supported the idea that the issue of Israel had become more complex and included more tones and highlights than was fitted to the set categories. This was enforced by using some news pieces that concentrated on interviews of individuals. The use of individuals' stories make it harder to have a one certain image of the issue, since showing individuality promotes the idea that every event, conflict or crisis need individual attention. This was also a way to prevent that only one image of Israel was shown. This was both beneficial and complicative for this study. The "other" category included concordance strings that referred to ordinary events, that did not have some other underlying theme, which acted as a neutralizer to the rumble caused by policy change.

Similarly to *israel*, the search word *israeli* produced mostly politically themed concordance strings in the AA corpus. These involved issues relating to Israel's domestic policies, such as the use of force or other governmental control in the area. Besides them, a big part was obviously the headlines of Trump acknowledging Jerusalem as Israel's capital. Apart from these two examples, a minority of politically themed concordance strings involved issues relating to Israel's foreign policies, for example, setting of embassies. Unlike in the BA sub-corpus, these politically themed concordance strings related to Israel's policies rather than the politics or policies in the USA towards Israel, giving Israel more active agency.

The search word *israeli* also produced several collocation strings relating to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the AA sub-corpus. This differed from the BA sub-corpus, where the issue of Palestine was hardly visible. This was seen in both direct concordance strings, such as "*Israeli-Palestinian conflict*" or with more indirect connection in the concordance strings referring to the use force, as mentioned before.

After analyzing the building blocks of frame in both collocation and concordance analysis in the AA sub-corpus, a frame of the AA sub-corpus for Israel was revealed. Both analyses produced results that are interdependent and very similar to each other. One of the biggest reoccurring themes for the analyses was politics, which can partly be explained by the fact that the date of the recognition of Jerusalem as capital was included in this timeline. Including the date of the recognition into the sub-corpus could affect to the data the whole sub-corpus produces, but the benefits of including it were considered greater than the cons.

Based on the analyses, the AA frame was mostly based on three factors: anti-Semitism or hate, conflict, and the division of church and state. The anti-Semitism and hate -relation was visible in both collocation and concordance analyses. Israel was discussed through the hate Jews in general are enduring, but also how Israeli Jews, were spreading hate and violence themselves by extremist movements. Especially in the American discourse, extremism has a very negative undertone. In addition to this discourse, the whole state was seen to have internal conflict. Israel-Palestine conflict was one big center of attention and Israel was seen an active participant in it. Both of the frame building blocks above framed Israel to be prone to engage and cause conflict, but also to be in the receiving end. The last dominant aspect to affect the frame building were the results of Israel's political actions. In the AA sub-corpus, the division of church and state was both very visible, but suggestions for closer cooperation (*jewish state* - issue) were seen as well. In the AA sub-corpus, Israel was seen as an active state both domestically and internationally. Israel involved in international politics, and the domestic policies were seen to tighten. Conflicts within the state were seen frequent. The people of Israel were various, and some were classified as dangerous. Despite the aggressive frame here, the US media did not judge Israel by these actions. This attitude could be caused by either 1) close alliance between the states, 2) carefulness in the US mediator position, or 3) acceptance of them. All were possible, but most likely the main reason was a combination of the first and third reasons. If it were for the second reason, US media would portray Palestine similarly to Israel, which it did not. If the reason would be only the first one, it would require different power structures within the alliance. It is safe to say that the USA is the dominant participant in this relationship, thus blind acceptance was not necessary in order to maintain the alliance.

In order to make the frame setting even more detailed, it could be beneficial to repeat the collocation analysis on search words that refer to Palestine, such as "palestine". This analysis could reassure the conclusions this study has made about the role of Palestine in the frame of Israel. But, due to both need to pin-point the point of view, and not to mix the frame to be about the Israel-Palestine conflict, but only of Israel, this collocation nor concordance analysis was not done. Also, the decision to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital effect Israel primarily and directly, but the effects on Palestine were more indirect and secondary. These notions showed that this would then tilt the frame analysis which is not desirable, and it would not measure the frame of Israel precisely enough.

6.3   Comparative Analysis of the Established Frames

Much like with the case of *War on Terror* in the study of Seth Lewis and Stephen Reese (2009) the issues surrounding Israel have reached a master narrative that follows the whole discussion of the issue in any outlet. A master narrative is in its most basic form a strong, organized and unified way of speaking of an issue that overshadows and nearly, if not completely, diminishes other narratives of the issue. A master narrative is also a strong indication for the frame of the issue. In the case of Lewis' and Reese's study (2009), the master narrative was supported by the controversial slogan "*War on Terror*" that was skillfully framed throughout the society (Lewis and Reese 2009, 777–779). Here, there was no such slogan, but Israel seemed to remain the same regardless of the publisher. In the case of master narrative with *War on Terror*, the USA was an active agent, when as with some issues with Israel, the USA ought to be a by-stander. This should erase the need for conformity, but surprisingly, the data of the different sources were not internally conflicted. This revealed similar socially shared principle of transmitting news and information among the different news outlets as there was in the Lewis and Reese's study (2009). The master narrative in this case was seemingly originated from the political situation where USA and Israel are allies.

The goal of this thesis was to reveal and verify frame change in media caused by policy change. The following study questions were established in order to reach these goals:

1. Is there a change in frame of Israel in the USA now that there is a change in the political relationship?

2. If there is such a frame change, what kind of a change that is? What are the ways the original frame changed?

3. If there are indicators how the change affected the US-Israel relations or actions of either party? If so, what indicators are they?

In addition to the research questions, the above remarks of narratives and background were kept in mind. The frames for Israel in both timelines were established in sections 6.1 and 6.2. As can be seen, several things were similar in both sub-corpora. However, there had been changes in the portrayal of Israel, thus a change in frame had happened. Before comparing the changes and establishing the quality of the frame change, other non-textual factors were considered. Firstly, it must be considered whether the sizes of the corpora could cause change to be seen. As mentioned, the AA sub-corpus was larger in size, thus creating opportunities for more textual clues. The variation could not all be caused by frame change, but possibly due to the possibility

to appear in larger data. Most of the difference in size could be explained by the emphasis of the news of the recognition decision, which was seen in the AA sub-corpus collocate analysis. In conclusion, comparison of shared characteristics was considered more accurate when establishing frame change.

When comparing the two frames of the sub-corpora, both similarities and differences must be taken into account. As mentioned, since the timeframe was short and the history between the countries long, change in frame was not expected to be drastic. In addition to this result, the similarities between the frames were expected to be plenty. Firstly, it was noticed that the majority of the results were similar: many collocates in either sub-corpora were the same, for example with the search word *jewish*, five of the 10 top collocates (*community*, *israel*, *jerusalem*, *people* and *state*) were similar in both sub-corpora. In the concordance analysis, the majority of the concordance strings fitted into the same six basic categories (anti-Semitism or hate -, art and culture -, community-, economics or work -, political or governmental -, and religion themes) with the addition of "other"-category. Both of the notions above showed that on the surface- and issue-level, the discussion was very similar regardless of the timeframe or the recognition.

There were two ways of creating differences in these sub-corpora: differences were either changes in how certain issues were discussed, or how some issues were discussed in only one of the sub-corpora. For example, Jews were represented differently in the corpora, but still discussed in both. This was a sign of change, and this form of differences were easily analyzable. The more difficult way was omission. Due to omission, for example, Palestinians were only discussed in the AA sub-corpus, and ignored in the BA sub-corpus, as discussed later.

As have been explained in the sections above, the search words produced results that differed from each other, which resulted in frames that were based on a variety of material. This was considered as an advantage when revealing the frames but needed special attention when executing the comparison. The variety can create results that have no comparative event in the other sub-corpus, especially since the material was limited. The most valid analysis can be done on characteristics of the frame that have a comparable point on both sub-corpora. However, in this thesis, some omissions were taken into account as well. Their importance and validity were evaluated based on, for example, occurrences, and if there were plenty, they were considered important enough to be taken into account. This concludes that other differences or omissions were present in the results, but they were not comparable between the sub-corpora. Their

comparability could increase, for example, if there were more material, or if the search words were different.

Based on the sections 6.1 and 6.2, it was concluded that both frames were build based on anti-Semitism and hate thematic or political and governmental thematic. This eased the comparison of frames. Both of the frames were based on community- and group dynamics as well, but from different starting points, thus when comparing these issues, this was considered.

In general, both of the timeframes included discussion on state and politics, as well as religion. For example, some search words produced dominantly religious collocates, when other produced political. This was true in both timeframes. The frame changer was considered to be how the AA sub-corpus divided those two issues to be very separate. For example, in BA sub-corpus, religion was combined strongly in politics, as seen in Example 1:

(1)   Bannon is self-declared, and possibly even sincere, supporter of the Jewish State. On Sunday he called himself a "Christian Zionist", and

Here, religious background was seen as an advantage in politics, especially when discussing the possibility of the *Jewish State*. This combination was not seen as clearly in the collocation analysis. In the AA sub-corpus, similar combinations were not common, but religion and politics were mostly discussed separately, for example, in the following concordance strings:

(2)   the "prophecy" of the conversion of the Jews, the second coming of Jesus, the final

(3)   their identity. "This vote clearly indicates that Israel has officially declared the end of the

There were some exceptions to this behavior, but they referred to, for example, the domestic political situation in the USA:

(4)   on an issue important to some American Jews and evangelical voters. This split-the-difference

In the Example 4 religion was discussed through voter demographics in the USA rather than combining religion as a real issue in politics, as it was done in Example 1. Some exceptions were of course seen, but the majority show similar differences as pointed out in Examples 1–3. When including this change in discussion with the changing numbers of political and religious concordances or even the changes in collocations of political and religious nature, it was stated that in this aspect, the frame of Israel was changing. This change implied that religion is no

longer as a decisive factor in the frame of Israel, since it had not penetrated other theme categories and must be considered separately.

As seen in Example 1, Israel was considered Jewish in the USA. This was a prime example of how Israel was seen in the USA, especially in the BA sub-corpus. This attitude and type of synonymizing Jews and Israel changed in the AA sub-corpus. It triggered a frame change from the aspect of Jews and Jewish as Israel's determiners and the frame changed by distance and unity. Before Israel was near synonymous with Israel, which indicated that no other group was considered to be Israeli, but the Jewish community was the "real" Israeli people. This simplified and made the population of Israel very coherent in the BA sub-corpus. This indicated that news media was firstly making Jews profoundly synonymous with Israel and only then discussing different groups of Jews simultaneously. This was similar on both frames, for example, the collocate *american* was produced with the search word *jews* in both timeframes. Usually the collocate took a preceding position, which implied a combination such as American Jews. Such discussion of Jews without indications of separation between them, created an image of Jews being similar everywhere. Similarities between one's own people and other people created proximity between the groups, which here was between population of Israel and of the USA. Later, when analyzing the frame after the acknowledgement, a change in this proximity was seen, for example when comparing examples from BA and AA sub-corpus:

(5)   Northern California in 2001, to "use music as a unifying factor between Jews to overcome boundaries, and build bridges between the various segments of our

(6)   , energy and optimism. One area where American Jews have something to teach Israel is religious

As seen from the examples above, Example 5 refers Jews as a community that thrives to unison, when Example 6 shows that American and Israeli Jews were different, since American Jews could teach the Israeli ones in some points. Israel was still discussed as a type of synonym for Jews. These are examples, and as with other examples, exceptions were found. Examples 5 and 6 demonstrate the how distance between American and Israeli Jews grew between the sub-corpora. Change in proximity was demonstrated in the collocation analysis as well. As the collocation analysis showed, the use of names of the decision makers was frequent. This was not seen in the BA sub-corpus. For example, names such as Trump, Donald and Netanyahu (search words *israel*, *israeli*, *jewish*, see Tables 8–10) were only frequent enough to

be among the top collocates in the AA sub-corpus. Using names demonstrates proximity to the issue because the ability to pin-point and name issues or parties show acquaintance of the issue. This was considered a success to the media as well: their purpose as an information provider had developed since the knowledge of the issue had progressed to a level where individual names were able to be used. Using names of the decision makers humanized and personalized the issue as well. If only political organs or the name of states were used, the issues would have been more distant and dehumanized. This utilization of names showed that when discussing Israel, it is considered a close issue.

As seen from Section 6.1, the frame of Israel was based on community and people. As said above, the separation of the groups was seen in the frame after the acknowledgement, which was considered to be a sign of frame change. This sign was both or either of two things: the frame of Israel was developing to be more variant or the US media was intentionally wanting to distance US citizens from Israel, which was usually considered as some type of disapproval. This distancing could also feed to us vs. them -mindset, which is not usually a positive image to the "them" in that equation.

In general, the changes in proximity were demonstrated in the analyses differently, even controversially. The frames showed unison and closeness to Israel and its people when concordance analysis was revised, but distance in politics in the BA sub-corpus. Proximity in politics was shown in the frame of AA sub-corpus when the decision making was verbalized: the decision makers were named, and the issues thus humanized. These changes in distance supported the change in frame where Israel had become more active agent in politics. The changes mentioned above may seem controversial to each other, but if considered within their themes, it showed that politics had become closer even though individuals were more separated. This was considered as fortification of the alliance between the states and the frame to be changed for more positive in political aspects in the eyes of the US media.

The comparisons above showed that even though the most influential aspects of frame building in both timelines were about politics, and community was only seen as a separate issue only in the frame before the acknowledgement, communities, people and religion were mixed in with the political aspects as well. This was understandable since politics is for people and of people. In Israel, religion has been close to the state since it was created, which justifies its involvement in the political or governmental fields. Here, the comparison noted that the mission of the USA on the international politics level was to act as a mediator in a conflict that directly involves Israel. Despite this background, a change in the attitude of how the US media sees

Israel's politics was visible. This attitude was used to measurement frame change. Firstly, it was more obvious that the USA was the mediator, and Israel's daily politics, for example military power was discussed on the surface level and active conflict issues were not promoted. Examples 7 and 8 showed the difference in discourse of how Israel's activeness in its own politics has changed between the sub-corpora:

(7)   committed to what he calls "ultimate deal" between Israel and the Palestinians

(8)   nations that sided with the United States. Israel claims all of Jerusalem as its capital,

The examples above are archetypes of the discourse found in the concordance analyses. In Example 7, Israel is mere target of policing – as it was in the BA sub-corpus – and in the second example, Israel is ready to "claim" the end result of the policy making, which was normal behavior in the AA sub-corpus. This changed the frame of Israel from policy target to policy agent, which is usually a positive development in the eyes of allies. The collocation analyses were harder to analyze in this respect. Politically themed results among the most frequent collocates were seen in both timeframes, but here the most important factor was how were they positioned in their natural environment since it could change their meaning.

The last influential thematic which could be compared directly between the two frames was the aspects built by anti-Semitism or hate thematic. These were seen in both collocation and concordance analyses in both timeframes. In the BA frame, this thematic revolved around anti-Semitism rather than Israel being the "hater". In the AA sub-corpus, this thematic widened to include issues where Israel or Israeli people (Jews) were the cause of hatred. Here, combinations such as *Jewish extremists* or Israel showing opposition towards another group were visible:

(9)   as a part of Israel could embolden messianic Jewish extremists; some of whom are
        supported

(10)   essence in historic Palestine. This will encourage Israeli officials to further intensify
        their violations o

Even though the Examples 9–10 demonstrate hate thematic originating from Israel's side, they are a minority. They only showed that the change was happening: if not to oppose Israel, then at least acknowledge its capability to hatred and wrong-doing, or even only to create variability in the frame, making the frame of Israel more diverse. In the BA frame, nearly all of the data showed that hatred was directed to Israel, thus the US media victimized Israel in that

respect. Especially, when the frame was otherwise based on inactiveness (in policy), the discourse of enduring hate or persecution made Israel look like a victim. In addition, when the US media discussed anti-Semitism, it created space for hero discourse for itself, and fortified Israel's frame as mistreated and being in the need of saving. This discourse decreased in the AA frame, most likely partly due to Israel's own increasing active agency. The AA sub-corpus showed Israel as a hate-creator as well but did not give space for criticism of those actions. This showed that the alliance is able to acknowledge misbehavior, but not condemn it. This frame change was rather of the surface level, and it demonstrated diverseness, but did not make Israel as "the bad guy".

The last big frame builder thematic, as said, was the choices that were seen only in one of the two frames that were compared. The possibility to compare timeframes much like in this study, enables the detection of omission. Omission can also be suspected if certain issues are highly linked and ought to be discussed together. Here, this type of suspicion rose when the issue of Palestine was not detected in the BA sub-corpus. The issue was discussed in the AA sub-corpus, supporting the suspicion of omissive behavior. As said in the section 6.2, it would possibly be beneficial to analyze *palestine* similarly to the search words of this study. Even without further discussion, it must be noted, that this omission was a sign of attitude of the US media towards Palestine, not only part of the Israel's frames. The rising of the Palestine issue only in the AA sub-corpus showed that the frame of Israel was changing to a similar direction as it was with the hate thematic. Israel has always had its issues, and not showing them in the BA sub-corpus created a frame of a non-controversial and even more peaceful state than the reality was. Showing them in the AA sub-corpus did not lead to disbelief or dislike, but simply made the frame more diverse. Presenting the Israel-Palestine conflict also portrayed Israel to be more capable and active as it was before. As stated, inactiveness and victimization were a part of the BA frame. The AA frame, however, showed action and the military power of Israel, making it more powerful of a state than shown before.

(11)   fence in Gaza, the Israeli army said. Israeli forces confront Palestinian protesters in Jerusal

(12)   that "We cannot continue to let Israel be treated with such total disdain and

(13)   usalem should only be determined in negotiations. Israel celebrated the US veto, calling Haley a "

The examples 11–13 show both Israel's activeness and demonstration of power. Especially in Example 13, both of these aspects are seen: Israeli took space in an international states' meeting – this example is from the UN meeting – and being active in that respect. This type of behavior was rare in the BA sub-corpus, making this a sign for frame change. As with any other examples shown in this section, exceptions were found. But even this in mind, if something is never active, and then at another time later they are even little active, the level of activeness grows tremendously, even though activeness would not be constant or in high level. For this reason, the active agent frame was changed between the corpora, but the level was not determined. Possibly, the representation of the Israel-Palestine conflict was the result of this newly found power. Showing conflict in the BA sub-corpus could have led to the undesirable end of the winner-loser thematic (Israel already seen weaker otherwise), but for a stronger state, involving in a conflict can be just a demonstration of the power or strength. Here, the US media showed no concern of the increasing power, framing Israel more desirable ally-wise. The appearing conflict also supported the separation of people seen elsewhere in the AA sub-corpus. Conflicts create disparity anywhere, thus it was seen to contribute to the divisive discourse here.

As mentioned, the acknowledgement of Jerusalem as Israel's capital was seen frequently in the AA sub-corpus. However, both *capital* and *Jerusalem* were part of the most frequent collocations in the BA corpus. The lacking presentation of Palestine created an image that maybe Jerusalem had always been of Israel, but the acknowledgement only made it official. This was both an attitude of the US media, but also a sign of frame: the unusual situation regarding the issue was diminished, making it look more "normal". One of the most interesting differences between the BA and AA corpora was the recognition of the capital becoming a visible issue only after the recognition. One might expect some discussion of such change in policy before it actually happened, especially when discussing democratic societies and long, rather static alliances. This silence could be caused by the media's intention to decrease controversy, but it also stabilized the frame of Israel before the acknowledgement, and at the same time gave possibility for the frame to change after the acknowledgement.

Based on the discussion above, the recognition has had an effect on the frame of Israel in the US media. The recognition caused changes in the discourse that changed the way Israel was discussed. The frame change was seen in the way Israel was seen as a political agent, how new topics were introduced to the discourse and how variation was detected not only between the sub-corpora but within the them as well. These notions answer the first two research question: yes, there was a frame change caused by policy change and it was seen in changes of

political activeness, changes in distance regarding people and emerging of new topics. The most direct impact of the recognition to the frame was the change in political agency. In the period of the BA sub-corpus, Israel was a target of policy and a non-active agent in the international field. The results seen in AA sub-corpus showed that Israel was an active agent at least domestically, and very involved in conflict in its region. This change made Israel to be a very different actor than it was before. Passiveness or activeness define the way a state is perceived. Activeness is usually seen more positive than passiveness, unless it is in a field the evaluator considers to be inappropriate.

Another influential clue for frame change was caused by the novelty of the recognition. Since the sub-corpora, especially the AA sub-corpus, presented the recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital, that data had the control to set the tone for this issue. Being a new issue, discussion was needed in order for the media to fulfill its informative and educative purposes. Introducing new topics created a new collocates. Having new words with high enough frequency to show up as collocates was considered a sign of change in discourse. Here, the change in discourse verified changes that have been found elsewhere, for example, how the political agency of Israel changed. In addition, the new collocations included references to groups of people, the state, and conflict, that were not seen in the BA sub-corpus.

These new topics lead the discussion into new points of view that affected the frame of Israel, and if not by a certain point of view, then at least by creating variation. Variation was considered to be one cause for frame change. The needed conversation created more discussion and surfaced new points of view. These new topics created variation seen in the comparison phase. The variation was seen within the corpora as well, and it was especially detectable within the AA sub-corpus. As said, the category that holds the otherwise non-categorized results was much larger in that sub-corpora, implying the rise of variation in that timeframe. Similar conclusion were not made from the BA sub-corpus, since the "basic amount" of variation cannot be measured before, thus it cannot be said whether variation has risen there or not.

In the beginning of this thesis it was pointed out that the timeframe was intentionally kept short in order to avoid other events from affecting the media. For the most part, no other event or decision of this magnitude or related to the issue of Israel rose during the timeframe where the material was collected. The only thing that could have had an effect on the publications was the international outcry the USA faced after the decision. This was considered not to affect Israel directly, but rather the USA and how its decisions are shown in the news at that time. Luckily, most of the material concentrated on Israel itself rather than the backlash the

USA faced. In conclusion, the material could have included data that referred to the international community's attitude towards the USA's decision, but this was considered to be a small quantity, thus not affecting the frame of Israel in the US media. The analyses and discussion could have been affected by the restricted timeframe itself. Restrictions can cause possible frame change clues to show up in this data infrequently, since it cannot be certainly said how long, when, or whether a frame change happens. Since the discussion was based on some simplification and gathering individual clues together, the disregarded clues here could have been very frequent and even more essential for Israel's frame in a larger timeframe. The insecurities that were partly caused by the research settings limit the possibilities to answer research question 3 – "If there are indicators how the change affected the US-Israel relations or actions of either party? If so, what indicators are they?". However, for example, the change in political activeness, can imply further cooperation, when distance from people can imply change in relationship. The impacts of frame change need more research over a period of time – similarly it is needed to know whether the change is frame is permanent. Some possible future research is suggested in section 7.1.

7   Conclusions

This study was aimed to define whether and how change in policy created a frame change. The USA's decision to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital was used as the case to analyze this effect. Here, frame referred to a selected news providers' output and their published perception of the issue. The point of view was of the USA; thus the sources were US domestic news providers that together have near full coverage of the country. CNN, FoxNews and the New York Times were selected to be sources for the material. They produced a textual corpus from which the data for this study was collected. It is important to note that the conclusions stated here might not be valid in other environments, even if they discuss the same issue.

Originally, the hypothesis was that a political decision can be a cause frame change in the media. In this study, the case was of an act of policy making that strengthens the political relationship of the countries involved, and it was hypothesized to change the image of Israel to an even closer ally and more positive in tone. What came to closer alliance, it was considered to have happened. The evolution of the discussion of Israel generated results where Israel was considered more powerful in the international stage and in the alliance than it was before. In addition, Israel's decisions made were brought to the public eye, but not criticized or disagreed with, even though that could have been a possibility due to the USA's status as a mediator in the Israel-Palestine conflict.

The study utilized a combination of theories and approaches that were found to be appropriate and enabling to answer the study questions. FA, CDA and CL were evaluated to be an appropriate combination to enable the conduction of the study. They were first introduced, and in order to reveal a change in the frame of Israel, the corpus was analyzed for collocations and concordances following their guidelines. After the analyses, two frames of Israel were established. These frames were found to be comparable and also revealing changes in the discourse of Israel, and thus in the frame.

To conclude, this study showed that a change in the frame of Israel in the US media happened, and it was considered to be caused by the policy change in the USA. The changes were also thematically appropriate to be caused by policy change: one of the biggest changes was seen in the power structure and position of Israel from the point of view of politics, which was, at least indirectly, linked to policy changes in the USA regarding Israel. In addition, other issues – political or otherwise – affecting the frame were not found to be significant enough to cause the changes, thus policy change was considered the origin cause for frame change. There

were few dominant characteristics that the frames in both timeframes were built on: politics, people, and anti-Semitism or hate. The qualities these themes produced were easily comparable since they were seen in both the established frames of Israel. Lastly, omissions were discussed as well. The omissions included the act of the acknowledgement itself and then the issues with Palestine. To simplify: the frame of Israel before the acknowledgement was that the state was a very tightly knit state, inhabited by Jewish not very different from the USA Jewish population. The population was the essence of the state, and they were considered to be persecuted, which was a cause for concern in the US media. Israel was not seen as an active or powerful policymaker neither domestically nor internationally. The frame after the acknowledgement has similar characteristics, but slightly changed: Israel was still a strong ally state, but more diverse. Different groups of people inhabited it, and in addition to the similarities found between the Jewish populations, differences were found as well. After the acknowledgement, Israel gained power both internationally and domestically, and demonstrated it, for example, with the use of force towards Palestinians. The biggest change in frame was the increasing diversity of Israel's qualities: more research would reveal if this was temporary and if the simplification of Israel would continue later.

Even though the frame change was visible in this study, it does not inevitably conclude that this frame change is stable. For the frame to be detected in the chosen sources, that were considered to represent the majority of serious press in the USA, it is considered a strong indication of that, though. In addition, even though the frame change happened, there is nothing to prevent it to hypothetically change back to the earlier versions. The frame is always affected by the social environment it is in, making it prone to change.

7.1   Further Research

As mentioned, one of the research questions sets up for further research as well: "3. If there are indicators how the change affected the US-Israel relations or actions of either party? If so, what indicators are they?". For this reason, it is valuable to speculate for future research.

Studies of frame and frame change are always bound to the time of the study and to the material. Since some time has passed from the material of this study, a possible new frame change could have happened, and other big political decisions have been made that affect the countries. For example, the USA has had several attempts since to make arrangement to possibly affect both the peace process in the area and the relation between them and Israel, which can also be an effect of the frame change detected in this study. One of such changes was

the US attempt to give Israel more territory by yielding the Golan Heights to Israel from under Syrian rule (Trump 2019). Such policy changes enables another frame change to happen. Similarly, the suggested results of the policy change in Section 2 could be evaluated if frame change could be concluded to be the reason behind them.

The USA was not the only one to change their actions after the recognition of Jerusalem. Shortly after the acknowledgement, Israel set place a new amendment to their constitution. They included in it a phrase that said: "Israel is a Jewish country", which was found troubling by the international community, since it indirectly referred that other than Jews are not real citizens. Before the recognition, it is said that they would have never used such wordings, so it is possible that Israel felt to be in a new, more powerful position. For these reasons it could be groundbreaking to study the – possible, but apparent – changing attitudes in Israel.

As for the further development of this study, some steps could be taken. As said, the study only included material from US news providers. Much like in any other similar study, the explicitness could be added by using more data. For the character and aim of this study, it would mean more news providers rather than bigger timelines. However, this would not be efficient and would probably provide only more defined results of the results seen here. The news providers of this study were all general news outlets, but others can be specialized to certain themes or issues. Using different sources would most likely have an effect to the results of this study, but since the aim was to find the most generally representable sources, specialized outlets could have tilted the results and the aim would have not been met. Also using only some of the sources that were used could be a study of its own, and it could possibly reveal the sub-frames that are underlying in the political, socio-economic and regional spectrums. As the main countries involved, both the USA and Israel, have minorities of their citizens in the other country, it could be beneficial to do research on Israeli–bound news providers as well. It would both clarify the USA's frame on Israel, when it would include US expats in Israel.

All of the options for further research are only suggestions what could be done with the data that was used in this study, and what could be studied with the main issue of this study. That said, there are probably countless of other alternatives that serves slightly different purposes and points of view, but what is comes to this study, it reached the aims and goals it was set to pursue.

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Appendix 1: Finnish summary

Tämä pro gradu -tutkielma käsittelee kehyksiin vaikuttamista kehyksen ulkopuolisin keinoin. Tutkielmassa päätutkimuskohteena on poliittisen päätöksenteon vaikutukset median luomiin kehyksiin. Tutkimustapauksena on Yhdysvaltain päätös tunnustaa Jerusalem Israelin pääkaupungiksi joulukuussa 2017 ja sen vaikutukset median tapaan kehystää Israel Yhdysvaltalaisissa uutismedioissa. Tämän tutkielman hypoteesina on, että riittävän vaikuttava poliittinen päätös, joka muuttaa kahdenvälisiä suhteita, heijastuu myös mediassa samansuuntaisena kehyksen muutoksena. Tässä tutkimustapauksessa, kun Israelin ja Yhdysvaltain väliset suhteet tunnustamispäätöksen vuoksi voidaan ajatella lähenevän, voidaan ajatella median kuvaavan Israelin myös aiempaa positiivisemmassa valossa vahvistaen virallisen kahdenvälisen suhteen linjaa. Tutkimus toteutetaan korpuspohjaisena tutkimuksena, jossa analysoidaan tutkittavan kehyksen kielellisiä ympäristöjä sekä kollokaatio- että konkordanssianalyysien avulla. Lopulliset tulokset voidaan saada selville vertailevalla laadullisella tutkimuksella, kun Israelille on pystytty muodostamaan kaksi eri aineistojen julkaisuajasta riippuvaista kehystä.

Vaikka tutkielmassa käsitellään poliittista päätöksentekoa, on hyvä huomioida, että kyseessä ei ole politiikan tutkimus. Tarkoituksena on tutkia ja analysoida vain kielellistä aineistoa, eikä ottaa kantaa päätöksen onnistuneisuuteen tai sen aiheuttamiin vaikutuksiin. On myös oleellista laittaa merkille, että tutkielmassa paljastettavien kehysten muodostamisessa tulee ottaa huomioon aiheen ja sen osanottajien lähtötilanteet. Tästä syystä tutkielmaan on lisätty oma osionsa Yhdysvaltojen ja Israelin kahdenvälisten suhteiden historiaan perehtymiseksi, sillä historian on katsottu vaikuttavan eniten kehysten muodostumiseen.

Tutkielman aineisto koostuu internetissä julkaistuista uutisista kolmen merkittävän yhdysvaltalaisen julkaisijan internetsivuilla. Aineisto on kerätty ottaen huomioon julkaisijoiden maantieteellinen sekä poliittinen kattavuus Yhdysvalloissa. Aineisto on julkaistu 6. marraskuuta 2017 ja 5. tammikuuta 2018 välisenä aikana. Ajanjakso on valittu tiiviiksi, jotta muut mahdolliset tuloksiin vaikuttavat ilmiöt ja tapahtumat on voitu minimoida. Lähteinä käytettiin *CNN:*n, *FoxNewsin* sekä *New York Timesin* sähköisiä uutisarkistoja, joista kerätty aineisto muodostaa tutkielman korpuksen. Tämä korpus jaettiin kahdeksi alakorpukseksi julkaisuaikojen perusteella, jotta vertaileva analyysi voidaan toteuttaa luvussa 6.3.

Tutkielman aihetta lähestytään kriittisen diskurssianalyysin, kehysanalyysin ja korpuslingvistiikan keinoin. Tutkielman keskiössä on kehysanalyysi, jonka tuotosta tutkitaan kriittisen diskurssianalyysin lähestymiskulmasta. Kyseessä on korpustutkimus, joten

tutkielmassa on otettu huomioon korpuslingvistiikan lainalaisuudet ja hyödynnetty tietoteknisiä analyysityökaluja. Tässä tutkielmassa kehysteorialla tarkoitetaan Erving Goffmanin alkuperäisteoriaa kehystämisestä, jossa kehyksillä tarkoitetaan yksilöiden yleistyksiä ilmiöistä ja tapahtumista heille annetun ympäröivän tiedon perusteella. Kehysteoriaa ovat kehittäneet useat tutkijat monitieteellisesti. Kehysanalyysin kehitykseen ovat vaikuttaneet myöhemmin myös muut tutkijat, jotka toivat analyysiin mukaan sosiaalisen ja kontekstisidonnaisen näkökulman. Tutkielman kehysanalyysissä on myös huomioitu yksilöä suuremman tuottajien näkökulma. Tähän tutkielmaan on valittu tästä syystä Robert Entmanin lähestymiskulma suurista yksiköistä kehysten luojina.

Kriittisen diskurssianalyysin näkökulmasta aineistoa tarkastellaan varsinkin voimatasapainon tai sen rakenteiden muutosta silmällä pitäen. Kriittinen diskurssianalyysi tässä tutkielmassa perustellaan Norman Fairclough'n ja myöhemmin myös Ruth Wodakin kriittisen diskurssianalyysin määritelmiin pohjautuen. Kriittinen diskurssianalyysi mahdollistaa sellaisten piilevien rakenteiden paljastamisen, jotka eivät ole määrällisesti mitattavissa. Vaikka tässä tutkielmassa hyödynnetään myös määrällistä dataa, vain laadullinen tutkimus tuottaa niitä tuloksia, jotka ovat tässä tutkielmassa erityisen mielenkiinnon kohteina.

Aineiston koostuessa yhteensä 1 156 288 sanasta, on se liian suuri tehokkaaseen manuaaliseen analyysiin. Tästä syystä aineisto analysoidaan AntConc-korpusohjelman avulla korpuslingvistiikan lainalaisuudet huomioiden. Korpuslingvistiikan näkökulmasta hyödynnetään suuren datan etuja rajallisempiin aineistoihin verrattuna, mutta huomioidaan myös massan tuottamat haasteet esimerkiksi yksityiskohtaisessa analyysissä. Korpustyökalut, kuten tähän tutkielmaan valittu AntConc, mahdollistavat suurien datamäärien analysoinnin. Tässä tutkielmassa AntConc-ohjelmalla teetettyjen kollokaatio- ja konkordanssianalyysien tulosten pohjalta voidaan laadullisen analyysin avulla tuottaa johtopäätöksiä Israelin kehyksestä valituissa yhdysvaltalaisissa medioissa.

Tutkielma koostuu johdannosta, kaksiosaisesta analyysistä, vertailevasta osiosta ja loppuosiosta. Johdannon tukena tutkielmassa esitellään mainittu osio Israelin ja Yhdysvaltojen yhteisestä historiasta ja suhteesta lyhyesti. Tällä perustellaan tutkimuksen lähtöasetelmia ja mahdollistetaan realististen tutkimuskysymysten sekä hypoteesien asettaminen. Analyysi on kaksivaiheinen ja sen tulokset esitellään tutkielmassa numeerisesti. Näiden tulosten pohjalta vedetään kriittisen diskurssianalyysin keinoin johtopäätöksiä kehysten muodostumisesta, joita käsitellään luvuissa 6.1 sekä 6.2. Kaksiosainen analyysi aloitetaan kollokaatioanalyysillä, jota seuraa konkordanssianalyysi. Kollokaatioanalyysin tarkoituksena on paljastaa ne kielelliset

yksiköt, jotka esiintyvät useimmiten samassa ympäristössä valittujen hakusanojen kanssa. Konkordanssianalyysi puolestaan näyttää sen luonnollisen kielellisen ympäristön, jossa hakusanat esiintyvät. Molemmissa analyyseissä käytettiin hakusanoina sanoja *israel*, *israeli*, *jews* sekä *jewish*. Nämä hakusanat määriteltiin sopiviksi sekä aiheen että tutkimuksen päämäärien kannalta. Analyysit suoritettiin erikseen molemmille alakorpuksille.

Kollokaatioanalyysissä hyödynnetään korpustyökalun ominaisuuksia. Tässä valituilla hakusanoilla etsitään niitä kielellisiä yksiköitä, jotka esiintyvät yleisimmin hakusanojen kanssa erikseen molemmissa alakorpuksissa. Tulokset kuvataan kahdeksassa eri taulukossa, yksi taulukko kunkin hakusanan tuottamia tuloksia varten molemmista alakorpuksista. Tuloksista poistettiin ensin sanat, jotka eivät itsessään sisältäneet merkitystä, kuten esimerkiksi artikkelit tai apuverbit. Kollokaatioanalyysin tuloksista päätettiin tarkastella kymmentä yleisimmin esiintyvää sanaa, sillä niiden yleisyys voitiin perusteella merkitykselliseksi. Analyysi paljasti hakusanojen tuottavan samantyyppisiä kollokaatioita riippumatta hakusanasta, toki painottuen eri aiheisiin. Vaikka hakusanat olivat moninaisia, voitiin niistä vetää johtopäätöksiä aiheista, jotka ympäröivät hakusanoja. Näitä olivat esimerkiksi erilaiset ihmisryhmät, uskonnot, poliittinen päätöksenteko sekä vastakkainasettelu. Kollokaatioanalyysin tulosten perusteella pidettiin yllättävänä, että hakusanat jättivät tuottamatta myös tiettyjä tuloksia: Israelista puhuttaessa aluksi oletettiin, että myös Palestiina olisi yhdistetty samoihin kielellisiin ympäristöihin, mitä ei kollokaatioanalyysin perusteella tapahtunut, paitsi tietyillä hakusanoilla ja ajallisesti vain jälkimmäisessä alakorpuksessa. Kuten mainittua, kollokaatioanalyysi tuottaa tuloksinaan yksittäisiä sanoja, joten niiden tyyppi on ratkaiseva kehysten muodostamista silmällä pitäen. Tästä syystä vain sanat, joilla on itsessään merkitystä, valittiin analysoitaviksi kollokaatioiksi. Kollokaatioanalyysin tuottaessa vain yksittäisiä yhdistelmiä hakusanojen ja kollokaatioiden välillä, on tärkeää tarkastella myös hakusanojen luonnollisia kielellisiä ympäristöjä. Tästä syystä sama aineisto analysoitiin myös konkordanssien osalta.

Konkordanssianalyysi mittaa kollokaatioanalyysin tavoin myös kielellisiä ympäristöjä, mutta ei ota huomioon yksittäisiä sanoja tai niiden yleisyyttä. Konkordanssianalyysin tulokset esittävät hakusanojen välittömässä läheisyydessä olevaa kielellistä dataa eli hakusanojen luonnollisia kielellisiä ympäristöjä. Nämä ympäristöt määriteltiin käsittelemään 80 merkkiä hakusanan ympäriltä, jotta niissä esiintyvät kielelliset yksiköt liittyvät varmimmin suoraan haluttuihin hakusanoihin ja täten toimivat kehysten rakentajina. Yhtä yksittäistä tällaista 80 merkin ketjua kutsutaan konkordanssiketjuksi. Jo konkordanssianalyysin alustavat tulokset

tuottivat tietoa siitä, mitkä hakusanat tuottivat eniten dataa eli miten nämä hakusanat vaikuttavat eniten myöhemmin muodostettaviin kehyksiin.

Koska konkordanssianalyysi tuotti dataa enemmän ja monimuotoisemmin kuin hypoteesia määritellessä oli ajateltu, koettiin, että dataa ei voi käsitellä suoraan, vaan se tulee jaotella muodostamaan suurempia yksiköitä. Kollokaatioanalyysissä pystyttiin näkemään hakusanojen muodostamia teemoja, joten myös konkordanssianalyysin tuottama data jaettiin temaattisesti ryhmiin. Temaattisten ryhmien muodostaminen perustui koko konkordanssidatan alustavalle läpikäymiselle ja skimmaamistekniikalle. Tämän alustavan analyysin perusteella datasta voitiin muodostaa kuusi teemaa: 1) uskontotematiikka 2) poliittinen ja hallinnollinen tematiikka, 3) yhteisö- tai ihmisryhmätematiikka (ei-uskonnollinen) 4) talous- ja kaupankäyntitematiikka 5) taide- ja kulttuuritematiikka sekä 6) antisemitismi- tai vihapuhetematiikka. Näistä perustettiin kategoriat, joihin konkordanssiketjut jaettiin. Koska kaikki konkordanssiketjut eivät sovi jaettaviksi näihin ennalta määrättyihin kategorioihin, loput koottiin temaattisesti jakamattomaan kategoriaan. Jakaminen tapahtui manuaalisesti. Kun jako oli valmis, voitiin myös konkordanssianalyysin tulokset esitellä neljässä eri kuvaajassa. Konkordanssianalyysin osalta oli tärkeää pystyä analysoimaan sekä tematiikan muutosta, että dataa näiden temaattisten ryhmien sisällä.

Kun sekä kollokaatio- että konkordanssianalyysit on suoritettu, voidaan niiden pohjalta muodostaa kehys Israelille. Tutkielmassa todetaan, että kehys voidaan muodostaa vain niiltä osin, kun kielellistä dataa on saatavilla. Tämä tarkoittaa, että kehykseen voivat vaikuttaa myös muut asiat tai myös muut kielelliset kehykseen vaikuttavat viestit, joita tässä aineistossa ei esiinny. Muodostunut Israelin kehys ei ole aukoton tai muuttumaton. Kehykset muodostettiin yhdistämällä kollokaatio- ja konkordanssianalyysin tulokset toisiinsa niiltä osin, kun se oli mahdollista. Koska tarkoituksena on tutkia kehyksen muutosta, muodostettiin kaksi ajallisesti erilaista kehystä: yksi aineistosta ennen Jerusalemin tunnustamista pääkaupungiksi ja yksi aineistosta tämän tunnustamisen jälkeen. Kehysten muodostamisen vaiheessa voitiin todeta, että kollokaatio- ja konkordanssianalyysi pääasiassa tukivat toisiaan kehyksen muodostumisessa: paljastetut kollokaatit sopivat saman aineiston temaattisiin kategorioihin pääasiallisesti hyvin. Esimerkiksi jos kollokaatit liittyivät pääasiassa eri ihmisiin, oli saman hakusanan konkordanssianalyysin muodostama yhteisö- ja ihmisryhmä -teemainen kategoria myös iso.

Israelin kehys ennen Jerusalemin tunnustamista nähtiin perustuvan pääasiallisesti seuraaville kahdelle päävaikuttimelle: yhteisö- ja ihmisryhmät sekä antisemitismi. Tässä

kehyksessä pidettiin myös tärkeänä huomioida ne seikat, jotka eivät ole nähtävillä datassa, vaikka niiden oletettiin olevan. Aiheiden omission nähtiin siis olevan yksi Israelin kehyksen vaikuttimista. Israelin kehykseen Jerusalemin tunnustamisen jälkeen nähtiin vaikuttavan pääasiallisesti kolme seikkaa: antisemitismi- ja vihatematiikka, konfliktit sekä kirkon ja valtion jakautuminen. Kun näitä päävaikuttimia molemmissa kehyksissä tarkasteltiin tarkemmin, oli niissä nähtävissä yhteneviä rajapintoja aiheiden sisällä. Tämä selkeytti vertailua siten, että ihmisryhmiin, antisemitismiin ja vihapuheeseen sekä valtiolliseen ja poliittiseen toimintaa liittyviä kehyksen vaikuttimia voitiin vertailla eri kehyksissä suoraan toisiinsa. Vertailussa havaittiin, että ihmisryhmistä puhuttaessa keskustelu loi etäisyyttä Yhdysvaltojen ja Israelin välille, muuttaen samalla kehystä Israelista etäisemmäksi. Poliittisesti ja valtion toiminnan kannalta Israel nähtiin puolestaan aktivoituneen, mitä pidettiin yleisesti neutraalina tai positiivisena muutoksena. Kehyksen muutoksena kyseessä oli vain aktiivisuuden muutos: Israel nähtiin aiemmin passiivisena toimijana, ja jälkeenpäin aktiivisena. Myös vertailu uskonnon vaikutuksesta valtioon väheni ja uskonto ei näyttäytynyt tunnustamisen jälkeen yhtä synonyymisenä Israelin valtion käsitteen kanssa, kuin se oli ollut ennen pääkaupungin tunnustamista. Antisemitismin ja vihapuheen erot näkyivät kehysten välillä siinä, että ennen Jerusalemin tunnustamista Israel voitiin jopa uhriuduttaa, sillä tämä tematiikka oli nimenomaisesti antisemitismipainotteista. Tunnustamisen jälkeen Israelin nähtiin toimivan myös vihatematiikan luojana itse. Myös Palestiinaan liittyvien aiheiden omission päättyminen oli yksi vertailussa esiin tulleista eroista. Suurimpana yleisenä kehyksen muutoksena oli Israelin kehyksen monimuotoistuminen, sillä aiemmin Israelin kehykseen vaikuttavat aiheet ja teemat olivat rajalliset, kun taas jälkeenpäin niiden nähtiin monimuotoistuneen.

Tutkielman johtopäätöksissä sanotaan, että Yhdysvaltojen päätöksellä tunnustaa Jerusalem Israelin pääkaupungiksi on ollut merkitystä sille kehykselle, jonka Yhdysvaltojen media luo Israelista. Tutkimuksessa pystyttiin osoittamaan muutoksia kielellisissä ympäristöissä, kun tutkittiin Israelien esiintymistä uutismedioissa. Muutos näkyy kielellisesti erityisesti siinä, miten Israelista keskustellaan poliittisena toimijana, miten maahan suhtaudutaan vastakkainasettelussa sekä kuinka israelilaisia käsitellään ihmisryhmänä eri tavoin kuin ennen päätöstä. Muutos on huomattavissa myös aiheissa, joista ennen Jerusalemin tunnustamista vaiettiin, kuten esimerkiksi Palestiina-kysymyksessä.

Johtopäätöksiin liittyen on todettava, että näkökulman ollessa kriittinen diskurssianalyysi, kirjoittajan omat (piilevät) ennakko-oletukset tai kykenemättömyys analysoida eri kontekstin mediaa riittävän tarkasti voivat vaikuttaa tutkimuksen tuloksiin,

vaikka näitä heikkouksia on pyritty minimoimaan. Tutkimus ei ota myöskään kantaa siihen, ovatko havaitut muutokset kehyksessä pysyviä tai onko niillä ollut vaikutuksia esimerkiksi yksittäisten ihmisten Israel-kehykseen. Tutkielmassa todetaankin olevan mahdollista, että muutos on ollut vain lyhytaikainen, mutta sen todentamiseksi tarvittaisiin jatkotutkimusta. Jatkotutkimus voisi myös näyttää, onko Israelin media saanut vaikutteita Yhdysvaltain median Israel-kehyksen muutoksesta.